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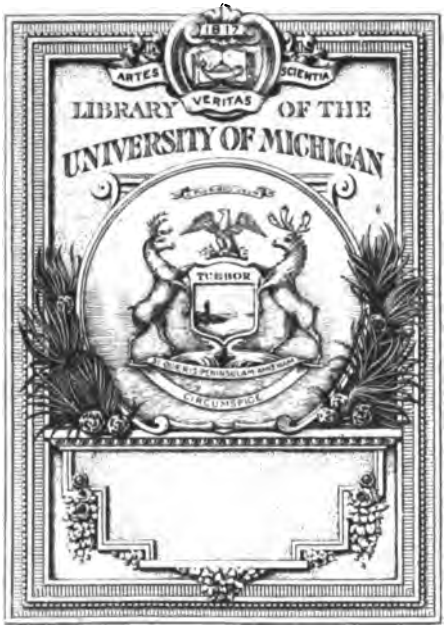
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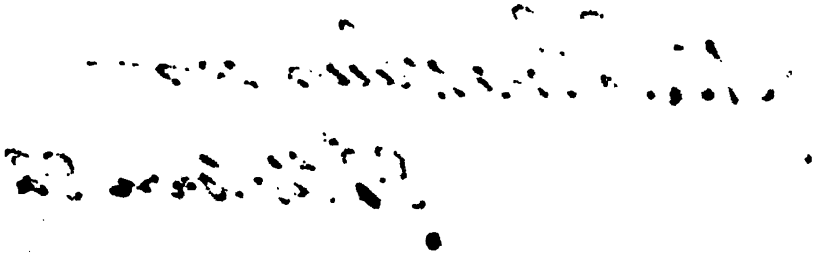

Reformed Church Review.

THE

MERCERSBURG REVIEW:

EDITED FOR

The Alumni Association

OF

FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE;

BY

REV. E. V. GERHART, A. M. AND REV. P. SCHAFF, D. D.

Neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam.—*Anselm.*

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THE

MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1857.

ART. I.—THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH DIET OF GERMANY.

THE German Evangelical Church Diet has now been in existence since 1848, and become one of the most important and encouraging facts in the history of modern Protestantism. A condensed account of its origin, history, influence and prospects, based upon the official reports of its proceedings, as they were published from year to year, upon personal observations made at its seventh meeting at Frankfort on the Maine, and upon intercourse and correspondence with its founders and leading members, must be both interesting and instructive to those who wish to become fully acquainted with the present state of theology and religion in the land of the Reformation.

The Kirchentag, or Church Diet, is a free association of pious professors, ministers and laymen of Protestant Germany, for the discussion of the religious and ecclesiastical questions of the day, and for the promotion of the interests of practical Christianity, embraced under the term *Inner Mission*. It meets annually in one of the leading cities of Germany, and is at present by far the largest and most respectable representation of evangelical Christianity in that country. Its doctrinal basis is the Bible, as explained by the ecumenical symbols and the evangelical confessions of the sixteenth century. It comprehends thus far four protestant denominations, the Lutheran, German Reformed, United Evangelical (a union of the former two), and the Moravian brotherhood, and holds intercourse at the same

time, with foreign evangelical Churches of Switzerland, France, Holland, England, Scotland and the United States, as far as they may choose to have themselves represented at its meetings, by official delegates on the above general Christian and positive protestant basis. The Church Diet is no formal or official union of these denominations, but a free confederation simply of many hundreds and thousands of their ministerial and lay members, although it looks undoubtedly to a stronger consolidation and coöperation of the original Churches of the Reformation against their common enemies from without and from within. All parts of Germany, especially Prussia and Würtemberg, the two leading evangelical States, send delegates to this body, and amongst them their very best men. But the rationalists and semi-rationalists, as well as those rigid Lutherans who refuse to hold any ecclesiastical communion with the Reformed and the Unionists, oppose it,—the former, because it is too orthodox and churchly for them; the latter, because it is not confessional and churchly enough, in their sectarian and exclusive sense of the term.

This assembly may be regarded as the practical fruit of that vigorous evangelical theology which, for the last twenty or thirty years, has risen in successful opposition against the most learned and dangerous forms of infidelity. The leaders of that theology, as Tholuck, Nitzsch, Müller, Hengstenberg, Dorner, Ullmann, Hoffmann, Ebrard, Lange, etc., are also amongst the principal founders and supporters of the Kirchentag. But the war, victoriously waged in the field of science and literature, must now be carried into the congregations and the practical life of the people. This work must be continued and completed by the rising generation of ministers trained by orthodox and pious professors, by the various Church-governments, and by free associations, of which the one under consideration is by far the largest and most influential.

The German Church Diet took its rise in the eventful year 1848, when all the thrones of Europe—save those of England, Belgium and Russia—trembled, and the very

foundations of civil and religious society seemed to give way, to make room, as was to be feared, to a reign of rationalism, atheism and Satanism. It appeared after the storms and earthquakes of revolution, as a rain-bow of peace and promise, on the horizon of Germany, and has outlived the commotions and mush-room creations, the bright hopes and dark fears of the memorable year of its birth.

It is true it was prepared long before by the pastoral conferences, which, since the days of a revival of religious life, assembled annually pious ministers and laymen in various parts of Germany; and also by the desire of many of the most distinguished divines, for a closer union and independent action of the national churches, held under the bondage of as many secular governments. But the imminent danger of an approaching dissolution of all order in that revolutionary year on the one side, and the labors of the Parliament of Frankfort for a political regeneration of Germany on the basis of unity and constitutional liberty, on the other, matured this desire and suggested the plan of a great meeting of all the true friends of Christianity, for mutual consultation on the present crisis of the country, and for forming a confederation of the Protestant Churches without destroying their distinctive features or interfering with their internal affairs; in fine, a sort of evangelical defensive and offensive alliance against the growing flood of infidelity and destruction.

These ideas sprang up simultaneously, as with the instinct of historical necessity, in different minds, amongst which Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, of Berlin, Dr. Dorner, then at Bonn, Dr. Ullman and Hundeshagen, of Heidelberg, Dr. Wackernagel, then at Wiesbaden, Bonnet, Heller and Haupt, in or near Frankfort, were the most active; and in several local pastoral conferences, especially one held at Bonn, on the 11th of May, 1848, one at Berlin, on the 21st of June, and two at the Sandhof, near Frankfort-on-the-Maine, on the 3rd of May and 21st of June, of the same year.

At the last mentioned meeting many perplexities arose, and doubts were started as to the success of such a serious undertaking, when a true Christian nobleman, von Bethmann Hollweg, who was subsequently elected President, of the Kirchentag, quieted their fears and re-animated the courage by pointing to the never failing source of all true strength. "It is the Lord, my friends," he said, "who builds the Church. Never forget this! Whether the assembly spoken of will accomplish what we desire and hope, no one can tell. Our resolution must be an act of faith. Like Peter, we shall have to walk on the sea; but we know also that the Lord does not suffer any one to perish who trusts in him. If we look merely upon ourselves and upon the scattered, distracted and weak members of the Church, we would have indeed to despair. But if we raise our eyes in faith to Him, who is the Lord, we may venture it."

Finally, the Sandhof Conference, after a session of nine hours, resolved to call a general free assembly of distinguished ministers and laymen of the Lutheran, German Reformed, and United confession, to be held at Wittenberg, over the grave of Luther, for the purpose of consulting on the true interests of the evangelical Church of Germany at the present crisis, on the basis of the evangelical faith. An invitation to this effect was issued, signed by nearly fifty names from all parts of Germany, well known for their high standing and excellent Christian character.

Accordingly the first Kirchentag, consisting of five hundred members, eminent divines and ministers, (Nitzsch, Müller, Heubner, Hengstenberg, Lehnerdt, Sack, Sartorius, Krummacher, Ball, Wichern, etc.) statesmen and lawyers, (von Bethmann Hollweg, Stahl, von Gerlach, Götze, etc.,) and plain Christians of all classes of society and parts of Germany, especially from Prussia, met as one brotherhood on the 21st of September, 1848, in that venerable town so well known as the cradle of the Reformation, in that very church to whose doors its signal, the ninety-five thesis, were once affixed; and on the tombstones of Luther and his friend, Melanthon, whose last desire and

prayer was for the unity of distracted Christendom. The old lecturer's chair of the former University was used as the rostrum, adorned with the portrait of Luther and with the significant motto of the Reformation, "*Verbo solo—fide sola*," (On the word alone—through faith alone). A fervent prayer of the late venerable Dr. Heubner, then President of the Theological Seminary at Wittenberg, and the singing of the celebrated war-and-victory hymn of the evangelical faith, written by Luther a year before the Diet of Augsburg, opened the proceedings. It faithfully expressed the feelings which pervaded this first meeting from beginning to end, much better than we could do it, and may, therefore, claim a place here in the admirable translation of Thomas Carlyle.

A safe stronghold our God is still,
A trusty shield and weapon;
He'll help us clear from all the ill
That hath us now o'ertaken.
The ancient Prince of hell
Hath risen with purpose fell,
Strong mail of craft and power
He weareth in this hour,
On earth is not his fellow.

With force of arms we nothing can,
Full soon were we down-ridden;
But for us fights the proper man,
Whom God himself hath bidden.
Ask ye, Who is this same?
CHRIST JESUS is his name,
The Lord Zebaoth's Son,
He, and no other one,
Shall conquer in the battle.

And were the world all Devils o'er
And watching to devour us,
We lay it not to heart so sore,
Not they can overpow'r us.
And let the Prince of ill
Look grim as e'er he will,
He harms us not a whit,
For why? His doom is writ—
A word shall quickly slay him.

God's word, for all their craft and force,
One moment will not linger,
But spite of hell, shall have its course,
'Tis written by His finger.
And though they take our life,
Goods, honor, children, wife,
Yet is their profit small;
These things shall vanish all,
The Church of God remaineth.

The significance of this hymn and its thrilling effect on that occasion, will be better understood, if we recollect all the revolutionary storms, wars and rumors of war, by which the first German Church Diet was surrounded. The frightful murder of Lichnowsky and Auerswald, had just been committed in the streets of Frankfort, and broken the remaining moral weight of the national assembly; the excesses of the revolutionists and destructionists had reached their height, and the future looked dark and gloomy as it never did before. With such prospects before them, the assembly at Wittenberg felt the whole weight of its awful responsibility; past differences were forgotten, and the disciples of one common Master pressed together into a close adhesion and holy brotherhood as they awaited the issue of their own yet dimly apprehended mission. Surrounded, as they were, by the sacred associations of the most remarkable period in modern Church history, they looked less to Luther's name, so long abused by dead Churches, than to Luther's God, and were animated by the very spirit of repentance and faith, of humble self-distrust and strong confidence in Christ which had animated the reformer, without suffering themselves to be distracted by the minor domestic controversies which disfigured the great work of the sixteenth century.

"It was," says a well informed and esteemed English friend, on this meeting, (Mr. Tho. H. Gladstone, in an article on the Kirchentag for the London Eclectic Review, April, 1855)—"it was indeed a new and interesting sight to behold the learned professor seated side by side with the simple-minded Christian, the dignified ecclesiastic taking

brotherly counsel with the humble lay-missionary or provincial school teacher. It was no less a strangely novel spectacle to see the strongest upholders of the respective orthodoxies, Lutheran and Reformed, forgetting doctrinal differences in the harmony of Christian purpose and Christian love; still more to see the object of their common jealousy, the "United" Church, as well as the Moravian and other dissenting communities, completing the picture of Christian union and brotherly love by being admitted to their association without question of their ecclesiastical polity or Church rule. All seemed to point to the dawning of a better day. And the tempest of persecution with which the Church was assailed, appeared already converted into a blessing, in the recognition of its essential unity, and the sense of the mutual dependence of its parts as members of that mystic body which is one in its living Head. This feeling of Christian fellowship was heightened to the sublime, and received an expression too deeply affecting ever to be erased from the memory of those who witnessed the scene, when, at a solemn moment on the last day, the earnest Krummacher, in one of his fervent addresses, pledged the members to stand true to one another in the day of persecution, which seemed about to burst upon them, and received in the prolonged affirmation of the whole assembly, the assurance that they would bear each other as members of one family in their hearts and prayers, would receive each other in the day of persecution to house and home till the storm should be overpast, and would account as their own sister and their own children the widows and orphans of the brother who should seal his testimony by the martyr's death."

The results to which this deeply solemn and interesting assembly arrived in three days session (from the 21st to the 23rd of Sept.,) were:

1. An invitation addressed to all the Protestant Churches of Germany, to hold on the 5th of November, 1848, the Sunday following the anniversary of the Reformation, a day of general prayer and humiliation, in order to be-

gin the work of the regeneration of Protestantism with the same spirit of true evangelical repentance, with which Luther commenced the Reformation, and which he so clearly expressed in the very first of his ninty-five theses.

2. The resolution to form a confederation of all those German Churches which stand on the ground of the reformatory confessions, not for the purpose of an amalgamation of these Churches and an extinction of their peculiarities and relative independence, but (*a*) for the representation and promotion of the essential unity and brotherly harmony of the evangelical Churches; (*b*) for united testimony against every thing unevangelical; (*c*) for mutual connsèl and aid; (*d*) for the decision of controversies; (*e*) for the furtherance of ecclesiastical and social reforms, especially Inner Missions; (*f*) for the protection and defense of the divine and human rights and liberties of the evangelical Church; (*g*) for forming and promoting the bond of union with all evangelical bodies out of Germany.

We see from all this, that the first Kirchentag was animated by a truly Christian spirit, placed itself wisely on the most solid basis, viz: the Gospel and the Reformation, evangelical repentance and evangelical faith, and proposed the noblest practical aims, which are well worthy of the united efforts of all Protestant Churches, in and out of Germany. It is evident, from its subsequent history, that the Lord has eminently blessed it for the good of his Church, although its original plan was considerably modified.

But before we follow its progress, we must say a few words on the relation of the Church Diet to a somewhat similar body, the Evangelical Alliance. This originated two years earlier, in August, 1846. It met first under the name of the "World's Convention," in the city of London, and consisted of nine hundred and twenty-one members; forty seven of which were from the Continent, eighty-seven from North America, the rest from England and Scotland. It convened again in London during the World's Fair, in 1851, a third time at Paris, in 1855, and is to meet at Berlin in 1857, at the special invitation of the King of Prussia.

Both the Kirchentag and the Alliance are no union of Churches, but a union of Christians, laymen as well as ministers, no legislative assembly, but simply a free association with moral power. Both afford an admirable occasion for Christians from all parts of the world, to hold fellowship and consult with each other about the common interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. Both tend thus to promote the true unity of the spirit, and to strengthen the interests of divided Protestantism. But they differ at the same time in the following points:

1.) The one is an essentially German, the other an essentially English and Scotch plant.

2.) The former has at least a *semi*-official character, and looked at first to a confederation of the Churches of the Reformation, which the latter never contemplated.

3.) The Kirchentag is an association simply of four denominations, Lutheran, German Reformed, United, and Moravian, although it received delegates also from foreign evangelical bodies, while the Alliance at its first meeting, was composed of representatives of about fifty denominations, amongst which the Scotch Presbyterians and the English Baptists seem to have had thus far the controlling influence.

4.) The Kirchentag never pretended to make a new creed, but took for its doctrinal basis the Bible and the original Confessions of evangelical Protestantism from the period of the Reformation; while the Alliance issued a new symbol in 1846, consisting of nine short articles, which express the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism, in such a manner as to exclude none of the leading Protestant sects except Unitarians, Universalists, and Quakers.

5.) The Kirchentag aims at an internal regeneration of Protestantism over against infidelity and vice within its own borders; while the Alliance had from the beginning a special reference to the foreign foes, and intended to erect a bulwark against the progress of Romanism and Puseyism.

6.) The Kirchentag is more extensive and practical in its operation, as it embraces all the important questions of the time and the whole field of Inner Mission; while the Alliance con-

fined itself so far mainly to the preparation of reports on the condition of the various Churches of Christendom, and to the promotion of religious liberty throughout the world, in opposition to the intolerant and persecuting spirit of Rome.

Since 1848, the Kirchentag met every year in September, with the exception of 1855, when it would have assembled at Halle, according to appointment, had it not been providentially prevented by the sudden appearance of the cholera in that city. The following is a list of the places of meeting, with the number of regular attendants, exclusive of the large crowd of spectators:

1. Wittenberg,	a. 1848,	members	about	500
2. Wittenberg,	1849,	"	"	700
3. Stuttgart,	1850,	"	"	2000
4. Elberfeld,	1851,	"	"	1800
5. Bremen.	1852,	"	"	1400
6. Berlin,	1853,	"	"	2000
7. Frankfort-on-the-Maine,	1854,	"	"	1800
8. Lübeck,	1856,	"	"	400

The next Kirchentag is to take place, on urgent invitation, at Stuttgart in 1857 or 1858, as the central committee may decide. The fluctuation in attendance is owing mostly to the local situation of the respective places. The small number of regular members at Lübeck, for instance, can easily be accounted for, partly by the extreme Northern location of this city, and partly by the raging of the cholera in it a short time before the meeting took place. We are confident, that should Providence not prevent the proposed assembly at Stuttgart, the large Stifts-Kirche will be crowded to overflowing, and the members will be as hospitably and affectionately entertained as in 1850.

As to the general nature of these meetings, they have far less of a business character, but are much more instructive and edifying than our Synodical assemblies. They are exclusively occupied with spiritual affairs and have nothing to do with money matters and cases of discipline, which unavoidably take up so much time in our self-governing

legislative Church-councils. The Kirchentag lasts four days, two of which are devoted to the congress of Inner Mission, of which we shall say more hereafter. Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg and Prof. Stahl, were annually re-elected Presidents, except at Frankfort, where Dr. Hoffman took the place of the absent Stahl. The business of the Kirchentag during the year is managed by the select central committee, the principal members of which, von Bethmann Hollweg, Stahl, Nitzsch, Hengstenberg, Snethlage, Hoffman, von Mühler, Jordan, reside in Berlin. They select the principal topics for discussion, and the speakers or reporters six months before the meeting, so as to give them full time for careful preparation. At the day and hour appointed these speakers read their papers on the subjects assigned them. Then follows a free discussion, and if necessary, a resolution for the adoption of measures proposed for the carrying out of the object in view. Owing to the great number of speakers, they must generally be limited to five or ten minutes. Some standing delegates, as Wichern, Krummacher, Sander, Stahl, Nitzsch, Kapff, speak often; others, who are equally well known, as Hundeshagen, Ullmann, Rothe, Bähr, prefer to sit silent. There is also room given, for short addresses, to the delegates from foreign Churches and religious societies. The official minutes contain the reports in full, and an abstract of the debates and proceedings. We need not add, that devotional exercises open and close each session, and that most, if not all, the pulpits of the place of meeting, are filled by distinguished orators every evening and during the intervening Sunday.

Besides the general sessions, a number of separate sessions are held early in the morning and late in the evening for particular objects connected with the Kirchentag, as the promotion of the better observance of Sunday, the reform of prisoners and prison-discipline, the establishment of houses of refuge, the cultivation of religious art, etc.

Finally, the Kirchentag has become the nucleus and occasion for the meetings of the Reformed Conference, of

Missionary, Bible, Tract, and other benevolent Societies, so that it is impossible for the most anxious and persevering visitor to attend more than one third of these gatherings. The excitement and commotion is so great, that it would be better to extend the Diet over one or two weeks, instead of condensing such a large amount of religious life and social enjoyment into the short space of four days.

It would lead us far beyond our proposed limits to give a detailed account of all the meetings of the Kirchentag from the first held at Wittenberg to that of Lübeck. We must confine ourselves to the principal topics of interest in the last three meetings.

The Church Diet of Berlin, in 1853, was the most important of all in a doctrinal point of view. For it solemnly and almost unanimously adopted the Augsburg Confession of 1530, as the fundamental symbol (*Grund-Symbol*) of the entire Evangelical Church of Germany in all its branches, with the distinct understanding, however, that the tenth article on the Lord's Supper, should not exclude the Reformed doctrine on the subject, and that this whole act should not interfere at all with the peculiar position of those Reformed Churches which never adopted the Augsburg Confession. The measure was supported by Sartorius and Stahl, in the name of the Lutheran, by Krummacher, in the name of the Reformed, and by Nitzsch, in the name of the United Church. After a very interesting discussion, which occupied the whole of the 20th of September, the two thousand members who filled the garrison church of the Prussian capital, signified, almost with one heart and one mouth, their assent to the most venerable and most catholic Confession of Geaman Protestantism, and then burst out in the German Te Deum, "*Nun danket alle Gott.*" The joyful news of the decision was carried with the greatest haste to the King, who received it with every expression of delight, and was hailed with enthusiasm by the pious Protestants throughout Germany, while the Roman Catholics were disagreeably surprised by this unexpected testimony of doctrinal unity and strength among their opponents.

This act of confession, coming from such a vast assembly, including the most respected and influential men from all parts of Germany, was no doubt a powerful protest against Romanism, and still more against Rationalism, and marks an epoch in the history of German Protestantism.

And yet while we concede the great importance of this fact for Germany and for Lutheranism, we are not in the least surprised that some Reformed members present, as the late Dr. Henry, the author of the life of Calvin, Prof. Heppe, of Marburg, and Dr. Merle d'Aubigne, of the city of Calvin, were not altogether satisfied, and would have greatly preferred the resolution, if, instead of simply guarding the Reformed conscience in reference to the interpretation of the Augustana, it would have included a formal recognition of the Heidelberg Catechism, or the Helvetic Confession, or some other Reformed symbol. Dr. Merle, the author of the popular history of the Reformation, abstained from voting, and in an interesting speech, after bestowing due praise upon the Augsburg Confession, made some significant remarks from the stand-point of general Protestant Christianity against German and Lutheran sectionalism. "I have no objection," he said, "to the Augustana, nor to the Lutheran Church, which I honor and love like a child, having learned much from Luther and his associates. But I fear an excess in the Lutheran spirit, and can, therefore, wish it nothing better than an intimate confederation—I do not say union which has a peculiar technical sense—with the believing, living and more free Reformed Church. I fear first the increase of a traditional, ceremonial, hierarchical element in Lutheranism, which may all be found in much greater perfection in the Church of Rome; and secondly, an isolation from, and condemnation of other children of God who live of the same Word of God. Luther had two hands, the one with which he turned off Zwingli at Marburg, that was his left hand; and the other with which he signed the Wittenberg Concordia, that was his right hand. And finally, I fear that Lutheranism may withdraw too much from practical life. Its

passivity must be melted with the activity of the Reformed Christians. Three great colossi of mankind are now shaken to the very base, Mohammedanism, India and China; and in every case Reformed Christianity has a hand. The Reformed element has grown mightily since the Reformation. A mustard seed then, it is now a large tree, spreading its branches over the face of the globe. The modern progress of Christianity in Great Britain and North America is especially astounding. The sceptre of the future development of humanity lies in the hands of the Reformed Confession. Now, my dear Lutheran brethren, let us rather unite under the banner of our common Head for the conversion of the world, with the inscription: *Hoc signo vinces!* As far as I am concerned, I would place the Gallicana, or the Helvetica, or the Heidelbergensis, on a par with the Augustana. But whatever you may do, let us who are redeemed by the blood of atonement, members of all confessions to the ends of the earth, be one in the Father, in the Son and in the Holy Ghost."

The seventh Church Diet, held at Frankfort-on-the.Maine, in 1854, September 22nd to 27th, derived special importance from the variety and fulness of its reports, as well as from the place of meeting in the old imperial city, in whose immediate neighborhood (the Sandhof) the Kirchentag itself was born six years before, and in the same church of St. Paul, where, in 1848 and 1849, the famous Parliament discussed, with the assembled learning of German professors and patriots, the political regeneration and reorganization of Germany on the basis of liberty and unity, and where, in August, 1850, the representatives from Europe and America held the third General Peace Congress. This building was thus within a few short years the witness of angry debate and of heavenly worship, of political clamor and the eloquence of peace and good will to the Church and the world. Of the sixteen hundred and sixteen published names of regular members, eleven hundred and twenty were theologians and ministers, and four hundred and ninety six laymen, of all ranks of society, and from all parts of

Germany and foreign countries. A dense crowd of spectators of ladies and gentlemen filled the galleries at every session The evening sermons which were preached in the different churches of the city by Krummacher, Tholuck, Hoffmann, Kapff, Bahrdt, Mallet, Ebrard, Sander, Grandpierre, and other distinguished pulpit orators, were so largely attended, that hundreds had to return home for want of room. This fact may show what a salutary influence this assembly may exert upon the place of its meeting, as well as upon the hundreds and thousands of visitors from abroad.

The first paper read before the Frankfort Church Diet, after the introductory services and the annual report of the President, von Bethmann Hollweg, was a most able, pointed and stirring essay of about two hours length, on the right use of the Bible in the church, the school and the family, by the Rev. Dr. W. Hoffmann, now court preacher and general superintendent of Berlin. The speaker declared the whole Bible, from beginning to end, (exclusive of the Apocrypha) to be the Word of God in human form and speech, an organic whole, unfolding the divine plan of redemption, the infallible rule of faith and practice, and pointed out the ways and means by which a universal Bible-custom (*Bibel-sitte*) and a universal Bible-life (*Bibel-leben*) should be introduced into all the churches, schools, and families of Germany. He advised the ministers to study the whole Bible, not only from commentaries, but on the old principle of the self-interpretation of Scriptures, and on their knees, so as to be filled with the Holy Ghost and with the majesty and power of the Word of the living God. Then their sermons will be truly scriptural, i. e., not merely quote passages from the Bible, but unfold its great ideas and realities of the divine plan of redemption, bring near the powers of the world to come, and make the Word of God alive in the hearts of the hearers. Concerning the third point he said, Every Christian household should become an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, a temple of the living God. There never yet was a Bible-life, in the full sense of the

term, in the families of the Church, except by way of exception. Before the invention of the art of printing, it was impossible; the Reformation made an attempt to introduce it, but could not carry it through. But now, when a copy of the Bible is in almost every family, it can and ought to be fully realized, that it may exert its sanctifying influence over all branches and ranks of society, and make the German nation emphatically the people of God in the new dispensation. Thus the Church would cease to be merely a Church of theologians and preachers, and become truly a Church of the people. The meetings of the Church Diet would become free feasts of thanksgiving and praise to the great Author of the book of books. Let us all wish and pray that He may kindle this Bible-life amongst us and make it shine in all its pentecostal glory.—This address was exceedingly well received, and ordered to be extensively circulated, so as to reach, if possible, every minister, school-master and father of a family.

The second report by Dr. Julius Müller, of Halle, assisted by Advocate Thesmar of Cologne, related to the law of divorce, a subject of great practical importance for Germany, and wound up with the resolutions which were unanimously adopted: 1.) That the civil governments of Protestant Germany be respectfully requested to reform the matrimonial legislation, and to abolish all causes of divorce not sanctioned by the word of God. 2.) That the Protestant clergy decline to marry such persons as had been divorced on unscriptural grounds. This subject was subsequently agitated in the Prussian Chambers, and the result was, that at last, some of the fourteen, say fourteen reasons of divorce which the Prussian *Landrecht* recognizes since Frederick II, were abolished. But there is great room for additional improvement in this direction all over Germany.

Then followed an interesting and animated discussion on infant baptism, introduced by an original essay of Dr. Steinmeyer, of Bonn, without leading, however, to any definite results.

Dr. Wichern, of the Rough House, near Hamburg, open-

ed the Congress for Inner Mission on the third day, in his usual fervent and heart-stirring manner, with a lengthy, instructive and encouraging report on the great theme of his life. He discoursed, out of the fullness of his experience, and enthusiasm, on the training of laborers for Inner Mission; on the propriety of forming evangelical brotherhoods and sisterhoods, without the Romish addition of vows, celibacy and meritorious works; on new institutions for destitute children; on the recent labors for promoting family worship, the sanctification of Sunday, for providing every married couple with a copy of the Bible; on the spiritual care of the poor, the orphans, sailors, emigrants, mechanics, and destitute classes of society; on prison discipline, the temperance movement; in fact on nearly every topic of moral reform and Christian charity, which now arrests the attention of serious and benevolent men in Germany.

The ecclesiastical care of the poor, next occupied the attention, on the basis of a paper presented by superintendent Lengerich of Pomerania.

Then came, on the fourth day of the session, a most valuable and popularly written report of Prelate Dr. Kapff, of Stuttgart, against gambling houses and lotteries. It is a notorious fact, that two or three little German governments disgrace themselves by tolerating, for filthy lucre's sake, faro-banks in fashionable watering places, especially Baden-Baden, and Homburg, to the temporal and moral ruin of hundreds of families. One of the best acts of the unfortunate German Parliament of Frankfort was the abolition of these miserable establishments in January 8th, 1849. But with the triumph of political re-action, they were restored, and even increased in number. The Electorate of Hesse sanctioned in 1853, or 1854, four new ones (Neuheim, Hofgeismar, Wilhelmsbad and Neundorf); and yet this government, then under the control of the unpopular Hassenpflug, (called by his enemies *Hessenfluch*, also *Hass und Fluch*,) wanted to be pre-eminently Christian, abusing the holy name of order and of Christianity for the promotion of political tyranny and bigotted churchism!

It was, therefore, highly proper, that the assembled piety of Germany should give free utterance to the indignation of all good men against this abomination, and this, too, at Frankfort, which lies in the immediate neighborhood of these gambling-hells. The Church Diet unanimously, and without any discussion, resolved upon a petition to the respective governments for the suppression of all games of hazzard, faro-banks and lotteries, within the limits of the German confederation. The petition was favorably acted upon by the *Bundestag* of Frankfort, but the miserable little governments, basing themselves upon their sovereignty, refused, thus far, to abolish those nurseries of vice and misery. Prussia alone promptly responded to the appeal of the Kirchentag, and at once suppressed the gambling establishments at Aix-la-Chappelle.

The last session of the Frankfort meeting was devoted to the consideration of the relation of the evangelical Churches of Germany to the German Churches of America, and the spiritual care of the German emigrants. The writer of this article, then on a visit in Europe, had been requested to prepare the report on this subject; and spoke of the general significance of America for the future development of Christianity and civilization; of the particular mission of the German evangelical Churches in the United States; and finally on the duty of the mother Church in Europe toward her daughter in America, and especially toward the thousands and hundreds of thousands of emigrants who annually flock to our shores, to become either a disgrace, or an honor to their native country, and a curse, or a blessing to their adopted home, according to the moral and religious character they bring with them from Germany. In the discussion which followed, and in which Kapff, Krummacher, Sander, Kaiser, Conze, Grandpierre, of Paris, Cappadose, of the Hague, von Bethmann Hollweg, and others, took part, the kindest Christian interest was expressed in the state and progress of Christianity in the new world, and a new impulse given to the societies and efforts which have for their object to provide for the spirit-

ual destitution of the German emigrants, and to make them good citizens and pious Christians. The meeting unanimously resolved to enter into fraternal correspondence, and as far as possible into an exchange of delegates with the German and Anglo-German Churches of America, and concluded with the solemn singing of Zinzendorf's beautiful hymn on the union of all believers, alluded to at the close of the preceding report, ("Lass uns so vereinigt werden, Wie Du mit dem Vater bist," etc.)

The resolution was subsequently carried out. The officers of the Church Diet sent a truly Christian and fraternal address written by the president, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, to all the American Churches of German descent and evangelical profession, which are also represented in the Church Diet, namely, the Lutheran, German Reformed, Evangelical United, and Moravian. The letter was responded to in the same spirit. The German Reformed Church, at its Synodical meeting held at Chambersburg in 1855, sent not only a written reply, but also three delegates, two clergymen, (Rev. Dr. Schneck and Rev. B. Bausman) and a lay-elder (Mr. Griffith) to the Church Diet at Lübeck. This fact is now recorded in history as a delightful testimony of the communion of faith and love which in spite of the ocean, still binds together the Churches of the German and Swiss Reformation and their children and brethren in the new world, whither the star of Christ's kingdom is taking its way. Besides there are important practical interests which strongly recommend such a correspondence. For the German Churches, on both sides of the Atlantic, ought certainly to cöoperate in bringing the large and increasing tide of German emigration to America under Gospel-influences, and giving it such a direction and shape as to make it an honor to their old, and a blessing to their new home. It is to be desired, that the General Synod of the Lutheran Church of the United States, at its next meeting, should imitate the example of the German Reformed Church, and have itself represented by a personal delegation at the next Kirchentag of Stuttgart, where it may confidently expect a most warm-hearted Christian welcome.

The eighth Church Diet, having failed to meet at Halle in 1855, on account of the sudden outbreak of a violent epidemic, took place in the free city of Lübeck, in the extreme North of Germany, in September, 1856. For local and other reasons, it was apprehended by many, that this meeting would prove a failure, especially since it was known, that the cholera had raged there during the summer. But this fear was not realized. The attendance, it is true, was much smaller than at any previous meeting, especially from the central, western, and southern regions of Germany. Still it was a respectable and imposing assembly of about four hundred clergymen and pious laymen. Several foreign countries and Churches also, as the Free Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, the Reformed Churches of Holland and France, besides various benevolent societies were worthily represented. The three delegates of the German Reformed Church of America were all on the spot, and express themselves in their official and private reports highly delighted with all the proceedings, as well as with their personal reception. Concord and harmony reigned from beginning to end. The distracting Church question, which agitates at present the Prussian establishment to its very centre, and on which even the presiding officers of the Kirchentag are by no means entirely agreed, was fortunately not permitted to disturb the truly Christian tone and feeling, or to overshadow the essential agreement in all the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. The subjects, although not of such absorbing interest, as on former occasions, were judiciously selected and ably discussed.

The first topic related to the revival of evangelical Church-discipline, and was opened by a veteran divine, Dr. Sack, formerly professor at Bonn, now Consistorial-rath at Magdeburg, a son of the Reformed court-preacher in Berlin, who was one of the chief promoters of the Union in Prussia in 1817.

Discipline, we are sorry to say, has almost entirely ceased in Germany, and it is difficult to see how it ever can be

properly exercised, as long as the Church remains so intimately interwoven with the State, and as long as the sick and dead members so far outnumber the living Christians. The State-Church system drills every body mechanically into the Church, but permits them afterwards to believe and profess and act as they please. The State cares only for the outward appearance and the legal aspect of the case, but cannot produce an inward change, and the Church, which is the proper moral and religious agent, is constantly cramped in its free action by the secular government, and not unfrequently paralized by the bad example of the head of the State, who is at the same time the *summus episcopus* of the Church. In Würtemberg, for instance, excommunication for adultery sake, would have to commence with the King, who is generally known to be habitually addicted to that grievous sin.

On the second day, Dr. Schmieder, the successor of the venerable Dr. Heubner, and head of the Theological Seminary of Wittenberg, read a lengthy address on the call to the ministry. Our German brethren complain both of the want of efficient, and an excess of indifferent ministers. This evil is likewise to be attributed, in part, at least, to the close union of Church and State. Many study for the sacred office merely from utilitarian and mercenary motives, to the injury of the Church and themselves, while many, who have the proper spirit, refuse to obey the internal call, to the loss of religion. The clergy proceed almost exclusively from the middle and lower classes. Count Zinzendorf still remains almost a solitary example of a missionary nobleman. The cause of this sad fact was found in the prevalence of materialism among the higher classes, the love of gain, and an aversion to the solemn duties of the ministry. The excellent pastor Meyer, of Paris, remarked, that there were at present twenty-three vacant parishes in the Reformed Church of France; that they had the son of a wealthy banker who served as a faithful village-pastor; and that they had many excellent ministers, who were the children of street-sweepers. "If they only come," he said,

"we care not whether they come from above or below. Yes, let them come from *above*, *far above*, from the Lord and head of the Church."

The third topic of discussion was the question, How shall the Church oppose the influence of materialism in modern natural science upon the masses? Dr. Fabri, the author of the "*Briefe gegen den Materialismus*," 1856, one of the very best refutations of this latest form of infidelity, had been very properly selected for the leading report, and seems to have done full justice to his theme.

It is a singular fact, that, after a temporary stagnation of philosophical speculation in Germany, a crude materialism should suddenly spring up, proclaiming in the name of the natural sciences, the irreconcilable contradiction between geology and astronomy with the Bible, and flatly denying the very existence of an immortal spirit. This seems to be the opposite extreme to the transcendental idealism which formerly prevailed, and yet there is a connecting link between the two in such books as Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christenthums*. But to the credit of Germany, it must be said, that quite a number of works, both scientific and popular, have already appeared against this pseudo-philosophy of a Vogt, Moleschot, Burmeister, Büchner and other infidel naturalists of the day.

Fabri takes the ground, that materialism is no philosophy at all; that it must logically end in nihilism; that it must be met, not with governmental coercion, but with the weapons of reason; that theology and natural science do not necessarily contradict each other, but can be harmonized without torturing any of their principles or data. Dr. Stahl, in the discussion, denied that materialism was a product of Protestantism, as it existed under the papacy long before the reformation. Much as he respected and admired the investigations of science in the sphere of nature, he regarded it as transcending its reasonable limits, when it presumed to define and explain the domain of spiritual and eternal truth. It can discover planets, but it cannot tell us whether they are inhabited. It can invent

the telegraph, but it cannot explain the essence of electricity, much less the hidden mysteries of God.

The last days, as usual, were devoted to the discussion of the various benevolent operations of the Congress for Inner Mission. Here the most important and interesting part was an address of Dr. Wichern, nearly three hours in length, on the sphere of woman in the evangelical Church, where the distinguished Christian philanthropist gave a graphic picture of the present position, trials, claims and duties of woman.

As already remarked, the next meeting of the Kirchentag is to be held in Stuttgart, either in 1857 or 1858, as the central committee on further deliberation may deem best.

We think it likely, that the meeting will be put off till 1858, for in the autumn of 1857 the Evangelical Alliance will assemble for the first time on German ground and attract no doubt a great deal of attention. Some of the best friends of the Church Diet believe that it will sooner or later be brought to a close either by the course of events which may supersede it, or by the growing confessional strife and doctrinal exclusiveness which is averse to union and confederation of different confessions. Some of its leading members and founders, as Stahl and Hengstenberg, become more high Church Lutherans every year, and are alienated in the same proportion from their brethren who occupy United or Reformed ground. In 1855, it was apprehended also, that the burning political difference on the Russian and Turkish question which divided the two presidents, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg and Prof. Stahl in the Prussian Chambers, might seriously overcloud or break up the proposed meeting at Halle, which, however, was providentially prevented. The Eastern war is now concluded and with it the bitter controversy to which it gave rise. But the general political difference between the monarchical absolutism of the high Church Lutherans, and the constitutional liberalism of the Reformed and the moderate Unionists still exists, and the controversy about ecclesiastical union or disunion rages more fiercely than ever in Northern Germany, especially in Prussia.

But no one can tell what may take place in the short space of one year. Events may happen in Germany, which will show the necessity of a closer union amongst evangelical Christians even more strongly, than the revolutionary storms of 1848, which gave rise to the Church Diet. Besides, it has a host of friends, who will do all they can to keep it up. In Würtemberg especially, which has stood aloof so far from the confessional war, the Church Diet is universally popular among the pious of the laity, as well as of the clergy, and the proposed meeting at Stuttgart, though it should be the last, will be one of the most enthusiastic, a worthy end of a worthy beginning.

But whatever be the final fate of this assembly, it has already a glorious history of nine years, and forms one of the most interesting and encouraging chapters in the annals of Protestantism.

This leads us to sum up, in conclusion, the benefits and results of the Church Diet.

As regards the official and authoritative confederation of all the Protestant State-Churches of Germany, which the Diet proposed at its first meeting in Wittenberg, as a safegard against the fearful dangers and evils of that particular time, we must say, that this object has not been attained, and was almost entirely lost sight of in its subsequent meetings. The sudden changes in the political condition of Germany, the defeat of the revolutionists and anarchists, and the restoration of the old order of things, are the immediate causes of this failure. But the idea of one evangelical Church in Germany still lives, and may perhaps be realized better in the end on the ruins, than on the basis of the existing rotten establishments. On the other hand, it may be questioned, whether such an official confederation of Churches is at all desirable, and whether the mission of Protestantism, for the present at least, lies not rather in the direction of a free, voluntary association of Christians in their individual capacity. At all events, the past and present power of the Church Diet rests on the principle of a free association and communion, while by passing over into

an official body, it would have become inevitably connected with all the evils of State-Churchism.

In some sense, however, the desired confederation may be said to exist in a body distinct from the Kirchentag, but called into existence by its influence. We mean the Conference of Eisenach, which consists of a small number of official delegates from the various Church governments of Protestant Germany, and meets since 1852, annually or bi-annually, as circumstances may require, at Eisenach, for consultation on subjects and measures of common interest to all. But its deliberations are private and subject to the final sanction or rejection of the respective authorities. The most important work of this Conference, so far, is the preparation and publication of one hundred and fifty standard hyms, with their melodies, for public worship, which should form the nucleus of the hymn-books of the different Churches and thus promote unity in the place of the endless confusion produced by the arbitrary alterations of hymns and chorals.

In the mean time the Church Diet has accomplished, in a free form and altogether independent of State-control, much more than an official State-Church-confederation, in all probability, would have done under similar circumstances. Deprived of legislative authority and even pecuniary means, the Kirchentag had all the moral power of faith and truth speaking in love, of remonstrance with the authorities and of appeal to the people at large. It exerted a most salutary influence upon the cities and neighborhoods in which it met. It travelled like a living evangelist to the centres of leading influence in Germany. It gave a powerful impulse to the course of evangelical piety and active Christianity all over the land. It discussed topics and started measures of the greatest theoretical and practical moment. Several of these were already mentioned above. To them must be added, from previous meetings, the discussions on Christian education, the relation of Church and State, the political duties of ministers, the sanctification of Sunday, the reform of worship, the introduction of a com-

mon hymn-book for all Germany, the relation of voluntary societies to the ministerial office, the Romish question, the treatment of dissenters, the spiritual care of the poor, the emigrants, the prisoners, the travelling journeymen, etc. It interceded in behalf of the persecuted Madiai at Florence, in connection with English and French Protestants, and protested against several crying abuses in certain countries of Germany. It has become a nucleus for a large number of benevolent and reformatory societies which cluster around it. It has promoted the cause of Christian union, not only at home, but also abroad, by receiving delegates from, and forming connections with the Protestant Churches of France, Holland, Belgium, Scotland, Geneva, the Canton de Vaud, the British Evangelical Alliance, the American Tract Society, and the German Churches of America.

But one work must be mentioned with special praise, which may be called the adopted child of the Kirchentag, and has been most fruitful and blessed in immediate results. We mean the cause of "Inner Mission," to which it devotes two days, or fully one half of the time of its annual meetings. This is undoubtedly one of the most important movements of the age, and is alone sufficient to immortalize that assembly in the history of practical Christianity and Christian philanthropy. The term, Inner Mission, comprehends much more than what we mean by Home Missions, or Domestic Missions. It aims at a relief of all kinds of spiritual and temporal misery by works of faith and charity, at a revival of nominal Christendom, and a general reform of society on the basis of the Gospel and the creed of the Reformation. It is Christian philanthropy and charity applied to the various deep-rooted evils of society, as they were brought to light so fearfully in Germany by the revolutionary outbreaks of 1848. It comprises the care of the poor, the sick, the captive and prisoner, the laboring classes, the travelling journeymen, the emigrants, the temperance movement, the efforts for the pro-

motion of a better observance of the Lord's day, and similar reforms, so greatly needed in the Churches of Europe.

Dr. Wichern is the chief author and moving spirit of this great work in its modern German form. For as to its essence, of course, it is as old as Christian charity itself. It was with considerable difficulty, and only after a most eloquent speech, that he succeeded in urging it upon the serious attention of the Church Diet at its first meeting in 1848, and in making it one of its regular and principal objects. The movement spread with wonderful rapidity. There is now hardly a city in Protestant Germany or Switzerland, where there is not a "Society for Inner Mission," or an "Evangelical Association" for the promotion of the various works of Christian benevolence. "That which, seven years ago"—says an English philanthropist—"was a germ of thought lodged in the mind of one man, is now a principle actuating human minds, instigating Christian endeavors, and giving birth to benevolent enterprise in a hundred forms throughout the fatherland, and wherever, in Europe, in America, or in Australasia, Germany may find a home." Dr. Wichern presents a general survey of the progress of the work at every meeting of the Kirchentag, and urges to renewed efforts with ever fresh vigor and with an earnestness and enthusiasm that is not from this earth.

We cannot better conclude this article, than by quoting the last words of Wichern's report at the Church Diet of Frankfort. "The Inner Mission," says this great and good man, "is the work of John, not the Baptist, but the apostle who leaned on the bosom of the Lord. According to the word of this apostle, we should all love each other as brethren, who confess the only saving name of Christ. But in this brotherly love we should also burn, like John, in the pursuit of the apostate youth, for the recovery of those who are wandering on the abyss of destruction. The love of God shed abroad in our hearts, uniting the disciples into one body, going forth like a burning light into the world, and converting the dreary deserts round about us into a paradise of God—such Johannean love is the hope

and the strength of Inner Mission. May God bless this work, in midst of envy and strife, for the establishment of peace."

Mercersburg, Pa. P. S.

ART. II.—THE ANATOMY OF SENTIMENTALISM.

SENTIMENTALISM and the SENTIMENTALIST—Etymologically considered, the words seem fair enough, and plain enough; their descent from *sentio*, to *feel*, is quite respectable; in their genealogy they are allied to thought (*sentiment*) on the one side, and may claim a still nearer kindred with *taste*, *aesthetics*, *αισθησις*, on the other. And yet we all somehow *feel*, in using them, that they are bad words, and denote a bad thing. We *feel* right in this respect. The unconscious or instinctive logic, as we may call it, is justified by a careful examination of the phrase and the idea. In accounting for this loss of caste, the first thought is, that the term denotes *false* feeling. But how, or on what grounds? How can feeling be false? How do we distinguish false feeling from the true? Feeling is feeling, one may say; it is a pleasurable or painful motion in our physical or spiritual sensorium, or in both combined; and in this there can be only a difference of intensity. Thus viewed, one feeling is as real as another. Even the pleasurableness and painfulness, although it has never been physiologically analysed since Plato made the attempt, must fall somewhere in a similar category. If not a matter of strict quantity, it is some how, one of ratio and relation. And how can there be any thing false in this? As a man think-

eth so is he. In one sense he cannot think what is false; in a much stronger and clearer sense may it be maintained, perhaps, that he cannot *feel* what is false. To this we answer: the untruthfulness is not in the feeling *per se;* nor may it be in the cause, or spiritual or physical state out of which it arises. The proposition, however, becomes intelligible when it is predicated of the end or aim. Pure feeling, as well as pure reason, is in itself unselfish. Now the feeling of which we treat, becomes false by going out of its own pure bound into another sphere where there is a new and selfish aim. This may not stand out objectively, as matter of consciousness, at least in the beginning of its indulgence, but it will, at length, become as distinct a purpose as ever the miser proposed to himself in the hoarding of his gold, or the ambitious man in the pursuit of fame and power. But to present the truth in a manner less abstract, we may say, that there is a false feeling of pity, compassion, or benevolence, (if this latter name may be at all allowed in such connection) as well as a false appetite for food and drink. Now a false appetite is one that is created and indulged for the sake of the appetite. There are such epicures; there are men who do this with but little direct consciousness of their governing aim; there are other men who do it deliberately and with set calculation. Thus also, sentimentalism is a feeling for the sake of the feeling; it is a feeling of one's feelings—a *feeling to feel.* In other words, the feeling is its own aim, rather than any good of the external object, real or fictitious, which is mainly used as the instrument of its outward birth. It rests in itself as an *end.* instead of being employed, as reason and religion would both employ it, as a *means* to a moral state higher than itself,—as the nurse and aliment of a higher virtue.

Sentimentalism, then, is a feeling to feel. It is not so with benevolence, true benevolence, or charity, or patriotism. These are self-forgetful, so far as they are benevolence or charity, whilst their counterfeit is the most intensely selfish of all spiritual exercises. Benevolence and charity are feelings, but feeling is not their aim. It is

feeling that has an end beyond itself, and is, therefore, not only pure, but vigorous, healthy, and satisfying, just in proportion to its self-forgetfulness. The other state of soul needs an outward object, it is true, but simply as exciting cause. Thus, too, instead of being an *end*, this outward object is unnaturally converted, or rather introverted into a *medium* of sentimental enjoyment, and begins to be actually and consciously desired for that purpose. Misery is desired, misery is sought, misery is ideally created, for the flow of luscious emotion which it excites. Hence, sentimentalism, strictly, is as selfish as the love of ice cream, or the love of oysters, or the appetite for brandy. It rests and riots in the luxury of its own feelings. It seeks their gratification as selfishly, as intensely, as ever the epicure longed for his luscious dish, or the still lower sensualist for the grossest animal pleasure. It claims, at first, a higher rank than these, and seems actually entitled to such higher rank, from its presenting the appearance of a higher parentage; but its bastard birth sinks it to the same essential level, whilst its actual association with these lower things, (which is ever the case when the real battle of truth and principle has to be fought) leaves no doubt of its true character as "earthly, sensual, devilish," even when it wraps itself in the robe of an angel of light. History has more than once shown that a giant cruelty may be the most natural successor of an age remarkable for such a false and epicurian sentimentalism, even as a Robespierre and a Danton may be the natural successors and antitypes of a Jean Jaques Rosseau.

Let us endeavor to make the view still clearer by some familiar illustration. The same scene, we will suppose, presents itself to the worldly man of business, as he is styled, to the truly benevolent man or woman, and to the sketching, picture-drawing, idealising, sentimentalist. It is the little ragged girl that sweeps the crossing. The first manifests not even a sign of recognition. The second bestows his penny and passes on with his mind full of the thought,—how shall the children of this wretched class be

rescued from so degraded and so dangerous a condition. His compassion, when it has performed its true, though lower office, in stirring up the reason to the contemplation of such a problem, forgets itself in the higher object. The *feeling* has been legitimately employed as a *means*, instead of an *end*. It is a pure and gentle, not an intense or consuming flame. He may appear cold; the heart may seem to be absorbed in the head, but the heart is all the sounder for having been content with its prompting duty, and we may even say, too, although it may appear a contradiction and a paradox, has all the more of hearty feeling for not having made that feeling its own selfish end. We have described the two first. The third character takes a different road from both. He or she goes home and writes a tale,—it may be for a Literary Magazine, a Journal of Reform, or a Sunday newspaper. He may have spoken words of compassion; he may have had feelings of compassion; he may have bestowed pecuniary relief; but the sketch, the picture, the emotion, rightly born perhaps, but unnaturally introverted and cherished at the time that it might be the more vividly remembered and recorded afterwards,—these occupy the soul, not as *means*, not as *prompters*, but as the very luxuries of feeling, either actual or fancied, which the scene calls out, and for which, though perhaps unconsciously, it was mainly sought.

He or she goes home, we say, and writes a tale entitled, "The Little Girl who Sweeps the Crossing," or it may be "The Flower Girl in the Ferry Boat," so little heeded by the cold and calculating throng of surrounding passengers; or it may be any other scene perhaps, that will furnish to the male or female sketcher that compound luxury which is made up of the greatest flow of this subjective self-feeding emotion, combined with the greatest amount of railing at the hard-hearted world, or hard hearted formalistic Church that presents itself in such direct contrast with the liquid charity of our melting sentimentalist.

In such a sketch, from such a mind and hand, the hardened man of business would doubtless form one of the

most prominent objects. How strikingly does his uncaring selfishness and worldliness stand opposed to the picture-maker's own feeling heart! How clear, and soft, and glowing, does the latter appear, when viewed against such a background. The man of cold benevolence also comes in for a conspicuous, but more unfavorable place in the moral landscape. He gives an admirable occasion for the usual canting against the heartlessness of political economy, the innate vice of our social institutions, and above all, the deadness and worldliness of the Church. The sketcher is no hypocrite, in the gross sense of the term. He really feels all this. This tenderness of emotion, this intensity of indignation against worldliness and pharisaism, they are all his own, his own nourished creations, children of his own begetting; he is most intensely sincere; but how little does he really know of his own heart! One who reads the spirits aright, might, perhaps, see in the painter himself one of the most odious features that appears in the whole field of view, something that dresses itself in robes of beauty, and yet, to the eye that will see nothing but truth, a more deformed object than the unfeeling wordliness or ecclesiastical deadness of spirit. For certainly the want of all feeling is a better state of soul, a more desirable state of soul for a rational being, than that which would make the woes of humanity the sources of its luxurious emotion, or the unnatural aliment with which it feeds its own sentiment of self-complacency, as compared with the hardness which it loves to fancy as existing in others.

True benevolence, we have said, *is ever self-forgetful.* It thinks not of its own emotion, and the emotion is ever the more sound, and even the more healthfully vigorous, on that very account. Sentimentalism, by making the feeling the end, actually impairs it,—certainly in quality, if not in quantity. It makes it, too, a source of strange pain by converting it into that morbid appetite which ever demands gratification, when it is almost certain to yield only an unceasing irritability, instead of the rest of serene and substantial happiness. It is just as the sensualist ever destroys his

enjoyment, and must destroy his enjoyment, by thinking upon it, and making it an *end*, whilst he who eats as a *means* to health, or even to relieve hunger, has a relish in his food of which the epicure can have no experience. Such pleasure is as suicidal as it is irrational. "He that would lose his life shall find it; he that would find his life shall lose it." It is true of the moral affections, as well as of the great matter of human salvation.

Again—true benevolence is ever humble and humbling. Some might deny the latter effect; but nothing can be more true in itself, nor more in accordance with the view the Scriptures give us of this virtue in its human relations. Alms-giving, in the Bible, is something more than a duty. It is presented to us as a means of grace. The Romish Church, by making it a merit, has changed its character and allied it, in its effect, to the spurious passion of which we are treating; yet, still no one can carefully read the New Testament without recognizing the idea. Alms-giving is not simply a duty; it is for the souls' health, the souls' good. It is a mother of virtue, a nurse of all Christian affections; and this office it performs by keeping the heart lowly as well as tender. Action, instead of feeling, being the aim of true charity, the obligation, the duty, always seems beyond the performance be it ever so hearty; and hence the humbling conviction of unworthiness, of insufficiency, rather than that self-inflation which ever accompanies the indulgence of the epicurean sentimentalism. A mere hint here is sufficient for the reader who has had any experience of what it is to visit the haunts of wretchedness and vice, as a Gospel duty, and with that only motive which the Gospel justifies. If there has been in his soul one spark of true benevolence, he has left them humbled in his own eyes, rather than exalted. There has been a joy, but there has been a pain too, which will prevent that joy taking the false guise, and false tendency, of the worldly and selfish passion. He will have no heart to take notes for sentimental tales; and we may well doubt, whether such productions even, in fact, do come from such a source. He

has had a feeling, a feeling not sought but forced upon him, of the *common* misery, of the common depravity, of the common condemnation, and this catholic view allows of no individual self-elation, while it shuts out all railing against institutions, or the Church, or even the world as something which is an outward oppression, rather than an ex-pression of our fallen human nature. Along with this there must ever come a sense of the inadequacy of his own charity, even in its fullest flow. He feels its poor value in the sight of Infinite Love, and this humbles him to the dust. He would conceal what he has done, not simply as a reluctant performance of duty enjoined upon him by Christian rule, but because the deficiency of his charity is ever the prominent feature in his eyes; its poverty, its inadequacy, are ever before him, especially as measured by that great poverty of our race which revelation *alone* has made him to know and feel. It sends him home in the spirit of the publican, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner, a hard-hearted, self-loving sinner, rather than with the feeling of the Pharisaical sentimentalist, rejoicing in the exuberance of its emotions, and thanking God, or nature, that he is not like other men, the flinty worldling, the calculating economist, the unpitying Church-goer,—reversing, in fact, the very language, as well as spirit, of the Gospel, and indulging the most extatic complacency in the thought that he, or she, is indeed the good Samaritan, and not the Priest and Levite who passed by, each on his own side of the way.

Are we drawing fancy pictures, like the people whose fault we are attempting to expose, or is it a most mischeivous reality, working an evil that in the long run, and when its day of over-action and re-action has fully come, will be found to surpass any thing that could be fairly charged, either upon worldliness or pharisaism? Is it not breeding an egotism, a selfishness most blinding, as all selfishness is, and yet intense just in proportion as it cheats itself with the appearance of the most unalloyed philanthropy. Is it not, in fact, the great taint of our modern literature, especially in the department of fictitious writing. There are

men and women of this class who are more truly living on the woes of humanity, than the mercantile or manufacturing avarice which they so sharply denounce as the opposite of their own more tender and heavenly state of soul. They go forth for *scenes*, as the gambler or speculator watches for his prey. They roam the streets for pictures of vice and misery, as the painter seeks for the most eccentric features in natural scenery to make part of his composite landscape. Whatever is not well adapted to this purpose, they avoid or distort; and hence it is that they can never be trusted. They may be as exact as a Flemish painting—as exact as Dickens in Fagin and Bill Sykes—and yet their facts so placed as to make the most monstrous of falsehoods. Some things, too, are their peculiar aversion, and hence they are ever left out of, or caricatured in, their sketches. Tracts, and Sabbath schools, and genuine religious instruction, would not look well in "Hot Corn Stories;" the feeling they create would be alien to the stimulus such fictions most naturally demand; they would be out of harmony, too, with their leading design, and, therefore, all such facts, and all such ideas, are most carefully eschewed. For no other reason, too, than to give the desired light and shade to such an ideal landscape, they blacken some men as devils, and paint other men as angels, that is, angels according to their conception of them, but with a sad variance from the idea the Scriptures give us of the messengers of mercy. Their good men and women are good on no principle of goodness recognized by Christianity, or even in any sound ethical system. Their bad men are bad with an equal absence of all reason for being such, except the fancy of the writer. The Cheerybles overflow with benevolence; but this is either on no ground at all, or on one that is wholly alien to the morality of the Gospel. The writer by taking special pains to mingle a little profanity, now and then, with their charities, unmistakably shows that he meant to exclude any such idea. On the other hand, the Ralph Nickelbies are bad, horribly bad, but then their demoniac depravity is equally groundless, equally irrational. Ethi-

cal systems recognize a difference of culture and education. The Scriptures make a difference of faith, of discipleship, and, above all, of *grace.* Men may dislike the word and the idea. A difference of grace! they cannot bear the sound or the thought of it. But surely it is more rational than no ground of difference at all. With this school there is no such rational, to say nothing of any Scriptural ground. In fact, there is no *reason* in it; it is all *feeling; good feeling* on the one side, and *bad feeling* on the other. This difference, too, of goodness and badness, as thus presented, is simply another matter of feeling; and some times, oft times, we believe, its very arbitrariness throws the reader on the very opposite side to that to which the writer would seek to draw him. This, we think, must often be the case, not with the perverse or capricious, but the right minded. Poor old Ralph Nickleby!—he asks himself, as he reads along, and gets his sympathy aroused by the way in which the writer has blackened him, so cruelly and groundlessly blackened him,—poor old Ralph Nickleby! why should he be so very bad, and the Cheerybles so very, very good? Why should one be such a vessel of dishonor, so full of all wrath and bitterness, the other such a capacious vat running over with the very treacle of good feeling, such a full discharging pipe of saccharine benevolence, cloying, if not actually disgusting us, by its ever luscious flow? And so again, why should the Uriah Heaps be so very mean, so loathsomely, so monstrously, so irrationally depraved, and the David Copperfields such noble and honorable fellows? If we look at this thing carefully, we find that the ground of difference cannot be any depravity of nature, any *φρονημα σαρκος*, or "fault and corruption that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam." It cannot be any thing of this kind; for all writers of the school, with hardly an exception, reject it as a most atrocious and man-libelling tenet. It cannot, again, be any difference of circumstances, or of outward culture, much as these writers would seem to insist upon it, and find all their moral in it; so far as they ever pretend to have any moral. It cannot be this

difference of culture, we say; for here we are met by the puzzling enigma which the Dickens and the Thackerys so love to present, that from those in nearest connection with Christian institutions come so often, if not oftenest, the monsters of hypocrisy and malevolence, whilst among thieves and circus-riders, and abandoned foundlings, and street-walking women, are to be found the best specimens of the disguised angel in humanity. And then, again, their conversions are equally without a reason in any consistent view of ethics or theology. The vile become so suddenly transformed, or rather the angel within them is so strangely brought out, no one can tell why nor how, nor for what purpose. There is in it neither moral, nor immoral, unless we regard it as the deepest immorality thus to employ the human life, the human miseries, the most vital, and, we may say, the most sacred of human feelings as the mere paint and pallets for the exhibition of the sentimental daubers' pictorial powers. There is, however, one character they are fond of describing, that has no redeeming trait. It is pure devil without any of the angel at all. Such is the deformed and caricatured religionist. At times there is an attempt to make amends for this by drawing some kind of Goldsmith village curate, or Vicar of Wakefield parson; but, in general, and especially may we say it of the writings of Dickens and his imitators, the religious teacher, or he who assumes to be such, is pure, unmixed, and irredeemable depravity. He never reforms. There is no angel in him; and we say, too, there is no reason in him, no reason whatever for his being what the sketcher represents him. He is such a hypocrite!—such a foolish hypocrite, too. He cants so, in season and out of season; his disguise is so thin, and he loves so to exhibit its most bare and tattered parts, as though he had put on this loathsome robe of cant and devilism for the very purpose of exposing, rather than concealing, his deformity.

The whole proceeding is arbitrary and capricious, sometimes so utterly arbitrary, that it shocks that innate sense of justice which we cannot help carrying into the ideal as

well as the real world. Our remark is justified by an appeal to consciousness. Many may be led away by these pictures, but readers of another class, and the better class, we think, have their sense of moral and intellectual justice so hurt by this reasonless proceeding, that they can hardly keep out a decided feeling of partiality for the bad characters; the writer has made them so very bad, so uselessly and unreasonably wicked. He has so blackened them, so unnecessarily and unjustly blackened them in comparison with others who have no more reason in their goodness, that one feels momentarily a disposition to take their side. We can hardly help sympathising with the Ralph Nicklebies and the same perverseness, if any choose to call it such, makes us satiated and disgusted with that discharge of *good nature*, without either grace or principle of any kind, that is ever running over from the sentimental Cheerybles. We cannot like these good men and women, whilst we are indignant at the injustice done the hypocrite, and begin to feel even a partiality for the wronged and blackened villain. We would rather see him triumph in his villany, than that such bastard virtue, such unscriptural goodness, should carry off that false and demoralizing triumph which writers of this school are so fond of painting. There is no reason in the goodness, or if there is any appearance of reason or design, it is in the fact that whatever ground such *good feeling* may have, it is certainly something different from that sure foundation for all truthful virtue that is laid in the Christian revelation.

It is in this way we may account for the moral effect of the sentimental tendency upon the picture-makers themselves. Whilst true benevolence—*well-willing* (*bene volo*) that aims at *well-being* rather than mere *well-feeling*—true Gospel benevolence, doing good to man for Christ's sake in recognition of the common fall, and the common redemption,—whilst such benevolence is humbling, softening, making the heart more tender, more full of melting emotion, too, in proportion as that emotion is not the aim of its fancy or its exercise,—while such benevolence clears the

moral perceptions leading continually to a deeper self-knowledge, in a word heals and strengthens the whole moral state,—sentimentalism, on the other hand, is heart-hardening; it is destructive, not only of the purity, but of the soundness and life of the very *feeling* it would affect to cherish. The men and women who indulge it most, will not bear a close examination into their private, or we might rather say, less public life; for, strictly speaking, they have no private, meditative, self-searching, and soul-searching existence. Their real character becomes in time, manifest even to the superficial world. When they have exhausted the dregs of sentimentalism, and the cloyed appetite has eaten out all its sensual sweet, then, in their spiritual bankruptcy, they turn misanthropes, and end their railing at the Church (the cold, unidealising, unsentimental Protestant Church) by going off to Romanism, and making the finale of their subjectivity in the most abject submission to the most despotic outward authority. Such writers and thinkers may seem to some the farthest removed from Rome, but they are all on the road that terminates there, and the wily Jesuit, much as he may appear to condemn this kind of literature, as the growth of "ultra Protestantism," has good reason to rejoice in it, and does rejoice in it, and sometimes tries his hand at it, as preparing the soil for a rich harvest of thick coming converts when the fruit shall be fully ripe. Some have already arrived at this goal, and would go farther if their backs were not now to the wall. Protestant benevolence is too homely for them; it is too much like the simple way of doing good, recommended and practised in the New Testament; the Sister of Charity has more of the ideal, the sentimental, than the tract distributor, or the unpretending male or female ward-visitant; the charities of the convent, or of the religious order, have more romance, more poetry in them, they are more nearly allied to certain kinds of fiction; they have, in short, more of the luxury, of the sensuality, we may say, of false and sickly emotion.

There can be no greater fallacy than that which leads

men, and especially young men, to judge this class of authors—their moral characters we mean—by their published writings, or to fancy that because a man, or a woman, can draw a moving picture of vice and misery, can cry out against Scribes and Pharisees, can paint clergymen as hypocrites, and circus-riders as possessed of all sentimental virtues, can talk boldly and constantly of reform, and lament pathetically over the miseries that flow out of the false institutions of society—that, therefore, they must certainly be, in themselves, either virtuous or *feeling*. Even the latter quality of soul, morally characterless as it is in itself, may be only an occasional and artificially stimulated excitement, got up for a special purpose, and relapsing into utter heartlessness when the demands of that occasion have been satisfied. A little reflection might surely convince us, that there may be, after all, no more of the moral excellence in this, than in the luxury of the theatre, or to come somewhat lower, the enjoyments of the refectory, the melting jellies, or the glass of intoxicating champagne. A man may write for years in that style, and yet be himself a heartless wretch, growing more and more heartless the more he writes, showing himself, on close acquaintance, more and more destitute even of the poor virtue he is so fond of painting. He is not even a man of feeling; he may be as far even from this, as the poor inebriate from that religion about which he is so fond of babbling in his cups. Not that the man is a hypocrite, in the gross sense of the word. If he does not employ the artificial sentiment, which he can call out at pleasure, for some still more sordid end, still may it be said of him, to use a homely, yet significant mode of expression, he takes it out in feeling, such as it is; and when he has done this long and often, there is nothing higher and better left of him. He takes it out in sentiment, even as he so exhausts his virtue in the ideal painting as to have no room, and no stimulus for actual benevolence. He takes it out in feeling, and hence we get the explanation of the seeming paradox, that not only the Christian virtue, but the true, actual, living feeling of such a wasted

heart may be in the inverse ratio of its sentimental profusion.

This life of emotional stimulus, this *intemperance* of feeling for feeling's sake, may be, and we think it often is, even more heart-hardening than money-making, or any kindred form of worldliness. We have more faith in the benevolenee of a Rothschild than in that of a Dickens. It may seem to some an outrageous paradox, but we can offer reasons for what we say, cogent, conclusive reasons, even if experience of mankind did not preclude the necessity of any *a priori* proof. Business, money-making, worldliness, call it what we will, does not deal with such sacred things, and, therefore, runs less risk of moral hurt. The feelings, what there is of them, are carried *out* to outward ends, instead of ever turning introvertedly on themselves, like Milton's children of sin ever gnawing into the maternal vitality. They kill themselves, when they thus become, at the same time, both subject and object. No moral, or religious life can stand such a process. But this is not the danger of the worldling, as we call him. Whilst his thoughts are wholly on money, or secular prosperity, his moral affections may, indeed, be locked up in blank inertia, where they may grow chill and torpid. Still there may be life in them yet. There is a possibility of their recovering. There may come the good occasion, and the good influence under which they may gush out afresh,—gush out, it may be, even the more powerfully from their long seclusion. Such a man may have feeling still in reserve; but the sentimentalist has worn it out. He has destroyed his moral affections, not so much by *use* as by *misuse*. He has employed his feelings for their own sake, and hence the waste has been without that recuperative power, that healing, yea new-life-giving corrective, which the exercise of true Bible-taught benevolence ever brings along with it. He has misused the most sacred things belonging to the human spiritual constitution, and the peril is in proportion to the profanity. He has not simply benumbed, but fatally injured, perhaps destroyed them. Or what is still worse,

he may have converted their delicate machinery into the most deadly combination of unholy moral forces. If such misuse of the moral affections does not terminate in apathetic indifference, there may come from it, in the end, something which we will not call worse, though more evil in its effects. It is a higher, yet a more unholy thing. It is fanaticism, that horrid unnatural monster, child of wrath and perverted sentiment, assuming the form of love and heaven-born charity.

And so too of what are called the religious states, whether of mind or heart. Some may be shocked at the assertion, but we say it boldly, and with full confidence in its truth,—Antinomianism is not so mischievous, or dangerous a thing as mysticism, or to speak more carefully, certain forms of mysticism; formalism has not so much peril for the soul as religious sentimentalism, or that false religious feeling that makes itself its own end and object. With the minds that are imbued with this *faith*, and *dogmas* are not favorite words; but if we must have a speculation, it had better be one about faith than love. There may be a rationalistic theorising about both, in fact a science of both. If any man doubts it, let him read Swedenborg and other mystics, until the best affections of his nature, to say nothing of grace, become as dry as scholasticism, and as unemotional as the mathematics. The dogmatic speculation *indurates*, the other *withers* and destroys. The petrifaction may, perhaps, be melted, but the lost heart cannot be restored. *Faith* may be talked about, and reasoned about; it may be anylized, and syllogized, and dogmatized, very much to its injury, perhaps; but *love* is too refined, too celestial, too holy, to bear such treatment at all. And hence, we would say, that no philosophy is more heartless than what some would style, and have styled, "the Philosophy of the Heart," no *gnosis* is so lean, so dries up the soul's best affections, and is, at the same time, so uncharitable, as the mystics' *gnosis* of charity. Other knowledge "puffeth up," but this is a spiritual evaporation, a gaseous inanity, as destitute of all true warmth, as it is utterly barren of distinct and living ideas.

If in other departments sentimentalism is odious and mischievous, in religion it is abominable. Better, far better, for a man to have his spiritual state like the desert, like "the dry and thirsty land wherein no water is," than to cherish any false feeling, or any of those artificial emotions in which the poor self-cheating human soul would seek to dress itself for the Divine Eye, or to disguise from itself its own spiritual barrenness. If a man has any moral ability, it is the ability to be honest, spiritually honest,—that is, to be, or strive to be, nothing but what he really is. If there can be any such thing as human merit in the Divine eyes, it would be found that simplicity or transparency of spirit, that perfect honesty which prefers to be totally destitute of all feeling, yea, harder than the nether mill-stone, rather than present before Omniscience any feeling that is not perfectly truthful, that is not a perfect representative of its moral state, be that moral state ever so defective, ever so hardened, or ever so depraved.

It is from this morbid religious sentimentalism has sprung that most baneful of all the species of modern literature. We mean what is commonly called the religious novel. Of this there are two general kinds, although they are often mingled in one and the same production. The controversial species is away from our present notice, except to remark, that it is the poorest, the meanest, the least logical, and in general, the least convincing mode ever adopted for carrying on an argument,—especially a very grave argument. The sentimental religious novel, is, therefore, the one we chiefly have in view. Now here it may be said, that other kinds of sentimentalism do mischief by marring, and presenting a false picture, or a misplaced picture, of the most vital affections of our human nature. Still these are strictly human. They belong to the human constitution as it is by nature, or as it has been the subject of natural or mere human culture. But the religious sentimentalism lays its profane and trifling hand on far higher and holier things. We believe, of course, as one of the first elements of Christian doctrine, that true Christian character

can only come from a super-human causation, whether that be regarded as an influence, or an immediate action of supernatural power, or a real indwelling of a supernatural life. It is, in any way, the offspring of a divine formative or creative agent, whose name is only to be mentioned with a reverence that vails its face, or holds it prostrate in the dust; and yet it is the work of this agent, his most spiritual, most holy work, which the religious sentimentalist, or the author of religious fictions, attempts to imitate. He would transfer it to his soiled canvass; he would paint it with his miserable colors, foul, distorted and unscriptural as they so often are. Here is the awful profanity of the attempt. "Hot Corn Stories" are bad enough, but they do mischief on a much lower scale. False as they are, they yet profess to be delineations of the human. It is bad, we say, to trifle even here. But when a man, or a woman, would undertake to paint the work of grace, and would draw a picture of the ineffable mystery of regeneration, who can adequately set forth the impiety or the mischief? What other breach of the second commandment can exceed it in bold irreverence? We shrink from the audacity of some of the old painters, who dared to make a pictorial representation of the Divine Personal Majesty, but we cannot help thinking, that, in some respects, at least, its profanity falls below such attempts to imitate, if not sometimes to caricature, the process of his most mysterious agency in the human soul.

This sentimental, egotistical, or subjective style we have contemplated chiefly as it appears in works of avowed fiction. But there are other departments in which it shows itself. In fact it is tainting a very large part of our modern literature. It affects injuriously our poetry, making it the introverted burden of false feeling, instead of the unselfish expression of unselfish emotion that seeks this channel because it cannot find free vent in any other way. In the true poet no trait is more charming than his utter self-forgetfulness; in the diseased or introverted species, nothing is more wearisome, unless it be to a sentimentally depraved

taste, than the manner in which the author makes *himself*, his feelings, his *lofty* ideas or lofty views, his inexpressible emotions, the foreground, and background, and central coloring of every picture. The same vice appears largely in our books of travels. It is creating towards them, and justly creating, a suspicion of insincerity. It is taking away that *trust* we love to repose in works of this class, and which not only constitues their chief claim, but is so essential to their permanent literary character. We wish the traveller, if he writes, to give us facts, to fill his books with facts, to present to us accurate descriptions, and in this to be as vivid, and even as pictorial, as he pleases. But we do not want him to be ever telling us how he *feels*, and how his guide *feels*, and even how his horse or camel *feels*. Some fill their books with this, as though the obtaining of materials for such trashy subjective picturing of their own inner man, was the only motive that ever sent them abroad. They have travelled, not to see the earth and its physical and human wonders, but that they may come home and make a book. We wish for facts, we say again, both from the traveller and the historian. We would rather have our own *subjective*, our own emotional, not forced upon us as the emotions of the writer, but arising spontaneously from the facts he honestly sets before us. A Robinson may be pronounced dry, and he *is* dry at first, but as we read on, this truthfulness is found to have its charm; the picture of the Holy Land rises vividly before us; our own feelings spring up and grow vigorously from this rich and well prepared foundation of facts; and thus there is, in the end, more of true, hearty, and permanent emotion, than ever came from the story-telling volumes of a Buckingham, or all the books with which the press is now teeming from a similar class of modern tourists. Robinson's Researches, with their measurements and statistics, will be remembered, will stand on the shelves of libraries, will be consulted as authority, and referred to as settled things in history and geography, when the others shall be unread and utterly forgotten. But this opens a wider field than can here be occupied.

The hints already given may, however, enable the thoughtful reader to make a much more extensive application, and to other subjects than those that have been brought directly before his notice.

Schnectady, New York. T. L.

Art. III.—HODGE ON THE EPHESIANS.

A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians. By *Charles Hodge*, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1856.

The distinguished character and high position of the author of this work, taken in connection with the wide significance of its subject, must be allowed on all hands to clothe it with more than ordinary claims to attention. The Epistle to the Ephesians is of cardinal authority, in particular for the doctrine of the Church; and it forms in such view the key, we may say, for the right understanding of all St. Paul's Epistles generally, which must serve of course also at the same time, to open the true sense of all the other Epistles of the New Testament. Knowing this, we could not be indifferent to the view that might be taken of it by such a man as Dr. Hodge. His theory of the Church, as it has been presented to the world in various ways, is commonly understood to be very low; so low indeed, that it has given serious dissatisfaction to many in his own communion. It has been a matter of interest with us to see, how such a theory would be applied in his hands to the interpretation

of the Epistle to the Ephesians. We have, accordingly, examined the new commentary with respectful consideration and care; and having done so, we propose now to make it the occasion for some earnest criticism and discussion, in our present article.

Our object is not to go into exegetical details; to speak of particular excellencies belonging to the work, or of what we may suppose to be its particular errors and defects. Our concern rather is with the work, viewed as a whole; with its general theological stand-point; with its reigning idea of the Gospel; with the scheme of Christianity which underlies all its thinking, and so gives form and determination to its particular expositions from beginning to end. We feel that there is an advantage in this. It leaves free room for all proper acknowledgment of the merits of the commentary, in its own order and system of thought. Indeed if we did not honor it in such view as the fruit of real learning and piety, we should hardly feel it necessary to notice it in the way of controversy at all. As it is, we contend with it because we hold it in respect. It represents ably the system of theological opinion in whose bosom it stands; and by doing so, challenges attention to its peculiar pretensions and claims, while it furnishes a fair opportunity also for bringing them into trial. For our readers generally also, we take it for granted, the general criticism we propose is likely to be of more interest than any discussion of single and separate points of exegesis. Such points it may indeed fall in our way occasionally to take in hand; but when that is the case, it will not be so much on their own particular account, as for the sake of their bearing on what is more comprehensive and broad. Our consideration of single passages and texts, will be steadily subordinated to the wider purpose of explaining, exemplifying, exposing and overthrowing, so far as with God's help we may be able, the general theological theory, which we find employed, with so much learning and ability, in the commentary before us, to darken, as it seems to us, the true sense of this most interesting and important portion of God's Word.

In any case, the theological scheme with which an interpreter comes to the exposition of the Bible, is more deserving of consideration than any isolated results of his exegetical learning aside from this. Our theology, or want of theology, must always rule our exegesis. The notion of a purely grammatical exegesis, as urged by the school of Ernesti, is simply absurd. No amount of philological or historical learning can of itself lead to a trustworthy exposition of what the Scriptures actually say and teach. The case requires, in addition to this, an inward correspondence and sympathy of mind on the part of the expositor, with the world of truth which he his called to expound. It needs the living spirit of any science or art, to read aright the true sense of its utterances and speak forth the hidden power of its creations. And just so, it requires the inward stand-point of a positively right and sound theology, to understand and explain to full purpose the theological teachings of the Bible. It may sound well, to talk of coming to the Scriptures without any theory or scheme; but there is not in fact, and cannot be, any such freedom from all prepossession. The Bible supposes the existence of Christianity as a fact already at hand, and utters all its oracles from the bosom of this new creation alone. We must come to it then with the prepossession of faith, or else with the prepossession of unbelief, the worst possible preparation for understanding it, on the supposition of its being more than an empty fable. Of what account here can the greatest knowledge of words be, without any actual sense of the things with which the words are concerned? An infidel pretending to explain the Bible, is like a man born blind discoursing of colors. All mere rationalism or naturalism must necessarily travesty its sense. But for the very same reason that faith in general, or power to acknowledge the supernatural character of Christianity, as distinguished from full unbelief, forms thus the necessary habit of a good interpreter of the sacred text, it is plain that it must be of vast account also for such an interpreter to possess this habit of faith in a form approaching as nearly as possible to the

very nature of the things themselves with which it is employed. And therefore it is always of the first consequence, as we have already remarked, to look to the theological scheme which an interpreter brings with him to the exposition of the Bible and from which as a stand-point he takes his observations upon its sense.

It is hardly necessary to say, that this Commentary of Dr. Hodge is constructed upon a general theory of the nature of Christianity, thus previously established and fixed in his own mind. If it were not so, the work would be entitled to but small regard. We find no fault with it merely on this ground. Only let the fact be fairly understood and kept in sight; that we may make due account of it, in examining the work itself. It is not an attempt to explain the Epistle to the Ephesians purely and exclusively from its own text, and without any sort of theological preconception or bias. It can hardly be said, indeed, to pretend to such independence. However it may suit the view of some to make light of all authority in this form, and to look upon tradition of every kind as an embarrassment to the right use of the Scriptures more than a help, we meet with no such pedantry in Dr. Hodge. He has his theological system, his ecclesiastical tradition, that serves him continually as a medium through which to study the features and proportions of the inspired text. Neither is it difficult at all to determine the character of this system. It is well defined, openly acknowledged, and for the most part, though not always, consistently maintained. We may see at once, in such circumstances, how necessary it is that we should try the merits of the system, in order to estimate aright the merits of the Commentary.

No one can have read the Epistles of the New Testament with any sort of attention, without being made sensible in his own mind of a certain difficulty in them, standing not so much in particular passages as in the whole hypothesis which is made to underlie their construction. Two seemingly opposite views are embraced in this, which it is found

exceedingly hard to reconcile or hold in steady union. Let us endeavor to exemplify and explain.

Nothing can be more clear, in the first place, than that these Epistles are not addressed to the world at large in its natural character and state. For the world in such view, the Gospel universally has but one form of address. It calls on all men everywhere to "repent and believe," to submit themselves to Christ, to be "converted," to be "baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins," as the absolutely indispensable condition of holiness and salvation. "He that believeth and is baptized," the proclamation runs, "shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." All depends on this obedience of faith. All begins here. Without this preliminary act of submission to Christ's authority, the opportunities and possibilities of grace in any farther view are not regarded as being at hand for the use of men at all. The Gospel never offers its grace for the purposes of sanctification, to those who refuse to place themselves by such preliminary obedience within the range and scope of its supernatural provisions; and it never allows itself, therefore, to waste upon such its lessons of piety or its motives to a holy life. So with these New Testament Epistles. They are full of doctrine, instruction in righteousness, warnings, admonitions, promises, encouragements to Christian duty; but all this for a certain class of persons only, and not for the race of mankind indiscriminately. This is at once evident from their inscriptions and salutations. They are addressed not to countries or towns as such, but to particular bodies of people in them separated and distinguished in some way from the world in general. St. Jude writes "to them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called." St. Peter, in one place, "to them that have obtained like precious faith with us, through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ;" in another, to dispersed strangers of Pontus, Galatia, &c., who are regarded, at the same time, as gathered together and elect "according to the foreknowledge of God the Father,

through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ." So in every Epistle of St. Paul. One is: "To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints:" another: "Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints;" a third: "Unto the the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints which are in all Achaia;" a fourth: "Unto the churches of Galatia;" a fifth: "To the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus;" and in similar style throughout. And the restriction thus made in the first address, is always carefully observed in every Epistle on to the end. The writers do not allow themselves to fall away from the conception with which they start, by gliding into any more loose and general view. They have before their mind always, not men at large, but the particular class or description of persons to whom they address themselves in the beginning. Their instructions and exhortations are everywhere for the "church," for the "called," for those who are known as the "faithful in Christ Jesus."

Nothing, moreover, can be more plain, than that the distinction thus kept in view always by these sacred writers was considered by them to be far more than one of name only and mere outward profession. Nominal and outward indeed it is assumed to be, as implying an external separation of some sort from the rest of the world, which might be known and spoken of in such view as a really existing society, bearing its own name and having its own terms of fellowship and communion. The society of the "faithful in Christ Jesus" is referred to, not as a fellowship of opinion only, not as the presence merely of a common sentiment in a number of minds, but as being in some way actually at hand, and open to observation, in the form of an externalized historical fact. But in this character again, as we now say, it is never represented as a simply factitious distinction, turning upon the fancy and pleasure of those who had come to set themselves apart in such style from the surrounding world. It is continually

taken for granted, on the contrary, that it carried along with it benefits and privileges, opportunities and powers, of the very highest order. So much is suggested at once by the titles and terms of address, which are employed, as we have just seen, to characterize those to whom the Epistles are directed. These are quite too bold and strong, to be resolved into the notion of rhetorical declamation simply or gracious compliment. "Beloved of God" (Rom. 1: 7), "called to be saints" (Rom. 1: 7. 1 Cor. 1: 2), "the called of Jesus Christ" (Rom. 1: 6), "those that are sanctified in Christ Jesus" (1 Cor. 1: 2), "saints in Christ" (Eph. 1: 1, Philip. 1: 1, &c.); how unreasonable to imagine for a moment that terms of this description might be used, under the guidance of inspiration, without any meaning answerable to their high sound. We are not left here, however, to such inferences only, as it might seem natural to draw from any titles of this sort taken by themselves. The Epistles in question proceed throughout on the supposition, that the persons whom they address are really and truly in a state or condition corresponding with these titles; and references are made in them continually to what are conceived to be the actual privileges of this state, in such a way as to show that there is not considered to be any exaggeration whatever in the terms thus used for its description.

Take, for example, the First Epistle of St. Peter. No sooner has the Apostle saluted those whom he addresses, than he is led to break out in the language of adoring worship and praise, on account of what appears to him the unspeakable mercy of God bestowed upon them through the Gospel. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead; to an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away; reserved in heaven for you, who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time." It is not the salvation of the Gospel as a general boon to the

world, not the mere fact at large that Christ has risen from the dead and made salvation possible, that is here made the subject of such joyful praise. It is plainly the special relation rather, in which those addressed are regarded as standing to this grace by virtue of their Christian profession and position. We may congratulate all men, that life and immortality have been brought to light, that redemption is placed within the reach of our guilty and lost race; but in the case before us, the congratulation extends a great deal farther than this. The persons to whom it is offered, are considered to be already, in a most material sense, the recipients and subjects of God's redeeming mercy. They have come actually within the range of its action. They have a present interest in it, and a right to its opportunities and privileges, going vastly beyond any form it may be supposed to carry along with it for the world at large. This very fact, accordingly, is made the ground of all that follows in the way of exhortation to Christian duty. "Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind," it is said, "be sober, and hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ: as obedient children, not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance; but as he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation." No such exhortation is dreamed of as suitable for men in other circumstances, however desirable it might be that they too should practice the virtues of Christianity; it proceeds throughout on the supposition, that a certain position in the way of grace has been already secured, that an actual foothold in the kingdom of God has been already gained, by which a life of true holiness is rendered practicable, and without which it must ever be vain to bestow either precept or exhortation on the subject. So again: "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. Which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God; which had not obtain-

ed mercy, but now have obtained mercy. Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul; &c." The order of thought still is: Ye are the subjects of a glorious distinction in the way of grace; ye have passed out of darkness into God's marvellous light; ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth; ye have come out of the world into the Church: *therefore* follow diligently after holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. Your privilege involves, not merely the duty, but also the power of overcoming the world and entering into everlasting life. See then that it be used with earnestness, and perseverance to the end, for this purpose. The same idea pervades the entire Epistle; as any one may readily see who will take pains to read it with proper attention, bearing in mind the restriction which characterizes its address in the beginning, and observing how all along in conformity with this it is written, not for men at large, but only for those who have come into the bosom of the Church.

St. Paul's Epistles all, in like manner, only if possible in a still more striking way, take for granted everywhere the existence of a most real distinction between those whom they address as saints and the world in its general and natural character. Let any one consider in this view particularly the Epistle to the Ephesians. No terms seem to be too strong for the Apostle, no conceptions too high, in setting forth the condition of grace and privilege to which he considers those advanced, whom he addresses as "the saints which are at Ephesus and the faithful in Christ Jesus." They are already, by their position and calling, "blessed with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ;" the subjects, along with other saints, of a heavenly election and adoption; made accepted in the Beloved, in whom they had "redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace." In virtue of their faith, they are said to have been "sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise," which is the earnest of the inheritance that awaits the Christian in the world to

come. They needed a special illumination, only to be able themselves to form any proper conception of the high and glorious significance of their own position; and the most earnest prayer of the Apostle in their behalf, accordingly, was that God might give unto them the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Christ; the eyes of their understanding being enlightened, that they might know what was "the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what the exceeding greatness of his power" towards them that believe. Their relation to Christ is represented as being nothing less than a present actual comprehension in the new order of life, which was exhibited in his resurrection from the dead, and in his glorification at the right hand of God. They were quickened and raised up together with him, and made to sit with him in heavenly places. They were "no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." They were "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." Such is the strain in which the Apostle speaks throughout of the high condition and state of those to whom he writes; and all his instructions and practical exhortations, addressed to them as Christians, are so formed as to involve continually the same view. Their spiritual exaltation as the elect of God, the called of Christ, the sealed of the Spirit, the heirs of the heavenly inheritance, is assumed everywhere as an admitted postulate, on the ground of which they are urged upon to cultivate piety and avoid sin. In view of this precisely, they are besought to "walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they are called." Their privileges are made the great reason for their "putting off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts," so as to be "renewed in the spirit of their mind," and to "put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." What is particularly worthy of observation, moreover, is, that the consideration thus pressed is brought forward, not

simply as a motive to recommend and enforce Christian virtue, but as being itself the whole ground of its possibility. The order of thought is in part certainly: Ye are exalted in Christ, and it is, therefore, fit and right for you to cultivate corresponding dispositions and habits. But mainly it goes far beyond this, and means: Ye are highly exalted in Christ, and it is, therefore, practicable for you to cultivate successfully a corresponding character. It is not so much the idea of what *ought* to be, as the idea of what *may* be and *can* be, in virtue of the Christian position, that is urged as the grand argument for a Christian life. "Ye were sometime darkness," it is said, "but now are ye light in the Lord; walk as children of light: for the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth."

All this, we say, forms one general aspect, under which the conception of Christianity is continually presented to us in the New Testament Epistles. Along with this, however, in the second place, there runs throughout another view, which seems at first to look in quite a different direction, and to place the whole subject in a new and different light. It may be denominated, with propriety perhaps, the human side of the case, as distinguished from its divine side.

We are confronted with it at once in all those representations, which require us to descend from the idea of the lofty privileges of believers, to the thought of the manifold infirmities with which they are still compassed about in their present state. Who has not experienced at times some sense of incongruity, in passing directly from the wonderful terms in which these privileges are described by St. Peter or St. Paul, to the topics of ordinary morality they are made to enforce? It sounds strangely, to hear those who are spoken of as sitting in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, exhorted, at the same time, to avoid the most common sins, such as lying and stealing, and warned against "fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness" among the heathen, including things done by them in secret, of

which it was a "shame even to speak." It sounds strangely, when the power of the Spirit and the power of the flesh, the life of grace and the life of nature, are brought before us in such close proximity as we find ascribed to them in the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. "Walk in the Spirit," it is there said, "and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would. But if ye be led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, &c." The occasion for admiration here is, not that such sins are condemned as contrary to Christianity, but that those who are addressed should be supposed to be at all liable to the power of them in the immediate and near way that seems to be implied by such a style of exhortation. But the case becomes, in this view, still worse, when we find that the bad possibilities of the Christian state, as thus described, are represented as frequently passing into actual effect. We need not go beyond the New Testament, to get clear of the idea that the early churches were, in a great measure, free from corruption and sin. We have abundant evidence of the contrary in the New Testament itself. The sacred writers use no sort of reserve on the subject. They not only warn Christians against the danger of sin, but bewail and denounce it at times as really present under very gross forms in their communion. We hear of some in the church who denied the Lord that bought them, privily introducing damnable heresies, and bringing upon themselves swift destruction; of certain men, who "turned the grace of God into lasciviousness," walking after their own ungodly lusts; and strange indeed are the terms in which they are spoken of by St. Peter, bringing into immediate juxtaposition, as they do, the exaltation of their Christian state on the one hand, and their enormous abuse of it, to the purposes of sin, on the other. "Spots they are and blemishes, sport-

ing themselves with their own deceivings while they feast with you. Having eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin; beguiling unstable souls; an heart they have exercised with covetous practices; cursed children. Which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the ways of unrighteousness." "When they speak great swelling words of vanity, they allure through the lusts of the flesh, through much wantonness, *those that were clean escaped from them who live in error.* While they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption: for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage. For if *after they have escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,* they are again entangled therein, and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning." Compare with this Heb. 6: 4–6, and 10: 26–29, where we have the same startling picture of extremes thrown together, in a way which many have found it exceedingly difficult to understand. The difficulty, however, is not confined to passages of this sort, in which the bright and dark sides of the Christian profession are opposed to each other in such direct and vivid contrast. It meets us with full force, likewise, in all those numerous cases, in which reference is made to ruinous errors or gross corruptions in the Church, without any particular stress being laid at the time on the idea of its abused grace. References of this sort abound on all sides. We meet with them in every Epistle. Lofty as the terms are in which St. Paul addresses the several churches to which he wrote, while his eye is fixed on the thought of their high and glorious privileges, he finds it quite as easy again apparently to admit the existence among them of offences and scandals, which seem to turn the other conception into a mere flourish of empty words. We need not cite examples. They will come up readily of themselves to the mind of every one, who is at all familiar with his writings.

Here then is a peculiar and difficult problem to be solv-

ed, in the interpretation of these Epistles. How are we to bring together the two sides that enter thus into their general hypothesis of Christianity, seemingly incongruous as they are, in such a way that we shall have a result doing full justice to both, and uniting them in real logical harmony for our thoughts? It is plain, that no scheme of exegesis which fails to do this, however much it may have to recommend it on other grounds, can be entitled to confidence; since it must be constructed on a view of the Gospel different from that which pervades the Epistles themselves, and can never serve, therefore, as a sufficient key to unlock their sense.

Now there are two general ways in which a theory of interpretation may wrong the New Testament conception of Christianity, as we have just had it under consideration. It may not do justice to the first side of the hypothesis, or it may not do justice to the second. In the one case, we shall have the idea of nature overwhelmed in a certain sense by a false sublimation of the idea of grace; in the other case, the order will be reversed, and we shall have the idea of grace merged and lost in the idea of nature. For the sake of distinction, we may call one the Calvinistic and the other the Arminian tendency.

The Arminian view proceeds on the supposition, that there is no essential difference between the order of nature and the order of grace. It acknowledges, of course, the existence of grace, regarded as a supernatural power exerted upon the minds of men; but this is not felt to depend on any other order or constitution than that of the world under a simply natural view, considered in the general relation which it sustains to God. Man in his natural character is possessed of intellectual and spiritual faculties, which carry his thoughts above and beyond the present world, and qualify him for entering into communication with the realities of a higher life in the way of religion; and the idea here is, that in order to do so, he needs no other help than what is comprehended in the notion of a common divine influence exercised upon his powers for

this purpose. The whole conception of grace thus resolves itself into this, that God by his Spirit, is supposed to act on the minds of men, just as they are, directly and indirectly, without any intervention whatever; and it is supposed also to depend upon themselves, in the use of their natural ability, whether such gracious influence shall be of avail or not for the purposes of salvation. Such a view, of course, leaves no room for the idea of the Church, as a real economy or constitution different from the world. It is easy to see, accordingly, how it must work, when brought to bear exegetically on the New Testament problem which we have at present under consideration. This Arminian tendency has no power to make any earnest account of the lofty terms, in which St. Peter and St. Paul allow themselves to speak of the privileges of the Christian state, regarded as anything more than the inward condition in general of the truly pious. It is admitted, indeed, that these terms are applied immediately to outward and visible bodies of people; but this is considered sufficient of itself to show, that they are not to be construed strictly, but with great latitude rather and accommodation. The titles "elect," "beloved of God," "called to be saints," "sanctified in Christ Jesus," &c., are taken to refer only to the profession of Christians and the avowed object of their being gathered into ecclesiastical associations. They are for the most part borrowed too from the old Jewish economy, being a simple transfer to the Christian Church, outwardly considered, of forms of thought and modes of speech, with which the Jewish mind had long been familiar as applied to the Old Testament theocracy, under a like outward view. Christianity, however, it is assumed, is of altogether too spiritual a nature to be adequately measured by any such simply outward conceptions; and it is held to be clear enough, that there was very much in the actual condition of those to whom they are thus collectively applied, which forbids the thought of their being employed in any other light. In this way, these conceptions, great as they may seem to be in sound, are virtually shorn of significance and

force. The heavenly or divine side of Christianity, as represented by them, falls away before its merely human or earthly side. The Church comes to be nothing more than a particular form of the general life of the world, in its relation to religion and piety. It offers facilities and opportunities for spiritual culture; but these are by no means confined to its bosom. All resolves itself at last into the sincere belief of certain doctrines, and the earnest practice of certain virtues, which have no *necessary* dependence on the Church.

How completely this system of thought fails to do justice to the Epistles of the New Testament, we need not spend time now in endeavoring to show. Our business at present is more immediately with the opposite form of onesided thinking presented to us by the Calvinistic tendency; for this it is that governs throughout the New Testament exegesis of Dr. Hodge, as it comes before us in his Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians.

Here we have a false sublimation of the idea of grace, by which in the end serious wrong is done to the proper human side of the Christian salvation. All is made to resolve itself into divine agency, under such a form as fairly lifts the process of redemption out of the sphere of man's proper life, and causes it to go forward in another and different sphere altogether. The doctrine of election, turning on the notion of an absolute unconditional decree in the mind of God, is made to be the principle, and only really efficient cause, we may say, of the whole work. God having of his mere good pleasure determined, from all eternity, to save a certain fixed number of persons belonging to the human family, and not to save any besides, is supposed then to have ordered the entire plan of redemption in subordination to this purpose. All the provisions of his grace, including the fact of the Incarnation itself, the atonement made by Christ's death, the benefits of his resurrection, the mission of the Holy Ghost, the establishment of the Church, the Bible, the ministry of reconciliation, and the holy sacraments, are conditioned and limited, according to this view,

by the settled and foregone conclusion which it is proposed to reach by their means; becoming under such aspect, a sort of outward mechanical apparatus merely in its service. The result is an ultra spiritualistic, shadowy idea of redemption, in which no real union is allowed after all to have place between the powers of heaven and the necessities of earth; and in full correspondence with this, a complete dualism is brought into the conception of the Christian life also, regarded as the subjective or experimental appropriation, on the part of believers, of the grace thus objectively provided on their behalf. Human and divine factors are indeed both acknowledged, as entering in some way together into the process of conversion and sanctification; but no room is found for their free and harmonious coöperation. God becomes all, and man practically nothing; the consequence of which here again is, that religion becomes a scheme of mere abstract spiritualism, which, carried out consistently, can hardly fail to turn it at last into a cloud-like phantom or hollow shadow, the counterpart in full of its own profoundly kindred error, the christological dream of the ancient Gnostics.

For the application of this system to the exposition of the New Testament, we could have no better example than Dr. Hodge's Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians. It proceeds upon the Calvinistic hypothesis, as now described, from beginning to end. So far as we can see, too, he does not shrink from acknowledging this hypothesis in its only fully consistent form, the supralapsarian conception, we mean, as held by Calvin himself, though not generally by his followers. According to that conception, as is well known, the decree of election, issuing in the salvation of the elect as the last end of God's works, so far as man is concerned, is taken to precede and govern in the order of being, not simply the idea of redemption, but the idea also of the fall itself; the amount of which is, that God, having in mind his own glorification in the salvation of the elect and perdition of the non-elect, determined first the creation of the race, and then its fall, in order to make room

for what was his ulterior purpose in that other form. Dr. Hodge does not, indeed, in so many words, adopt this supralapsarian theory; but it is the only view, we think, that suits what he says of the predestination of a fixed number of human beings, from all eternity, to everlasting life. It is certain, at all events, that this decree is made by him to be the *principium* of everything that is comprehended in the scheme of redemption itself, and that all its arrangements and provisions, accordingly, are considered as being circumscribed and limited by it in their force. They are universally for the elect only, and no part of the fallen world besides. Their scope and efficiency are absolutely bounded by the range of this narrow circle, unalterably settled in the Divine mind from all eternity, and cannot be said to extend beyond this really in any direction whatever. Predestination in this sense, and no other, is the "primal fountain," we are told, "of all spiritual blessings," as involving for the saints their "election to holiness before the foundation of the world." The mystery of the Incarnation thus took place only for the elect, whom it was determined beforehand thus to save. Aside from them, it would not have occurred at all; and for the rest of the world it has in fact no saving purpose or power of any sort. The rest of the world is not in a salvable state; for the economy of the Gospel is such, that the principle of its grace, considered here as an absolute decree in the Divine mind, cannot be said to reach even potentially those who stand outside the circumference of this decree. Salvation, as a possibility only, has just as little significance for them, as it would have if they belonged to another world entirely. Power to become the sons of God, the great privilege and prerogative of as many as receive Christ (John 1: 12), belong, exclusively, to the elect. All others are doomed to hopeless impenitency and unbelief. Alas, what *should* they believe, if this view of the Gospel be itself the very truth of God which they are bound, under pain of damnation, to receive? For any of the non-elect to believe that Christ died for *them*, or that he is willing now to save them, must

be, according to Dr. Hodge's scheme, to believe what is absolutely and eternally untrue. To agree at all with the actual truth of things, *their* faith must own and confess precisely the reverse. All this, we know, sounds monstrous enough. But we hold it to be a perfectly fair, unvarnished representation of the theology, which Dr. Hodge has brought with him as the compass and pole-star of his observations at St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. The doctrine of election, as he holds it, involves beyond the possibility of logical escape, the notion of a corresponding partiality and limitation in all the arrangements of grace. Make such a decree the principle of salvation, and it must necessarily reduce the means of salvation throughout to the measure of its own action and intention. It will be no longer true, that Christ died for all men, made atonement for all, triumphed over death for all, and now reigns head over all things to the Church for all, having sent forth his ministers to preach repentance and faith to all, that they might be saved. Regarded as a merely external administration indeed, Christianity may claim and appear also to possess such universality of character. But looking to its proper spiritual economy, we find all to be different. In God's mind, it is a plan to save the elect only; the agency of his Spirit goes along with it, to make it certainly efficacious for this end; beyond this it carries in it neither purpose nor power of grace for any of the children of men.

Such a predestination to eternal life, moreover, must necessarily draw after it, in the case of those who are its subjects, whatever is required to go forward in their personal experience, in order that they may be prepared finally for this glorious result. The beginning and end of revelation, for every predestinated saint, are joined together with unalterable necessity from the start. No room is left thus to conceive of any real power on the part of men themselves, either to defeat or make sure their heavenly calling. What may *seem* to be attributed to human agency in this way by the Scriptures, must be regarded as having place in show only and outward appearance. The decree of election

rules all, and turns the subjective side of redemption, as well as its objective side, into a sort of unreal parade, in which shadows are set before us continually for actual substances and really existing things. Dr. Hodge takes it for granted everywhere, that those whom St. Paul addresses as the "called of God in Christ," are such as have been individually and separately predestinated to salvation from all eternity, and that it is of course impossible for them in such view not to be saved. This does not imply that they can be saved in their sins, or without means and conditions; but it does unquestionably mean, that whatever may be needed in such form for the final result, is made infallibly certain by the same decree that fixes the certainty of the result itself. Predestination involves as its necessary indissoluble sequences, in the case of every individual to whom it extends, effectual calling, justification, sanctification, the resurrection of the just, and full glorification finally in heaven. There is no room in the theory for distinguishing between what is potential only and what is actual. Election to certain blessings, is taken to include as a matter of course the consequence of coming into their possession and fruition. The "elect" addressed by St. Paul, according to the Commentary before us, are "the actual recipients of the blessings spoken of, viz: holiness, sonship, remission of sins, and eternal life."

Out of this way of looking at the subject arises of necessity a corresponding view of the Church. It is confessedly the body of the "elect," in the New Testament sense of that term. It is made up plainly, in St. Paul's view, of those whom he addresses as "saints," as the "called of God," as those who are "sanctified in Christ Jesus," as those whose vast privileges he describes as being in their measure a sort of counterpart of the resurrection and exaltation of Christ himself. It is a conception for him plainly, which is of one and the same measure precisely with these titles and representations. Settle it then that the true Scriptural sense of such terms is what we find it assumed to be always by the system before us, and we may see

at once how the notion of the Church must shape itself to agree with the requirements of the case. It can no longer be considered as an outward and visible organization at all, except in an imperfect and improper sense. In its true nature, it can be regarded only as an invisible constitution, the community of the righteous as they are known to God. Such is the view presented to us very explicitly by Dr. Hodge. Election, he tells us, does not regard "any external community or society as such" (p. 29). Again we are told, that if election is to holiness, it follows that "individuals, and not communities or nations are the objects of it" (p. 35). Again, commenting (in his usual style of begging dogmatically the whole question he pretends exegetically to settle) on the words *which is his body*, he says: "This is the radical or formative idea of the Church. From this idea are to be developed its nature, its attributes, and its prerogatives. It is the indwelling of the Spirit of Christ, that constitutes the Church his body. And, therefore, those only in whom the Spirit dwells are constituent members of the true Church. But the Spirit does not dwell in church officers, nor especially in prelates, as such; nor in the baptized, as such; nor in the mere external professors of the true religion; but in true believers, who therefore constitute that Church which is the body of Christ, and to which its attributes and prerogatives belong" (pp. 87, 88). The following is still more distinct: "The idea of the Church which underlies this paragraph (Eph. 2: 19–22), is that which is every where presented in the New Testament. The Church is the body of Christ. It consists of those in whom he dwells by his Spirit. To be an alien from the Church, therefore, is to be an alien from God. It is to be without Christ and without hope. The Church of which this is said is not the nominal, external, visible Church as such, but the true people of God. As however the Scriptures always speak of men according to their profession, calling those who profess faith, believers, and those who confess Christ, Christians; so they speak of the visible Church as the true Church, and predicate of the former

what is true only of the latter. The Gentiles while aliens from the Church were without Christ, without God, and without hope; when amalgamated with the Church, they became the habitation of God through the Spirit. Such many of them truly were, such they all professed to be, and they are, therefore, addressed in that character. But union with the visible Church no more made them real partakers of the Spirit of Christ, than the profession of faith made them living believers" (pp. 123, 124).

How exceedingly arbitrary all this is, and how little it agrees with the plain text of St. Paul himself, it is not our business just now to show. We bring it forward simply to exemplify the view which Dr. Hodge takes of the Church, from one end of his Commentary to the other. It agrees in full with his conception of the nature of Christianity, as being essentially a scheme of pure abstract spiritualism, starting in the election of certain individuals to salvation, and having no real significance or force beyond the carrying out of this purpose, which, at the same time, it cannot fail infallibly to reach. Under no such aspect can the Church be regarded as an outward and visible organization, carrying in it as such the powers of a higher world. Indeed it can be no *organization* at all; except in the character of a mental notion merely employed to generalize what are held to be the common attributes of its constituent members, as they are known certainly to God, though with no certainty to the world or to one another. It answers only to the invisible process of redemption, as it lies behind the dramatic show with which it is made to play its part in the outward world, and not at all to this show itself. These two conceptions fall asunder completely. There is no inward connection between them. The invisible fact and the visible fact come to no organic union whatever. They do not meet together in the idea of any single constitution, but present to our contemplation always what must be regarded as two Churches in truth instead of one. The scheme in this view is grossly dualistic.

Such dualism subverts really the old doctrine of the

Church, as it entered into the faith of the first ages, and continues to challenge the faith of the world still in the Apostles' Creed. It converts its whole being into a shadow, which, while it seems to promise much, means at last literally nothing for the process of man's salvation. Neither the true Church, in the sense of Dr. Hodge's distinction, nor the Church which is such in name only and outward show, can be said to add anything really to the "mystery of godliness," as otherwise ordered and made sure for its own ends. Neither the visible nor the invisible Church can be regarded in the light of a constitution, intervening with any real force between heaven and earth, and serving as the necessary form of all actual correspondence between them in the way of grace.

So far as the visible Church is concerned, this is at once plain. The system makes it to be, in and of itself, a mere profession of Christianity, a simply human association, a name and form at best and nothing more. If the presence of the Spirit go with it at all, it is there as something outwardly and mechanically joined with the other conception, and not as really belonging to it in any proper sense whatever. There is nothing indeed which the system is more ready to denounce, than the imagination of any sort of virtue or force for the purposes of salvation in the forms of religion as such; an imagination, indeed, which all may easily enough see to be both dangerous and absurd, if the premises of this judgment relating to the nature of the Church itself be allowed to go unquestioned. Grant that the visible side of Christianity in such view, its outward profession and forms, its whole constitution as a Church, carries in it no necessary relation whatever to its invisible privileges and powers; and it needs no farther argument certainly to prove that it must jeopardize then all the interests of piety, to lay stress on any such visibility and externalism, as having in themselves anything to do really with the proper kingdom of God, which is described as being within men, and as being "not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." The

dualistic stand-point of the system in question, shuts it up to this judgment, and renders it, we may say, logically impossible for it to look at the subject in any other light. It is ever ready, accordingly, to disparage all trust in the forms of religion, and to insist on the claims of its inward life and spirit, as something wholly independent of every such external aid. It is the foe constitutionally of the churchly, the priestly, the sacramental in religion, under every form and shape. Dr. Hodge himself loses no opportunity of striking at these conceptions, wherever they come in his way; and often, indeed, allows himself to go out of his way for the purpose.

But the invisible Church of this dualistic theory is no more suited than its notion of the visible Church, for the office here in question; and just as little account is made of it in fact under any such view. It adds nothing to the conception of Christianity, as apprehended without it. It *is* in truth nothing more than this conception itself, thus previously full and complete. It is at best the comprehension only of the "elect," whose salvation is a fact already secured under quite another aspect and view, and who thus bring with them in their character of saints all that is made to belong to them in its communion.

What has been now said may serve sufficiently to show the general nature of the Calvinistic hypothesis, on which Dr. Hodge relies so confidently for the right interpretation of the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is sufficient also to show, we think, how unequal his Commentary must necessarily be to the task of meeting and solving what we have already seen to be the fundamental exegetical problem brought to view in the structure of the Epistle itself. The hypothesis does not answer at all to the terms and conditions of this problem, as it has been already stated and described. It does not even seek to reconcile and unite the two apparently discrepant views of Christianity that run through the Epistle. It throws itself upon one of these views in a great measure exclusively of the other; and in this way violently breaks the knot which it has no power

to unloose. It does well in asserting over against Arminianism the claims of grace as forming in the work of redemption an order of life and power distinct from nature and above it; but doing this in such a way as practically to sunder the two spheres altogether, it falls into a like one-sidedness in the opposite direction, making so much of God's agency as to turn the activity of man in fact into mere dumb show. With such a character, how can it possibly do justice to the text of the New Testament, or serve as a mirror to reflect the mind of St. Paul? Looking at the theory then as it is in itself, and comparing it with the plain demands of the case, we have the most perfect right to anticipate not any more particular investigation, and to say beforehand that the Commentary before us cannot possibly give us the true scope and sense of the Epistle it pretends to expound. The difficulty is not with the learning or ability of its distinguished author. These may be all that could be expected or desired. It lies in the preconceived scheme of thought which he feels himself bound to apply to the text, as the necessary norm of its meaning; but which is found to be in truth so foreign from the genius of the text itself, that no amount of learning can ever be able to interpret this faithfully and fairly by its means.

If this general *a priori* judgment in regard to the work at large be at all correct, we may take it for granted that it cannot fail to be corroborated and confirmed by an examination of it in its details. It is only what might be anticipated, therefore, when we look into it, and find its actual course of exposition attended with embarrassment and contradiction from the very start.

Take first of all the topic of election, which is found to be of such cardinal significance for the interpretation of the whole Epistle. With the merits of the doctrine itself in its Calvinistic form, as held by Dr. Hodge, we are not here immediately concerned. We have nothing to do with it now as a question of metaphysics or of general theology. What we have before us is a simple point of exegesis, which is not to be settled by any such speculation one way or the

other. We ask not, whether the Calvinistic dogma, in itself considered, be right or wrong; but whether it be really and truly what was in the mind of St. Paul in writing this Epistle to the Ephesians, so as to be still the proper key to the actual sense of the Epistle itself. That is now the only question; and it is one which we find ourselves at no loss whatever to answer. The election of grace on which so much stress is laid by St. Paul, and which is made by him here and elsewhere to underlie the whole conception of the Christian Church, is *not* just of one and the same order with the "absolute decree" of Calvinism, regarded as determining the destination of every man to glory or perdition from all eternity. To settle this point, it is not necessary that we should be able to explain in full the relation of the two forms of thinking to each other; nor even that we should have it in our power to comprehend precisely the actual view of the Apostle at all points. It is enough to see, that the suppositions and assumptions which are involved in the one hypothesis, cannot be brought by any strain of logic to agree with what is plainly postulated and required by the other. No rule can be more sure or easy of application than this; and we need no other, for fully deciding the question here in hand.

The Calvinistic theory of election, presented to us in the Commentary, connects the beginning of salvation for all who are predestinated to life indissolubly with its end. There is no room to conceive of it coming short of its ultimate purpose in a single case. In addressing then "the saints and faithful in Christ Jesus" at Ephesus, St. Paul is to be regarded, according to this view, as having in his mind's eye directly those in whom this absolute decree had already begun to work surely towards its own end, and no others. None besides may be thought of as having any true denizenship in the kingdom of God. The conception of that kingdom is held to be necessarily of one and the same measure, with the actual operation of this absolute decree in those who are its subjects. They alone have part really in the "vocation" of the Gospel; and for them

this heavenly calling is itself the guaranty and pledge, most surely, of everlasting life.

But now it must be plain, we think, for any unsophisticated reader, looking into the Epistle itself, that its theory of distinguishing grace, whatever it may be, is something widely different from this, something which refuses to coalesce with it altogether, and that demands absolutely quite another construction of Christianity. The "elect," whom St. Paul addresses, whom he describes as "called to be saints" and as "sitting in heavenly places in Christ Jesus," and who form for him the idea of the Church which is "the body of Christ, the fulness of him that filleth all in all," are *not* at once, to his mind, such as have been predestinated by an absolute decree, from all eternity, to everlasting salvation, and are now regarded as moving forward by the power of it, with unerring certainty, to this pre-ordained result. We have plain evidence of the contrary in every part of the Epistle. The difficulties it offers in the way of Dr. Hodge's scheme, are of the most unyielding kind; and they come up in every chapter, we had almost said in every paragraph and verse; so that recourse must be had everywhere to arbitrary and unnatural suppositions, to set them aside. The Epistle goes throughout on the supposition, (common, we may add, to the entire New Testament,) that those whom it addresses as Christians, chosen and called of God to the high and glorious privileges of the Church, might still fail to "make their calling and election sure." This single fact, too plain to be disputed by any honest and unprejudiced mind, is sufficient to settle the question under consideration. It shows conclusively that the "elect" in the sense of St. Paul, are not the same with the "elect" in Calvin's sense; and that the New Testament conception of the Church is something much wider than any theological view, by which it is made to be the invisible comprehension simply of that favored class whom God has predestinated to everlasting life, and in whose case thus the work of salvation once begun has no power ever to fail.

"Those who were once enlightened," we learn from Heb. 6 : 4–6, "and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come," may after all so fall away that it shall be impossible to renew them again to repentance. Much ado has been made by some with this passage, on account of its broad opposition to the Calvinistic theory of grace, and strange shifts have been resorted to for the purpose of bending it from the plain natural sense of its own words; as though it formed a sort of solitary exception to the general tenor of the New Testament teachings on the same subject. But the truth is, the only singularity of the passage consists in the immediateness and strength of the terms it employs, to express the general thought with which it is charged. The thought itself, so far as its material substance is concerned, forms the very hinge, we may say, on which the instructions and warnings of the Epistle to the Hebrews most manifestly turn from beginning to end. Throughout it goes upon the supposition, that there is such a thing as sinning wilfully and fatally after men have received the knowledge of the truth (ch. 10 : 26–29); that those who have been "illuminated," and who have passed through many trials joyfully in the service of Christ, may yet "cast away their confidence," and so lose all the benefit of their previous good confession (v. 32–35); that those who have believed, and need only patience and perseverance to win the crown of life, may still "draw back unto perdition" (v. 36–39); that as the ancient Israelites came short of the land of promise, so Christians now may come short of the heavenly rest (ch. 3 : 7–12); that the apostacy of the Old Testament people of God forms a fair and legitimate example for the warning of his people under the New Testament (ch. 4 : 1–3); that there is full opportunity and occasion, therefore, for exhorting these last to "take heed," to "fear," to "labor," lest any of them should be "hardened through the deceitfulness of sin," and so "fall after the same example of unbelief" (3: 12–14. 4 : 1, 11). The great object of

the Epistle indeed is to fortify the Hebrew converts to whom it is addressed, against the peril of falling away from their Christian profession and hope; a peril, which is regarded not only as conceivable, but as absolutely imminent and hard at hand, creating just cause for earnest fear, and needing to be met with the most constant watchfulness and care. It deserves to be well considered, moreover, that the point of apprehension throughout is made to be, in the case of these converts, not the reality of their conversion itself as a past or present fact, but wholly and only its endurance in time to come. The question is not whether they had been already truly joined to Christ, whether they had experienced at all the power of the new truth, and so possessed in themselves the proper evidences of being in a state of grace, and having the inward life of religion as distinguished from its outward profession and form; but simply, when they should continue faithful and true to the privileges of their actually existing condition, which is presumed, as a matter of course, it would appear, to include in it all that is needed for their salvation. All depends on this perseverance. "We are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the *beginning* of our confidence steadfast unto the *end*" (3: 14). We must not be slothful, but "followers of them who through *faith* and *patience* inherit the promises" (6: 12). "Let us *hold* fast the profession of our faith *without wavering;* for he is faithful that promised" (10: 23). Such is the general tenor and burden of exhortation from one end of the Epistle to the other; involving the assumption everywhere that the Christians for whom it was written belonged really and truly to the "household of faith," and yet had no security whatever of being finally saved for this reason. An assumption, it is hardly necessary to say, with which the Calvinistic notion of the Church can never be made to agree by any ingenuity or art.

Two different ways indeed have been tried, to get clear of the difficulty; but they deserve to be considered miserable *evasions* only, and nothing more. Only to state them, is to expose their dishonesty and want of force. One of

them consists in a resort to the most arbitrary imagination, that the case towards which these warnings are directed is *hypothetical* only, without the possibility of its ever becoming actual and real. "*If they shall fall away*," expresses a contingency, possible enough on the side of believers themselves, against which in such view, accordingly, it is right that they should be solemnly warned; but which is, at the same time, on God's side, made to be graciously impossible, in the case of all, who, as the objects of his election in eternity, are the only real subjects of his salvation in time. So from first to last, the Epistle to the Hebrews is to be regarded as an argument and warning powerfully turned towards a form of danger, represented as urgent and dreadful, which nevertheless the inspired writer himself, (not less knowing in the matter, we may suppose, than Calvin,) well understood to be for the really elect, and therefore really "illuminated," (the only true membership of the invisible and only true Church,) a fiction simply of the common understanding, and no proper reality whatever! It is difficult to conceive of any exegesis, more monstrous than this. The other evasion, however, carries with it just as little title to respect. It consists in supposing, that the possibility of apostacy contemplated in the Epistle holds good only of such as own the claims of religion in an outward way, without being brought savingly under its power; and that this, therefore, is the only case, which was really before the mind of the sacred writer, in the strong language he allows himself to use on the subject. He is to be considered thus as writing in such strain, not really for the elect (in Calvin's sense), but for the non-elect; who, strictly speaking, had no saving grace, nor even so much as the possibility of it, to fall away from; no heavenly birthright to sell for any price, great or small; no faith whatever from which to draw back to perdition; but who might be warned against the guilt and danger of apostacy notwithstanding, in form merely and for the sake of effect, as having it in their power to fall away at least from the semblance of grace, and to give up a hypocritical

profession of religion for no profession at all! The imagination is purely absurd. It stands before us, without a shadow of reason to shield it from contempt. The Epistle is addressed throughout, not to the world at large, but to those who are regarded and spoken of as believers gathered out of the world into the bosom of the Christian Church; not to such under any divided view, as having been partly true saints and partly saints only in name and form, with an eye now to the one class and then again to the other, but to their whole society collectively taken; and those so addressed, are presumed to be in this collective capacity or character, "holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling," possessing by their Christian profession a real, and not simply nominal, interest in the privileges of the Church, its opportunities of grace, its full powers of salvation; while at the very same time, and under the same general view, they are presumed again to be exposed most really to the possibility of losing all and perishing finally through unbelief.

And so with the Epistles of the New Testament in general. They look, in all their communications, directly and exclusively to the Church as distinguished from the world, to the congregation of those who are denominated saints, and described as the chosen and called of God in Christ Jesus. They keep themselves continually to this rule. They have to do only with "them that are within" (1 Cor. 5: 12), and not at all with "them that are without." With them that are within, moreover, they have to do plainly in their collective character. It is not to a part only they speak, a still narrower circle mentally described within the limits of this first outward distinction. Not a particle of evidence do they show, in favor of any such arbitrary supposition. They speak to bodies of men, separated from the rest of the world in a visible, external way; and to these, as such, they refer without hesitation the lofty titles, the high privileges, the heavenly immunities and prerogatives of the Christian Church. Yet of those who are regarded as partaking of this glorious distinction, in such

general view, do they again go on with just as little hesitation, to predicate, at the same time, directly and indirectly, the real possibility of sin, in forms involving an entire forfeiture of every advantage they had come to possess. However it may be with the Calvinistic doctrine of election, it is certain that the election and vocation here brought into view, carry with them no sort of guaranty whatever for the final salvation of their subjects.

The "elect" of St. Peter, chosen according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ" (1 Peter 1: 2), "begotten again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead" (v. 3), "kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation" (v. 5), "redeemed from their vain conversation received by tradition from their fathers, not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot" (v. 18, 19), who had "purified their hearts in obeying the truth through the Spirit" (v. 22), who were "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people," appointed and set apart to "show forth the praises of him who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light" (2: 9); the "elect" of St. Peter, we say, who hold so high a place in his mind, and into the mystery of whose vocation even "the angels desire to look" (1 : 12), are still to his inspired view compassed about with all sorts of temptation and danger, requiring them to "pass the time of their sojourning here in fear" (v. 17), and need to be exhorted against all sorts of deadly sin, in a strain which clearly implies everywhere the apprehension of its full *possibility*, as something to which the privileges of their Christian state formed neither bar nor let in any sense whatever. It is not enough in his view, that those whom he addresses had "obtained like precious faith with himself through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ" (2 Peter 1: 1); nor that "his divine power had given unto them all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through

the knowledge of him that had called them to glory and virtue" (v. 3); nor that "having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust," they had it in their power by the exceeding great and precious promises" of the Gospel to be "partakers of the divine nature" (v. 3). All this only opens the way for the successful cultivation of the Christian graces and virtues (v. 5–7); and so it is added: "If these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that *he was purged from his old sins.* Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to *make your calling and election sure;* for if ye do these things ye shall *never fall:* for so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." If these words mean anything whatever, their plain sense undoubtedly is, that those who were elected and called to salvation, in St. Peter's sense, and who had been purged also from their old sins, were capable, nevertheless, of reverting again to their former state, and of so falling as never to enter heaven; the very case, indeed, of some he speaks of as "having escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," and being "again entangled therein and overcome," so that "the latter end was worse with them than the beginning" (2: 20). In full conformity with this view, accordingly, all ends with the exhortation: "Ye, therefore, beloved, seeing ye know these things before, beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own steadfastness" (3: 17).

In like manner, the "elect" again of St. Paul are plainly represented to us in every direction, as being highly exalted indeed by their position in the way of opportunity and power to be saved; nay as possessing in such form the grace of incipient salvation itself; but never as being set apart to salvation in full, with infallible certainty, and beyond the possibility of failure, in the Calvinistic sense.

The very opposite of this, on the contrary, is presumed in every sort of way. Throughout his Epistles, precepts and exhortations and warnings of the most solemn kind, which we have no right surely to regard as the empty skiomachy of one who beats the air, bear witness to the earnest apprehension he had of the liability of Christians to be overtaken with errors and sins involving a complete defection from the Christian faith; while complaints of heresy and corruption actually at work in the Churches furnish ample evidence, mournful and sad, that this apprehension was by no means without ground. What strange forms of seemingly incompatible carnality and worldliness, do we not find mixing themselves with the Christian profession of the Church at Corinth, composed of "them that were sanctified in Christ Jesus and called to be saints"? Theirs, it is signified to us, was no common election. "I thank my God always on your behalf," writes the venerable Apostle, "for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ; that in every thing ye are enriched by him, in all utterance, and in all knowledge; even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you: So that ye come behind in no gift; waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. God is faithful, by whom ye were called into the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord" (1 Cor. 1: 4–9). And then follows, almost in the same breath, a severe reprimand of their divisions and contentions; in reference to which he says subsequently: "I brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat; for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able. For ye are yet carnal; for whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal and walk as men?" (3: 1–3). And this is only the beginning of censure. The case grows worse as we proceed; and forms of evil come into view, as really existing, or at any rate, as really conceivable in this organization of saints "called

into the fellowship of Jesus Christ," which it is hard in truth to reconcile with our common ideal of a primitive Apostolical Church, and which for the honor of Christianity we might almost wish to have been either unnoticed altogether, or at least noticed in a more guarded and qualified way. There was no security in their communion, it seems, with all its celestial privileges, from the presence of even gross sins. A man that was called a "brother," one among the number of the "*κλητοι αγιοι*," might be nevertheless "a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolator, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner" (5 : 11); a monstrous case of course which is noticed only as calling for discipline and exclusion; the very supposition of which, however, is sufficient to show how real and near at hand for the Apostle's mind the whole bad possibility was of which we are now speaking, and how wide a range also he was willing to concede to it in his theory of the Christian Church. Here is another passage which sounds strangely, bearing on the same point: "Why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded? Nay, ye *do* wrong, and defraud, and that your brethren! Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolators, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And such *were* some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God" (6 : 7–11). And yet with all this purgation from their old sins, environed still, it would seem, with the danger of again coming under their power, and needing to be sharply warned of the fact, in terms that strike the ear certainly as better befitting the "children of disobedience" than the "household of faith"! Take another example: "Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid."—"Flee fornication.

Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication, sinneth against his own body. What! know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?" (6 : 12–20.) Only reflect on the opposite terms of this bold hypothesis, and then consider how much is signified by the *possibility* it serves to set before our view.

It would be easy to multiply exemplifications of the same general thought still farther from both the Epistles to the Corinthians. But the argument does not require it; and so we stop. It would be easy, moreover, to take St. Paul's other Epistles, one after another, and to show that they are all constructed throughout on precisely the same view of Christianity. But neither is this now necessary. The matter is abundantly plain, for all who care to study it in the light of the observations already made. These Epistles are all for Christians, for those who are considered and spoken of collectively as the chosen and called of God; and yet it is continually taken for granted in them, notwithstanding, that it was most perfectly possible for these very same persons to walk unworthily of their vocation, to forfeit their privileges, to part with their glorious birthright, to turn the grace of God into licentiousness, to make shipwreck of the faith, and so to come short eventually of everlasting life. Cases of such defection, as having actually occurred, are brought into view largely and without the least reserve; examples of unfaithfulness looking towards it are set before us under all imaginable aspects and forms; while the danger of it, as something not simply imaginary but most real and close at hand, (the "easily besetting sin" of Heb. 12: 1,) is everywhere powerfully and irresistibly implied by cautions and persuasions, admonitions and exhortations, prohibitions and precepts, which must be considered absolutely void of meaning in any other view.

We repeat then what we have said before. The doctrine of election in the common sense of the New Testament, and as we have it proclaimed alike by St. Peter and St.

Paul, is not the doctrine of election which is set before us in the theology of John Calvin. This is our thesis; and for the present, (let it be well kept in mind,) nothing more than this. Our business now, as has been already said, is not with the merits of the Calvinistic dogma absolutely considered. The argument for it in its philosophico-theological form, as set forth for example by Schleiermacher, is one certainly which it can never be easy to meet. But the question now before us, is not one of philosophy or general theology. It is a question purely of exegesis. What we deny, is not the truth of metaphysical Calvinism as such, but its identity with the idea of election as it is found to underlie the conception of the Church in the sense of the New Testament. The two forms of thought, we say with the greatest confidence, are not the same. We hold it, therefore, for a fundamental fault in this Commentary of Dr. Hodge, that the difference between them is altogether overlooked, that St. Paul's doctrine of the "election of grace" is arbitrarily taken to be precisely of one measure with the doctrine of predestination to eternal life as held by Calvin, and that this last is then used as a key throughout, instead of the first, to open and expound the deep meaning of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

The consequences of so radical a mistake cannot fail, of course, to extend very far. They must affect the complexion of the entire Commentary, and may be expected seriously to vitiate the value of its expositions at every point. Our limits, however, will not allow us to pursue the subject any farther at the present time. We hope to take it up again hereafter, in another article. This will give us an opportunity of examining more fully the true import and bearing of St. Paul's idea of election; as it will make it necessary for us also, to go somewhat particularly into the consideration of his doctrine of the Church; the proper parallel of that other idea, by the help of which alone it is possible to satisfy the opposing conditions of the great exegetical problem which runs, as we have already seen, through all his Epistles, so as to bring into their exposition

the feeling of order, harmony and light. The true doctrine of the Church here is for the Calvinistic and Arminian theories, what the true doctrine of Christ's person was in the first centuries for the dreams of the Gnostic on the one side and the dreams of the Ebionite on the other, the glorious everlasting synthesis under a real form of what they have no power to unite except in the way of shadow.

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ART. IV.—THE CHURCH SYSTEM AND THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

ALL false religions are dark unconscious endeavors toward the true. They are the creations and projections of human wants. In them we see fallen nature, under a sense of its misery, feeling after God. They are as the unsubstantial shadow on earth of the eagle which soars in life, and freedom, and glory above.

These outgoings of nature after the true good, are what vegetable growths are without the light of the sun from above upon them:—without strength, use or beauty, they fall back in helplessness and confusion to perish on the earth whence they sprang. They are not glorified in fruit. To the perfection of vegetable life, it is necessary that its upward endeavors be met by responding powers from heaven down; and these two must become one in the life of the plant. Every perfect plant unites in itself heaven and earth. So in true religion there must be a union of the heavenly and the earthly—the divine and the human. The deep, solemn soundings of humanity's heaving bosom

must be responded to by divinity's merciful condescension.

This humanity has ever felt—after this human spirits have ever cried. The voice, which, like the plaintive cry of a lost one in a desert, sounds down to us through all the ages past, is: How shall we rise to God; or how shall we bring God down to us? How shall heaven and earth be brought peacefully together again? Where is the long lost golden age in which God and man shall again walk together? Who shall usher in the Advent of "the vision of peace"—* when all this painful sense of alienation shall be taken away—when man shall meet that counterpart of his being which will respond to his restless spirit—when the Philosopher shall find his absolute True, the Moralist his chief Good, the Poet his long sought Beautiful, and all hearts that Ideal which they see not but love, and which they reach out to embrace in the visions of the day, and, the dreams of the night.

The endeavors of heathenism are before us in the pages of history, struggling both ways, to solve the problem of mystery. The paganism of the East—if we take an historical position at the place of Christ's birth—has labored to bring God down to man; that of the West, to raise man up to God. The Eastern religions rest on Incarnations of God: the Western on Deifications of man. In Thibet, Japan, India, Tartary, Siam, and other provinces, their gods are born of virgins—the gods become men. Among the Greeks, Romans, and northern nations, the gods are deified men.

Here are the two great schemes of paganism, which look to the same end—to bring together heaven and earth, God and man—a prophecy of what is fulfilled, though not in them.

Meanwhile there is another movement in the history of the world—Judaism. This is directed, not by earthly, but by heavenly factors. In it nature does not only speak from earth but God from heaven. It promises, and brings,

* In allusion to the word Jerusalem, the type of the Church, which means "the vision or possession of peace."

the fulfillment of both the pagan endeavors. In Judaism, from the dim morning of ages, through all the harmony and discord of history sounds the steady voice: He shall come—the seed of the woman—the child, Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God—the divine shall assume the human, the human shall partake of the divine. He, the God-man, shall verify in himself all that has been reached after by the incarnations of the East, and the deifications of the West.

He did come—just at the time when these two pagan endeavors had exhausted themselves—when Judaism itself had run its course, and presented to view only an outward chrysalis, deader and dryer as the time drew near when its inward life should spring forth in a higher and more glorious form. Then was the fulness of time—the contact of the ages—the focus of the world's historical tendencies;—and he came, who was at the same time, "the desire of all nations," and the "hope of Israel." In Bethlehem, amid a light and glory that came not from sun or star, while heaven, through angelic choirs, sung down its glorious anthem of salutation, and earth, through the shepherds, responded in joy as they could, eternal condescension inaugurated "the vision of peace."

Now the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily in the human. Humanity had a new head, and a new life. Moreover, the God-man stood in historical unity with Judaism. He came not to destroy, but to fulfil. He was circumcised—baptized—kept the feasts—a Jew. He gathered around him the lost sheep of the house of Israel first, and through them proclaimed salvation to all the ends of the earth.

Immediately there revealed itself in Him a plenary power, that transcended the limits of Jewish forms. He stood in it, but proclaimed himself before it, and over it. His power wrought in it as the life in a plant which hastens to the flower and the fruit. The last prophet of the old, and the first of the new, cried out: It must decrease, He must increase. He was its substance; and hence he pointed not to it, but to himself. "I am life and resurrection!" His

words were power. Once again, He stood on earth, who spake and it was done. Authority was in his words, melting power in His looks, life in His touch. The echoes of His words were hearing to the deaf, sight to the blind, health to the sick, life to the dead, exorcism to the possessed, and pardon to the penitent. He met life and sanctified it—He met death and abolished it—He met hell and triumphed over it!

Those whom he called around Him, He impregnated with His own life, and endowed with authority. When the time came that He should disappear from view, and as Head of all, carry captivity captive into the heavens that He might fill all things, He provided for the continuance of His presence and power in the world. He commissioned a ministry as the organs of His life—He instituted sacraments as channels of His grace—He sent the Holy Ghost as His own Spirit, to work through the ministry and the sacraments upon the people—thus constituting the Church as the body of Christ, the dispensation of the Spirit, the mother of us all.

Thus we have a true view of the nature of the Church, as it is historically indicated. It is not a projection of human wants, as in pagan systems. It is not a creation from earth up, but from heaven down. It is a kingdom which comes to meet human wants, and to fill them out. Behold the tabernacle of God is with men. Its ministry are not only leaders of men to God, but bearers of God to man. The sacraments are not acts from men to God, but acts of God to men. The Spirit is not first in men to bring them into the Church, but first in the Church to open Himself and His grace to men. "Jerusalem which is above"—a power above men, moulding them—is above the world, but in it like the sun, the rain, the dew, the air, that brood over the life of earth, waking it to bloom and fruit.

Because it is above the world and yet active in it, it is free: free as the rays of the sun which color the flowers—free as the sailing clouds that scatter the gentle rain—free as the silently distilling dew that refreshes the grass—free as

the air of heaven, which carries vigor to all—free as the moving sap, as the growing twig, as the quivering leaf, as the blooming flower, as the pendant fruit. The life of the Head in heaven flows as freely in the Church as the blood in the body. It lives in her voice, entering the heart as a lovely song, causing the lips of those that are asleep to speak. It kindles in her "dove eyes" as a light and fire of holiest love. "Thy lips, O my spouse, drop as the honey-comb: honey and milk are under thy tongue; and the smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon." Salvation drops from her fingers in the water of baptism, flows in her wine-cup of blessings, and lies as latent life in the bread which she breaks. Her breath, in prayers and praise, is as the odor from fields of spices. Behold the mystical virgin full of grace—behold the Bride, the Lamb's wife—behold the mother of us all.

We do not say that this sets before us *a* certain view of the Church; but it sets forth *the* true view. Another view is not one beside it, but one against it. Is the Church a mother or not? Is she begetting, or begotten? Is she a family or a crowd? Does she nourish and nurture, or is she nourished and nurtured? Does she produce and sustain her children, or do they produce and sustain her? Is she the generatrix of saints, or the receptacle of saints? Is she a home, or a boarding-house?

These questions present two views of the Church, which are opposite to one another, and beyond reconciliation. The one is "the bond-maid," the other "the free-woman." They of the bond-woman "are born after the flesh"; they of the free-woman "are by promise." "These are the two covenants; the one from Mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage"; the other is Jerusalem, which is the mother of us all. The one is Ishmael, the independent wild-man, born by sin in a natural birth, dividing from his brethren, and setting up for himself, and, though abiding in their presence, lifting up his hand against them;—the other is Isaac, born by supernatural birth through faith, when Sarah "was past age." From the one spring the restless

wandering hords of the desert, living on spoils; from the other the household of faith, around whose tents the land smiles in the light of peace, piety, art, science and civilization, with whom is the history and hope of the world, till all the nations shall be blest in her.

From these two views of the Church grow two systems of religion, which are not beside one another, the one good and the other better; but two systems against one another, the one true and the other false. They are distinguished, and may be characterized as: christological and anti-christological: churchly and un-churchly: sacramental and unsacramental: educational and fanatical.

1. A true christology, that is a true view of Christ's person, underlies a true view of the Christian Church. There was, in the Incarnation, a real union of the divine nature with humanity. God became truly man; and a life union with a divine-human Saviour is the first and deepest ground of salvation. This, we have seen, heathenism struggled after—this came in Jesus of Nazareth. To be in Him is life and salvation. This is the kernel of the New Testament teaching. Without this it is worse than the play of Hamlet with Hamlet's part left out.

The opposite view, or that scheme which fails to take in this fundamental fact, makes the Incarnation of God a mere revelation of God in a man—a show of the divine in the human, without a true abiding union with it. Christ is made, not the source of salvation, but the means, the "causal source" of salvation—a power by delegation: an expedient, not a necessity: an extraordinary mission from the divine to the human, instead of a mystical oneness of the divine and the human. He became incarnate only the better to become the means of salvation—which is to be accomplished *by* Him, rather than *in* Him. He was the source of salvation, only as He secured for us the means of salvation—hence he is called the "causal source."*

* Dr. Hodge on the Ephesians, p. 240. We hope we have taken the author's true meaning of this phrase. Why add the adjective *causal*, if some limitation is not intended?

We refer to this subtle form of this error, because it speaks so much like the truth, and defines itself in plausible terms through venerable, learned, and pious lips. "Now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments. For they cast down every one *his* rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods."

John calls this error a spirit—the spirit of anti-Christ—to indicate its subtility. It has, however, not been without its bold, tangible embodiment in various forms. Those who have been taught by Church History—that touch-stone of error—may find along its path the broken skulls of numerous anti-Christs, once clad in mail and fierce in power, whom Christ and time have slain: Ebionism, Gnosticism, and Arianism which ignored the divine in Christ; Manicheism, which disparaged the human in Christ, and pretended an incarnation of the Holy Ghost in Manes; Nestorianism, which separated the two natures in Christ; The Arians, who denied both the truly divine and the truly human in Christ; Pelagianism which made Christ a mere teacher and assistant to man. Since the Reformation, we have the re-appearance of all these in forms gross and subtle, and an intermarrying of them in the strangest confusion—each one ornamenting itself with patches from the rest, and wearing, like Joseph, a coat of many colors. Socinianism, Unitarianism, Rationalism, and all forms of separatistic fanaticism are merely a tasteless re-hash of old heresies—a feast of dry bones gathered in the valley of the slain. "Little children—even now are there many anti-Christs."

2. On account of the relation of Christ and the Church, as Head and Body, our views of the Church will grow by necessity out of our views of Christ's person. Hence we have the churchly and unchurchly systems.

The churchly teaches, that the life and grace of Christ, the Head, comes to us, the members, through the Church, which is His Body—the home of the Holy Ghost—the bearer of grace—the mother of saints. It teaches that the

Church is, in order, before saints, even as a body is before its members, and a mother before her children. It teaches that no one comes to Christ save through her—that we are born again, not out of her and to her, but in her and from her.

The unchurchly teaches that individual salvation begins either in the divine or human will, operating outside of the Church, will on will, without the intervention of the Church.* It teaches, that the Church is a result of faith instead of an object of faith—that Christians are first, and they organize the Church—that the Holy Ghost is operative outside of the Church, by direct afflatus, and for her, instead of through the Church and from her—that it is *our* instrumentality instead of *God's* organ—that it is as a granary rather than as a garden—that we need not the Church to bring us to Christ, but only to keep us safely when we have come to him.

As to which of these systems is the scriptural one, there can be no hesitation or doubt. To place a mother after her children is ridiculous. The Church is never set forth in any other way, than as a bosom of generating and nurturing powers—bringing forth her own results. "Of Zion it shall be said, This and that man was born in her." Ps. 87 : 5. The saints are her sons and daughters. Mark 4 : 26–29. The Church is producing—a vineyard, a garden, a field, a family. That is a venerable and anointed truth : He that hath not the Church for his mother, hath not God for his father.

3. Our views of the Church form our views of the sacraments. Hence we have the sacramental and unsacramental systems. The sacraments, being the organs of the Church,—the first and deepest factors of her power and grace in the hands of the ministry,—must partake of her generating and nurturing power, and hold the same relation to Christ, on the one hand, and men on the other, as the Church itself.

The sacramental system teaches that these holy institu-

Dr. Hodge on Ephesians, pp. 245, 246.

tions are sacramental and not sacrificial—acts from Christ to man and not from man to Christ—that they are gracious acts which he does to us, and not merely grateful acts which we do to Him—that we come to them to receive, not merely to give—that they are the bearers of grace to the believer, and not merely the expressions of love and obedience on the part of saints—means of grace first, and then means of gratitude; not like the types of Judaism, pointing to a Christ to come elsewhere, but the gracious substance of a Christ come and present—not merely memorials of an absent Saviour, but organs of a present one; not Saviours, it is true, but saving.

The other system resolves the efficacy of sacraments into the subjective act of faith—making the receiving organ in man greater than the imparting organ of the Church. It glorifies the word to the disparagement of the sacraments. It glorifies what it calls the Spirit's work, to the disparagement of Christ's positive institutions. Instead of teaching, that the Spirit carries out Christ's work, by taking of His, and showing it to us, they make Christ's institutions carry out the Spirit's work. They make the Spirit "speak of Himself," and not "that which he hears"—placing the work of regeneration, sanctification, and salvation into the Spirit's independent hands, while the institutions of Christ are only to be reached in the course of the process, and to be observed as expressions of gratitude for what has been done. This system effects the new-birth by the Spirit without the water—imparts the renewing of the Holy Ghost without the washing of regeneration—puts on Christ without being baptized into Christ—rises with him without having been buried with him—grows with him without having been planted with him—proposes to carry the struggling spirit over the tumultuous sea of the world's chaotic ruin without the ark, "the like figure whereunto, even baptism, doth also now save us."

Which of these views is scripturally correct, is at once plain. The sacraments are set forth as the acts of the Church to men—the Church gives, men receive. "*Be*

baptized." "*Take*, eat—broken *for you*." The Holy Ghost is given upon baptism—always following the act, and not preceding it. John 3: 5. Acts 2: 38. Acts 19: 1–6. Titus 3: 5-* All that we need is promised, as consequent on the sacrament—remission of sins, regeneration, nourishment, and eternal life, and resurrection. Acts 2: 38. John 6.

4. Our views of the Church and sacraments mould our views of Christian nurture. If the Church is a mother, her nurturing and nourishing must differ from that which can find place, if she is merely an asylum for orphans gathered out of the world. Hence we have the educational system, and the fanatical.

The educational proceeds upon the ground that baptism is a true transfer from nature into grace—a real planting into him, so that Christ is "put on." The baptized one is in the position of a seed in good ground—a Christian by separation and in possibility, having now the basis for a new life, and a warrant for using all the means for growing up into Christ to full stature.

Hence all the nurture is on the basis of grace, not on the basis of nature. It is a nurture in the Church, not out of it; and the result is a growth *in* grace, not *into* it. The

* We are aware of the difficulties created in some minds, in the way of objection to what is here presented, by the passages Acts 10: 44–48. 11: 15. But it ought to be remembered, first of all, that it is a mere trifling with the word of God thus to array Scripture against Scripture. There must be a harmony to the divine record. It is evident, moreover, that the passages referred to in the text, professedly and directly point out the relation of Baptism and the Holy Ghost, and present the normal order. These passages also receive their true meaning clearly, from the historical order which places Christ and his Institutions before the Spirit and His work. The passages brought in by way of objection, may be regarded as showing the extraordinary advent of the Spirit into the outside regions of Gentileism. We may hold that the Holy Spirit's gift is upon baptism, as consequence and completion, in the normal order of redemption, and yet not presume to set limits to the Holy Spirit, which is the Spirit of freedom. As Calvin would say, God is not bound, though we are. To us the Holy Ghost is only promised upon our submitting to baptism; and whoever expects His full gift without it or before it, is guilty of a presumption which will meet with a deserved disappointment and reproof. Hence the dreadful heresy which rejects Infant Baptism; and that kindred one which fanatically supposes itself to perform all its regenerations by the Spirit alone—flatly and systematically contradicting our Saviour's solemn instructions to Nicodemus.

whole life from baptism on, in the family, the school, the Church, is to be the unbroken growth of a Christian. The person becomes a Christian in his baptism, and his experiences afterward are not to be those of transition, but of advance—his life is to change, not in kind, but in degree.

The other system trains its children—so far as it attaches any importance to it—not as Christians, but as sinners. Though they may be baptized, the parent is taught to fear believing that the birth of water may be accompained by the birth of the Spirit. Though God has joined the water and the Spirit, they train them up to regard themselves as enemies of God, and instruct them to seek a spiritual birth by a revolution, to come later in life, and to have no necessary connection with Baptism. Though the parents and the Church have professed faith in their behalf, and they have received what the Scripture calls the "washing of regeneration" and the "putting on of Christ," yet they are instructed that they are unregenerate, unbelieving, impenitent, and children of wrath. Why then is infant baptism retained? It is retained loosely, and as a mere traditional form. It is looked upon with doubt and indifference—it is first practically neglected, and then theoretical ly cast out.

Where this false system prevails, there is no true Christian nurture possible. There may be attempts at *education* —drawing out the elements of nature as in Unitarianism and other forms of Rationalism. There may be *training*— an outward regulation of the child's life by the rules of morality. There may be *instruction*—a building up of religious truths and doctrines in the mind and memory. But NURTURE is that warm power of life which underlies all these, as mother and home underlie and surround the child. Where this false system prevails, instead of moisture beneath and around plants, and sun and dew upon them, there will be darkness to make them monstrous, cold neglect to chill and dwarf them, and storms to rend and destroy. Nurture is only possible in the garden of the Lord, not upon the world's uncovenanted and ungracious com-

mons. Only those who are born can be nurtured. The Church system secures for its children the birth of water and the Holy Ghost—becomes to them that are born a true mother—and of those whom she finds in the Saviour's arms, and sees that He blesses them, she says, I will bless them too—and warming them into life and love, they pass through the family, the school, the Church, into heaven.

It is the system of religion which we have delineated, that underlies the Heidelberg Catechism, and reigns in the genius of the German Reformed Church in its true original spirit. Some illustrations of this fact shall finish our present discussion.

1. That this system underlies the Heidelberg Catechism is seen in its general arrangement. It is divided into three parts—the first is to effect our penitence; the second our deliverance; the third our gratitude. It places the Church and the sacraments in the Second Part, as factors by which our deliverance is to be effected. The un-churchly system would place them in the Third Part—teaching, as it does, that union with the Church is to follow deliverance, and the sacraments are to be attended to only as expressions of gratitude by one who has been delivered.

2. That the Church system underlies the Catechism is seen from the position which it gives to the Creed. It recognizes the Apostle's Creed as THE Creed. It allows no other that conflicts with it. The Reformers did not regard the movement in which they were engaged as a revolution, or a reconstruction, but as a Reformation, the development of a substance which had suffered oppression and limitation. Their work was "the disengaging from its coverings or folds, that which lay before wrapped up and concealed under them, a bringing to birth of that which lay in embryo, creating nothing new, and, certainly, inventing nothing contrary to, or destructive of, the original germ which it professes to develop." Thus, doctrinally, the heart, and the blood, and the nerves of the Reformation were all at hand in the existing Creed, whose steady living voice sounded down through all ages; and the Reformers

could as easily have thought of killing their own mothers as destroying the Creed—as easily of putting out a mother's eye, or cutting off her right hand, as eliminating any one of its articles, even that tormentor before its time of all unchurchly minds: "He descended into hell."

This spirit of the Reformation located the Creed in the heart of the Heibelberg Catechism. All that goes before it, leads to it; all that follows after it, grows out of it by logical and theological necessity. This Creed rests in Christ, and Christ lives in it. It rests in the Church, and the Church speaks and breathes in it. He that is in the Church believes it, and he that is out of the Church cannot believe it. He that believes in the Church understands it, and he that does not believe in the Church cannot understand it. In its light do we see light; and he that will do its will shall know the doctrine.

The Heidelberg Catechism was not made by Ursinus and Olevianus *direct* from the Bible, though every word it teaches is confirmed from the Bible. If they had made it direct from the Bible it would contain nothing but their views of what the Bible teaches; and if, in that way, Servetus, or Socinus, or Wesley, or Campbell, or Albright, had made it, it would have contained their views of what the Bible teaches. They did not put their own sense into the Bible and then take it out again and put it into the Catechism, but they put the sense of the Church, as embodied in the Creed, into the Bible; and in the life, and spirit, and sense of both, they framed the Catechism.

Those who stand outside of the Church system may say, they learned the sense of the Scripture from the Spirit. But this is a seducing siren thought. What Spirit? They answer, of course, the Holy Spirit! But where is the Holy Spirit, except in the Church—as it is in the Creed? But it is also given to Christians. Right—but not to Christians out of the Church, but to Christians in it. The Spirit speaks through the Church first, then through individual Christians.

The truth lies in the Scriptures, like botany lies in the

vegetable kingdom; and while all men have a right to go forth directly into the fields to admire plants and flowers, to enjoy their perfume and their fruit, he that would construct a systematic botany, except he be a presumptuous man, will approach the vegetable kingdom not directly, but through the results of what has been done. Should he go forth directly and alone, he will be just as likely, yea, far more likely, to construct some past exploded system, as a true one. Or, to use another illustration, he that goes directly, with no means but his own opinions, into the Bible to gather materials for his Creed, resembles one who should go forth into the clover fields to gather a swarm of bees. He may gather enough to make a swarm, and put them together into a hive; but will he have a swarm, because he has bees, and enough of them to make a swarm? Will they have adherence? Will they work as a swarm? Will they remain with him? The forced and foolish union will rather cause them to sting one another, and to sting him; and very soon he will have an empty hive, with neither bees nor honey. "Therefore speak I to them in parables: because they seeing, see not; and hearing, hear not; neither do they understand." There is a mystic something—call it what we may—that is deeper and stronger than individual bees, constituting the swarm, and than our power over them; so there is a power belonging to, and constituting the Church, the kingdom of Christ, deeper and stronger than all individual wisdom and skill; and as bees act only properly in the swarm, so men are only right in this mystical constitution and bosom of powers. The Catechism is the product of such a mystic life, and speaks from it, and this is its claim to be heard. The Creed furnishes the FACTS, and these are the facts of our Saviour's life, the only true God, born, suffering, dying, triumphing over death and hell, rising, ascending, reigning, giving the Spirit, constituting the Church, the communion of saints, effecting the forgiveness of sins, and triumphing for all saints in their resurrection and eternal glorification in heaven—these facts are the basis of all its doctrines, as

interpretations of the Holy Scriptures. Thus the whole Catechism rests in the Creed, and through the Creed in the Church, and through the Church in the Spirit, and through the Spirit in Christ, who is the Head over all.

Thus the Catechism, in its very position and construction, excludes every individual interpretation of the Scriptures, except the individual interpreter stands first in its bosom and life, and so also in the bosom and life of the Church.

But not only in spirit and position does the Catechism forbid issues to be raised outside of the Creed and independent of it, but it does so in direct teachings. "*Ques.* 12. What is then necessary for a Christian to believe? *Ans.* All things promised us in the Gospel;"—who is to say what it is that the Gospel teaches? every individual Christian?—"*which the articles of our catholic undoubted Christian faith briefly teach us.*" Here is the teacher. From the Creed we must learn the substance of "all things promised us in the Gospel." Then Ques. 23: "What are these articles?" The Creed. Here all individual opinion of the teachings of the Scripture is subordinated to the Creed. Not the Scripture is subordinated—for that is the norm of the Creed itself, the fountain of all truth—but all individual interpretations of the Scripture are subordinated. Even as the government does not allow every individual to appeal for himself to the original elements and sources of law, but binds all to the national code as administered through properly constituted governmental organs, so the Catechism binds our faith to the Creed, and through it to the Scriptures. The Scriptures have been the rule of faith to the Church and the Creed; the Church and Creed are a rule of faith to us. So, consistently as the Catechism has introduced the Creed, does it also close its deductions from it in the 59th Question. "But what doth it profit thee now that thou believest all this? *Ans.* That I am righteous in Christ before God, and an heir of eternal life." To believe the facts of the Creed truly, to live in their life, to be transformed by their power—or the power of Jesus

Christ and the Spirit in and through them—to triumph in their grace, is eternal life.

That this is the true sense, genius, spirit, and life of the Catechism is beyond question. That the Reformed Church has so understood and held it, is testified by every Reformer, and by every Reformed theologian that has truly spoken from her bosom, and in the spirit of her symbols, from the first voice to the last. Every voice that has given another sound has done so either by virtue of that tolerance which has distinguished her catholic spirit, or as the farewell voice of some sect hero that has broken from her communion. Every other voice is a war-cry, the signal, first of heresy, and then of schism.

Never have we seen this position of the Reformed Church more strongly, clearly, and beautifully exhibited and proclaimed, than is done symbolically on the title-page of an old copy of the Palatinate Heidelberg Catechism. There stands a man holding up a scroll in one hand, which is the Heidelberg Catechism, pointing to an open Bible that lies upon a desk before him with the other hand, while upon the scroll is written, "*Nach dieser Regel suchet in der Schrift*" —that is, "according to *this rule* search the Scriptures." Here is the true churchly position of the Catechism so plainly exhibited that he who runs may read. Let such as cannot read study painting.

3. The doctrine of the keys which the Catechism teaches, is only consistent in the Church system. What does the doctrine of the keys claim? Merely to apply certain rules of discipline to such as violate such rules, as in a voluntary society? No; it claims the power of judging. It claims its acts of exclusion to be God's acts, "whereby they are excluded from the Christian Church, and by God himself from the kingdom of Christ"—Ques. 85—not merely from a certain society or congregation. It also claims the right of excluding persons for maintaining certain "*doctrines*," as well as "practices." Ques. 85. How is this a justifiable claim except upon the principle that the Church is a power above men, to which they, not only in their lives,

but in their faith must be submissive. While it proposes to judge according to the Scriptures, it claims the interpretation of those Scriptures as its own prerogative; and allows no individual protests, professedly based on Scripture by the protestor. In this light does the Catechism interpret the passages in God's word in regard to "opening" and "shutting," "binding," and loosing," "remitting" and "retaining."

4. It recognizes the Church system as underlying it when it speaks to the baptized catechumens as Christians, and instructs them to answer as Christians. This, those who speak out of another element call a fault—if not an error and an evil. "It teaches them to speak as hypocrites—they are made to say what is not true." This very objection shows how opposite to that of the Catechism is the system in which the objector stands; and how entirely he fails to see that profound basis which underlies the Catechism.

This peculiarity is not incidental, but fundamental to the system of the Catechism. It rests upon the fact that the instructed occupy a gracious position since their baptism—that they are God's children in a higher sense than ever an Israelite was by circumcision—that they stand in the covenant of grace. As the offspring of believing parents, they had a birth-right to baptism; and being baptized, they have a covenant right, signed and sealed, to claim all that God ever promised to his own. God is their God. Christ is their Saviour; for they have been baptized into Him by his command. The Holy Ghost is their Sanctifier, and He was given them in baptism.

They are taught that grace is theirs, and they are now taught to keep and confirm it by a heartfelt and sincere confession. The very words, by which they are at once to learn what it is, and by which they are to confess and claim it as their own, are placed into their mouths. Thus a faithful mother calls her children to lisp after her the precious words of faith, dedication, and devotion. She says to them: "So claim and profess; you cease only to be a Christian

when you refuse so to claim and profess." She says: "Grow up into Christ from your present position—your danger all lies in your drawing back from it." Let not the Church be alarmed by the fear of making her children hypocrites, as long as they willingly and with seriousness lisp the faith after her. So the eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings. Or as the poet has so beautifully paraphrased the same sentiment:

> And, as a bird each fond endearment tries
> To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
> She tries each art, reproves each dull delay,
> Allures to brighter worlds, and leads the way.

5. Another peculiarity of the Catechism which has its ground in the churchly system, is the use which it makes of the law. It is, and has been, a cause of wonder to some, that though the First Part of the Catechism is to lead to a knowledge of sin, and that knowledge of sin is said to be by the law, yet the law is not there introduced; but is reserved to the Third Part. This has a deep significance. The unchurchly system would have put the law in the First Part; because it uses the law before grace and unto it, like Judaism in its spirit of bondage.

Grace is older than the law, and goes before it. The law is in its proper position only when it confronts those in grace. Even to those who stood around Sinai, when it was first given, God first says: "I *am* the Lord *thy* God." Hence the commandments are negative,—"go not away!" The use of the law is to be reached as a result of grace. It can only be received in the hands of a mediator.

But is not the law to be used for purposes of penitence? Yea, as it is presented in the First Part, in its substance, which is love. In this form it is the new commandment of Christ. Those in grace by position are to be led into grace by full possession—their possibility is to be actualized. This is to be done, first of all by awakening them to penitence. The true ground of penitence is God's love, and our sense of defect in responding to that love. "The

goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance"—the law in the light of God's love. The law in its essence, which is love. Penitence is a filial, not a slavish sorrow. It does not grow out of terror, but out of sweetly dawning mercy. It is connected with the past in which God's love is seen; not with the future where fear arises in view of the consequences of sin. It is the obedience of love with which the Catechism confronts us in its first part. The Catechumen is to be brought to the consciousness that, sinful as he may have been, a series and a support of mercies have been beneath and around him since his birth—born into Christian arms, planted into Christ and grace in infancy, nurtured by holy surroundings, challenged now by still greater favors held out and offered by the Church; and now, as these moving facts of mercy are brought to view, he feels that all this love has not begotten love in return! He feels, too, that his only hope now is in that same mercy, in the bosom of which he has all along rested and been borne, and in the acceptance of what is now still farther offered and urged—verily, it is the sense of his disobedience to this heavenly vision that melts his heart into true penitential sorrow, gratitude and love. For in the language of one of the Reformers, to "repent aright is nothing else than a return to our baptism from which we have fallen."

Thus, also, it will be seen at once, that the theory of repentance which rests in, and grows from, the Church system, is alone the true evangelical one; and that that which is produced outside of it is a mere slavish terror and alarm, which ends in folly. It has driven many into that sorrow of the world which worketh death. The type of the penitence of love, is Mary at the feet of Jesus, washing his feet with her tears and wiping them with her hair, and then going and loving much. The type of the penitence of fear, is the children of Israel quailing and quaking in dread and terror around the mountain of Sinai, and then going and making a golden calf.

6. That the Church system underlies the Catechism is seen in its peculiar doctrinal position, as it stands related

to Calvinism on the one hand and Arminianism on the other.

Its peculiar spirit on this point is well known. It has been charged, on the one side, of being secretly Calvinistic, and on the other, of being quietly Arminian; and from both sides the cry has been rung into our ears: "Art thou for us, or for our adversaries!" It has only silently held its sword, and answered, "Nay; but as the captain of the host of the Lord am I come." Josh. 5: 13, 14. It is both, and neither; or, in other words, it is the truth of both.*

Calvinism finds the first, and deepest, and constant ground of salvation in the abstract eternal decree of predestination—and finds it only for a portion of the race. Before all worlds—so the theory goes—this decree went out, and, anticipating history, selected in the fallen race an elect number to life. Then to save these, Christ was sent, the Church instituted, the Holy Ghost given, and all the means of grace ordained. Thus, the incarnation, the Church, the Spirit's work, and all the divine manifestations and appliances appear as a mighty parenthesis, running through the whole mediatorial history, to meet the decree which went out, not through this line of history, but by anticipation, some other way. Thus, in the case of the elect, the decree is the ground of salvation, and Christ a mere means. "There is a federal union with Christ which is antecedent to all actual union, and the *source* of it," says one.† Again: "He died for them *on condition* that they should be the sons of God, restored to their Father's family and reinstated in all the privileges of this divine relationship."‡ Thus the decretal contract is the *source*, and

* It is worthy of profound consideration, that the Heidelberg Catechism, which has always ruled the heart, spirit, and body of the Reformed side of the Reformation, has no prototype in any of the Reformers. Zwingli and Calvin can say, It is not of me. It has the suavity but not the compromising spirit of Melancthon. It has nothing of the dashing terror of Luther. What is stranger than all, it is farthest possible removed from the mechanical scholasticism, and rigid logic, of Ursinus, its principal author. Though it has the warm, practical, sacred, poetical fervor of Olevianus, it has none of his fire and flame. It is greater than Reformers. It is purer and sounder than theologians.

† Dr. Hodge on Ephesians, p. 81. ‡ Idem. p. 86.

the death of Christ the *condition* of salvation. This scheme the Church system cannot receive—with it the Catechism does not coalesce—it came not in by the Reformation, but has climbed in some other way. The Church system finds the source of salvation in Christ—not merely the means and condition. He is older than all decrees. The decree is in Him, and from Him: not He in it, and for it. In God, decree and act—will and actualization are one, and not sundered by time. In time only—the element of our weakness—does decree precede and act follow—this is all only true in created intelligences, who act in the limitations of time and space. In reference to God, who exists as "an eternal now," out of time, and acts in it, the decree is, *to us*, never before history, but in it as its starting moving factor. All his purposes, actualize themselves in, and do not stand in front, of history, of Christ, of the Church, of saints. It is not necessary that the eternal source of all should anticipate himself. To plan ahead, in our human conceptions of it, implies limitation, weakness, fear of defeat. God unfolds his will, that evolution is history, and in that history, as its genus and life, is His present will—and that is his decree—purpose, and power, and act, in one.

Thus Christ was the chosen. In him moved the decree. In the Church, which is his body, it unfolds its power and glorious grace. In the sacraments it makes "election sure." Baptism is the decree actualized in time—the only election with which we have practically any thing to do. It is the hand which is the bearer of the divine election—its acceptance is the covenant of election—its rejection is reprobation. On this pivot hangs the peril. This is the hinge on which the disciples were to suspend the "pain of damnation." "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to *every* creature, *he* that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, he that believeth not shall be damned."

The system of Calvinism is as if we should suspend a number of apples in the air, and then make the tree grow up to them, and apprehend them. The Church system, is

as the natural order, in which the apples appear as the end and result of its development. The soul whom the Church has reached and apprehended by baptism is elect—and was not elect before; yet now elected only "to be a saint"—"predestinated unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ"—chosen in him "that we should be holy." In baptism the election begins in fact, but is not finished. In it is a possibility of salvation, not an actuality. "For we are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast unto the end."*

Hence the Catechism also speaks the language of an Arminian; yet not from the Arminian basis, but from the Church basis. Those to whom it speaks are in grace—in the beginning of it, as it lies in baptism, and the Spirit given in that sacrament. They, accordingly, have ability: not, however, the ability of nature, but the ability of grace. Their wills have power of right activity, because they stand and move in a bosom of grace. Their activity is not from a point out of grace reaching after that which they have not; but an activity in grace holding fast in their new position,—into which a divine sacramental act has translated them,—to the power and grace which bear them.

Thus the Church system places the ground of salvation, not with Calvinism, in the abstract divine decree, but in the divine will mercifully apprehending us in Christ and

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* Very properly is the distinction made between the terms *election* and *predestination*. Election is a taking up into—predestination is a determining unto. Election applies to such as are assumed into the Church—predestination to the merciful purpose of God toward those who yet stand without. The first applies to those who have submitted, the second applies to all. Thus Paul, in Eph. 1: 4, 5, 6. "According as he hath chosen (elected) us *in him*, before the foundation of the world, that we *should be* holy and without blame before him in love: having predestinated us *unto* the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the *good pleasure* of his *will*, to the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he *hath made us accepted* in the Beloved." So in the 11th and 12th verses: "Being predestinated—that we *should be*," &c. Thus predestination is a purpose that bestows a privilege *to* a position: Election, the assuming act into that position in the case of all who believe and submit. This distinction avoids that terrible alternative of admitting a predestination unto reprobation. The decree of reprobation is *man's own decree*—not God's. See 1 Cor. 9: 27. Rom. 1: 28. 2 Tim. 3: 8. Titus 1: 16. 2 Cor. 13: 5, 6. See especially the scriptural and classical use of δοκιμος and αδοκιμος.

the Church. Nor yet does it find the true ground, with Arminianism, in the human purpose, which seeks, by the aid of Christ and the Church, to attain to salvation by its own power of self-determination. Both these are aside of the truth. The one taking as its fulcrum the divine will, working outside of the incarnation and its history; the other taking as its fulcrum the human will, outside of a position of grace. Both these dishonor Christ and the Church, by making them mere means, instead of sources, of grace. That is the most reprehensible of all heresies which degrades Christ to a mere means of grace.

The Church system makes salvation wholly of grace; but not grace hanging over man in dark, fatal, enigmatical abstraction, but grace in its merciful and eternal history in Christ, in the Church, and in all who suffer themselves to be incorporated in her grace of baptism to be renewed by her Spirit, and to be nurtured in her bosom of saving powers.

The Church system maintains also, with Arminianism, full freedom of the human will, saying: "Repent, and be baptized every one of you." "He that believeth"—not believeth that he is elected or regenerated, but believeth that Christ and the Church can and will make him so,—"and is baptized"—or having been baptized, will fall back upon that covenant, as the full adequate power and warrant of grace and salvation to him, putting himself under her holy nurture, receiving all things that the Church teaches him to observe—he that so believes and so obeys —"shall be saved:" and "he that believeth not shall be damned." "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name."

On this Church ground, as in the Catechism, are the contradictions of Calvinism and Arminianism reconciled, and their truth retained; for both clearly lie in the Scriptures. As in Christ, the Incarnate God, the divine and human are one: so in the Church, which in like manner unites the divine and human, the divine and human wills

are made one. In Jerusalem, which is above, man is free —in her the free are born—in her all freedom begins and is perfected. In her the divine will is not a dark power hanging in unseen fatality over the human spirit, but the tender melting will of a mother; and in her the human will is not a bond-slave, unnerved by terror, but a child which kindles up under the smiles which cheer and bless it, believes and lives. Here is harmony between man and God, nature and grace—the human and the divine will—here is the vision of peace—here must end—if it ever ends in the Church militant—this conflict of ages.

What a touch-stone does the whole subject furnish by which to detect any tendencies of an unchurchly and downward character in the Reformed Church to which it has been disposed too easily to yield. What a test by which may be known, in the Reformed communion, the insidious workings of the spirit of a system not its own—not its own by history or standard, nor its own by spirit and genius, nor its own by the Scriptures of truth—let it not be made its own by a quiet unfaithful surrender of the better, and a blind choice of the worse. Let not the Reformed Church be allured by smiles, or frightened by frowns to bow its neck to strange tribute. Shall the anointed authority and majesty of its venerable history be pronounced a lie at the bidding of a Babbel cry of impotent individualism? Shall it suffer its solid educational system to be evaporated in the frothy, vapory boilings of an arrogant fanaticism? Shall it exchange its blessed sacramental system for the impotent spasmodic strugglings of private feeling and private faith? Shall it choose the suicide of falling from the Church system upon the opinions and vain promises of individual theological schemings and experiments? Our holiest instincts, our most precious memories, our theological history, and our venerated symbols, say: No.

The Reformed Church in America has prospered in proportion as it has been true to its own proper position and genius. The spirit which has shown itself worthy of receiving a greater crowd of martyr witnesses since the Re-

formers than all Protestant denominations together, will not now suffer it to sell its birth-right at the bid of dictation, misrepresentation and abuse. When its self-constituted guardians have protested their last on the subject of its Puseyism and Romanism, it will still say, as by the mouth of all the Reformers, and in unison with the voice of all Christian ages: The Church is our mother—the Creed is our faith—and whatever is catholic shall teach us. He that denies the Church is an infidel—he that denies the Creed is a heretic—and they that will not bow reverently to the instructions of the solemn Past, both individuals and sects, have sinned against the spirit of the fifth commandment, nor shall their days be long in the land which the Lord their God hath given them.

Lancaster, Pa. H. H.

ART. V.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

VII. MY TRAVELS IN PELOPONNESUS.

II. SPARTA. (CONTINUATION.)

Site of ancient Sparta—Castle Hill—Theatre—Temples—Inscriptions—Roman Amphitheatre—Issorion—Aphrodision—Kolona—Dorian, Roman, Byzantine Ruins—Rural life of the Spartans—Sanctuary of Minerva—Athena Ergane—Market-place—Monument of Leonidas—Skias—Doric Museum—Platanistas—Dromas—Sepulchres of the Agida—Altar of Diana Orthia—Devastation of Abbé Fourmont—Modern Sparta—Silk spinnery—Environs—Amyklai—Therapne—Menelaïon—Vaults at Vafeó—Doric Bridge—Rise and Glory—Decline and Fall—Roman Conquest—Mountaineers of Mani.

ATHENS may at present be considered as the starting-point of every traveler in the Levant. Hence we meet with frequent descriptions of that city, its antiquities and modern development, in every work on Eastern travels, while the artists furnish us with pictures of its monuments and scenery.

Different are the relations with regard to Sparta. Situated far away beyond the mountains, and difficult of access, it is seldom visited; and so little curiosity has hitherto been excited about the old rival of Athens, that it may not be generally known that a description of the valley of the Eurotus embraces not one, but four or five cities of the name of Sparta or Lakedaimon—all at different periods situated on the banks of that river or in its immediate neighborhood, and about every one of which we may relate some historical facts and describe interesting extant

monuments. The first of these is the ancient Achaian capital of King Menelaos, at Therapne, opposite to Sparta; the second, the extensive Dorian city of that name; the third, the smaller but strongly-fortified Byzantine town of Lakedaimonia, during the middle ages situated on the central hills of the old city. The fourth, is the more modern town and castle, which the fourth prince of Achaia, William of Villehardouin, built at the base of Mount Taygetos, in 1250, called Misithrás or Misthrá by the Franks, but Sparta by the Byzantines. This last became the capital of the Turks: it was, therefore, almost entirely destroyed by the Maïnots at the outbreak of the war of independence in 1821, and though somewhat restored since, is at present yielding in rank, population, and prosperity to the fifth Sparta, the flourishing Amaliapolis, which, under the auspices of king Otho, has now risen on the southern hills of Old Sparta, near the western bank of the Eurotas.

Thus with the annals of history in our hands, and the scanty but authentic and precious remains before us, from different ages, Achaian, Dorian, Roman, Byzantine, Frankish, Othoman and Romaïc—we may perhaps succeed in tracing the outlines of that celebrated city through all her vicissitudes, her rise and victorious sway, her decline and overthrow, her resurrection and slow but steady modern development, from old Menelaos, the king, and Lykurgos, the law-giver, down to the present day, through a course of more than thirty centuries!

But will our skeptical modern historians assent to this? Will they not with an incredulous smile, inquire if we can in all reality exhibit ante-Dorian monuments, proving the historical existence of the Pelopidæ in the distant era of the Trojan war, which by the distinguished Mr. Grote is considered as all poetry and fiction?

On the morning after our arrival at Misthrá, we prepared to start for the ruins of Sparta. Papa Oikonomides, our landlord, who was both curate and *didaskalos* or teacher, at the Hellenic school of the town, offered to give his boys another holiday, in order to be our guide, perhaps

with the *arrièrepensée* of having his share of the good dinner in the hospitable house of Mr. Levendis, the governor of the province of Lakedaimon, who was an old acquaintance of ours from Athens.

The distance between Misthrá and the site of ancient Sparta is four miles, or an hour's ride, through a fertile and beautiful plain, covered with forest which presents a varied prospect of orange, lemon, and mulberry groves. The majestic trees are interlaced with wild vines and luxuriant ivy hanging in festoons from tree to tree, and disclosing charming vistas to the blue mountains in the distance, whose forms and hues vary at every turn of the road.

We soon crossed a brisk perennial torrent that descends from Mount Taygetos and is called Trypiotiko, the ancient Tiasa, and leaving the woods behind us, we rode forward upon the more open plain toward the village of Magula. Here our attention was drawn toward numerous masses of ruins that covered the hills in front. A Roman aqueduct on a double range of arches is seen on the north; churches, chapels, massy brick buildings, are scattered along the plain and the base of the hills which separated us from the Eurotas; while the central hill itself is crowned along its summit with crumbling walls and towers of a city. All this seemed very astonishing to us at the first sight, from the earlier impression left us by the descriptions of travelers, of the few and insignificant relics to be found on the site of Sparta.

"*Ιδου την Σπαρτην*! Here we have Sparta, Affendi!" said the schoolmaster. "Some modern ruins certainly, but probably none of the Dorian city," we replied. But lo! a few paces forward, and all at once the immense blocks of the Dorian theatre made their appearance on the south side of the principal hill. "Here then lies the city of Lykurgos:

> "Sparta, Sparta, why in slumbers?
> Why in lethargy so deep?
> Rouse thyself, thy friend awaken,
> Glorious Athens from her sleep.

Call to mind thy ancient warrior,
Great Leonidas of old,
Mighty man of fame immortal,
The tremendous and the bold."

We dismounted, and throwing some husks of corn before our horses, which we attached to a tree in a field, we ascended to the theatre situated on the highest hill, some fifty or sixty feet above the plain. The view from there at once embraces the entire circumference of the ancient city, and we were struck with the accuracy of Polybios, who thus describes the site of Sparta:

"The form of the city," says the historian, "is nearly circular, and its circumference forty-eight stades, or six Roman miles. It lies partly in the plain and partly on hills of different height and extension. The river Eurotas runs to the east of the city, and is so deep that it is not fordable during the greater part of the year. The steep and rough Mount Menelaïon ascends on the east so close to the river that it leaves only a narrow defile, a quarter of a mile in length, for the passage."*

The hills which occupied the site of ancient Sparta are five in number; the *Aphrodision* on the north, the *Akropolis* on which we stand, south of the former; the *Issorion* eastward, projecting steeply toward the bank of the river; and at a greater distance on the south, the fourth hill, *Kolona*, which runs with a precipitous flank along the Eurotas, and sinking steeply down on the rivulet Tiasa, near its junction with the Eurotas, forms a fifth group of low mounds—the *Diktynnaion* sloping off westward on the plain of Magula. On these southern hillocks lies New-Sparta, the present capital.

The prospect from the upper range of the theatre is the grandest and most beautiful the imagination can conceive. It combines the sublime magnificence of the Alpine valleys of Switzerland with the brilliant sky and the vigorous and varied vegetation of Italy. All the plains and all the mountains we have seen—with the exception perhaps of Mount

* Polybii Hist. V. 24.

Lebanon—are surpassed in the variety of their combinations and the beauty of their outlines by the plain of Sparta and the snow-capped Mount Taygetos.†

On the north, beyond the swelling hills on which we are standing we have a prominent branch or bluff of Taygetos, forming the northern defile on the Eurotas, and beyond the river, the towering summit of the Thornax.

On the east, the green meadows, on the banks of the silvery stream, shaded along its course by thickets of laurels, myrtle, and oleander; and beyond it, the steep, naked flanks of the Menelaïon range, which, by its fiery red, orange, and violet hues, forms a pleasant contrast to the fresh, grassy banks at its base—and the distant blue peaks of Mount Parnon, soaring proudly over its flat and even summit.

On the west, beyond the mulberry and olive-groves, in their variety of pale, silvery, and bright-green tints, interspersed with sombre cypresses—and open glades, vineyards, or maize-fields, with chapels and cottages—rise the masses of Taygetos, with its wonderfully picturesque, abrupt flanks, its deep, rocky gorges, its fertile table-lands and bleak stony peaks or cupolas, forming an immense undulating barrier, 7500 feet above the sea, and extending south as far as the eye can reach. The table-lands, raised high above the steep sides of the mountain, are, like the upper regious of the valley of Inspruck in Tyrol, cultivated with wheat, corn, and fruits, and occupied by many villages called *Klephto-choria*, or robber-hamlets, which are distinctly seen at a great distance from the plain below. On a high conical hill we discover the Castle of Misthrás and the town, with its suburbs of Pandeleïmona and Paròra enbosomed in gardens extending along its base.

Turning south, in front of the theatre, we have cultiva-

† Travelers generally find a great resemblance between the valley of Misthrás and the celebrated Vega of Granada in Andalusia, where the Sierra Nevada is said to present the same precipitous boldness and grandeur as the Taygetos, and the woody plain a similar almost tropical luxuriance with Lakonia, while Misthrás with her towering Gothic castle and far-straggling suburbs in the distance, can be compared to royal Granada with her Albaycin and Alhambra. Happy he who has seen both!

ted fields interspersed with mulberry and olive trees, beyond which at a distance of half a mile on the low southern hills of ancient Sparta, appears the modern town of Amaliapolis, or the city of Queen Amelia, with its white houses, towering church, and government buildings. Farther on, the eye follows the course of the torrent Tiasa to its junction with the Eurotas; beyond we distinguish the more distant hills and tumuli of Therapne and Amyklai; and ranging down the valley of Hollow Lakonia, over waving forests, our perspective terminates with the high wood-clad Bardounian hills, running east of Taygetos toward the lower Eurotas and cutting off our view from the Lakonian gulf and the open sea.

Such is the panorama of the valley of Lakonia, seen here from the brow of the ruinous theatre; such it was in remote antiquity, when Lykurgos, under the influence of the harmony and beauty of this sublime scenery, in deep and silent meditation laid the foundation of his warlike republic; such it was, when the armies of Sparta, returning from distant glorious campaigns, in their glittering panoply, and surrounded by their rejoicing wives and ruddy children, celebrated thanksgivings before the Brazen Temple of the giver of victory. How different then from now!

The northern-most hill, the Aphrodision, steep and almost perpendicular, forms a strong counter-fort toward the Eurotas. It is separated from the still larger central hill by a deep dell, or artificial avenue, which in two terraces leads to its upper platform. This latter hill is the Akropolis of Sparta—not, as that of Athens, Argos, Korinth, and other Greek cities, a strong fortress situated on a high, impregnable rock; but only a hill, containing the principal temples and sanctuaries of the Spartans, surrounded by their five camps or villages as a common centre. It is the largest and highest hill on the site of the ancient city, and the only one which could have been used for such a purpose. It is strewed all over with ruins of baths, aqueducts, dwelling-houses, fragments of marbles and pottery, and on

the south side stands excavated in its flank—the most remarkable monument of Doric Sparta—the great theatre.*

On the east, again separated by a deep, perhaps artificial passage, rises another precipitous hill, the ancient Issorion, the somewhat lower continuation of which, the Kolona, forms a steep bank toward the river, running southward for more than a mile, until its junction with the torrent Tiasa, where the hills turn west and slope off toward the plain.

And here we shall draw the attention of the reader to an important fact, which, in a remarkable manner, explains the history of Sparta—that the city, although open and not defended by walls, was yet sufficiently fortified by nature. The entire plateau of Sparta, with its four principal summits, forms a steep front line toward the banks of the Eurotas, being protected on the north by the bluff ridge already mentioned, as running down from Taygetos toward the river; on the south-east by a line of precipices near the junction of the Tiasa, and on the south by that rivulet flowing in a deep, rocky channel. This long, front line of steep hills, rising to a height of between forty and sixty feet above the level of the river, was occasionally occupied by the Spartan army, and withstood victoriously all the attacks of Epaminondas, the Makedonians and Romans. Thus beaten back, the enemy was obliged to proceed through the narrow defiles of Mount Menelaïon, east of Sparta, re-cross the Eurotas, and encamp south of the city on the plain of Amyklai, whence he might direct his assault toward the only exposed part of Sparta—the south-west.

Yet even this side was not entirely unprotected; we still discover the traces of two canals which crossed the plain of Magula, leading the water of the Tiasa eastward to the market-place under the Akropolis, and branching off by

* The building of theatres in the castle-rocks was a generally prevailing custom among the Greeks. Thus we find the theatre of Bacchus and the Odeum of Herodus Attikos, excavated on the southern flank of the Akropolis at Athens, and other similar edifices at Argos, Chaironeia in Boiotia, and other places.

another water-course to the *Plaitanistas*, or low peninsula formed by the junction of the Tiasa with the Eurotas. It was in that south-western direction, between the canals, that the Spartans, in 272 B. C., at the sudden attack of Pyrrhos, king of Epeiros, drew a ditch eight hundred feet in length by nine in breadth, and six in depth, protected by carriages and barricades, which the Spartan women defended so bravely, that they forced the warlike madman to retire with dishonor. Here, too, and along the steep banks of the Tiasa, was afterward (195 B. C.) erected that strong line of walls before which fifty thousand Romans, commanded by Quintius Flamininus, were repulsed, and the noble city thus saved from the humiliation of a Roman occupation.

These city walls, built by the despicable tyrant Nabis, in the year 196 B. C., inclosed the entire circumference of Sparta. They were broken down by Philopoimen, the celebrated president and general of the Achaian Confederation, 188 B. C., but afterward rebuilt a second time by the same Achaians, on the scornful command of Rome, and they existed during the period of the Roman dominion in Greece. At the present day, however, we can only trace their foundations on the southern hills along the river Tiasa, and at some places westward through the plain of Magula.

Such being the natural locality of Sparta, we shall now give an account of the remaining monuments from the Doric and Roman times.

Some foundations of old buildings are seen on the northern hill, the Aphrodision, where stood the Temple of Aphrodite, (Venus;) others on the Issorion. Many heaps of square blocks and marble fragments—daily diminishing—were still lying on the more elevated parts of the southern hill, indicating temples and public buildings mentioned by Pausanias. But the principal ruin is the theatre, excavated, as we said, in the south-western corner of the Akropolis. The two extremities of its *cavea* or semi-circle are supported by enormous masses of quadrangular stones, and

the *chord* or scene is constructed of brick-work, now mostly destroyed. Some rows of seats still exist, but the greater part have been carried away, and the *orchestra*, or bottom of the semi-circle, in front of the scene, is now occupied by melon-gardens, (*bostania*,) while the plain around is laid out in corn-fields, interspersed with mulberry trees. Each wing of the theatre has about 120 feet in breadth, and the total diameter was 450 feet, which proves that it was the largest theatre in Greece, those of Athens and Megalopolis only excepted. Dramatic exhibitions were prohibited by the severe institutions of Lykurgos, and the theatre, therefore, was only used by the austere Spartans for gymnastic exercises, musical concerts, and public assemblies. It was here that the Spartans gave that astonishing proof of the strength of their character and discipline. The whole people was assembled at the festival of the *gymnopaidia*, which were celebrated by the youths singing hymns to the honor of Apollo, Artemis, and Dionysos, and performing the war-dance, in full armor, in the theatre, when the news arrived of the defeat of the Spartan army at Leuktra, the death of King Kleombrotas and of the most distinguished citizens. Yet the Ephors, keeping the secret, let the rejoicings continue, and when each family learned its loss, those Spartans only whose sons and relatives had perished showed themselves abroad, congratulating one another, while the widows and the mothers of the fallen warriors hurried with smiling faces to the temples to thank the gods for the glory they had bestowed on them—thus suppressing the internal sorrow and despair. All Hellas looked with wonder on Sparta. But when they shortly afterward gained the Tearless Victory, and returned triumphantly to the city, then their bosoms became unlocked, the tears flowed freely, and the women showed the full sensibility of their hearts.

On the same hill, at a short distance east of the theatre, we found, in 1838, some curious door-ways, or gates, of huge blocks of white marble, nearly buried in the rubbish up to their soffit. Others similar to these were at that time

seen on the southern hills, with an appearance of seats on the one side, as if the building had been a place of public assembly, opposite the market-place, and somewhat resembling the Pnyx at Athens. They hardly arose above the shrubbery, a proof that the soil had accumulated around them, and that interesting structures, and perhaps inscriptions, statues, vases, and other antiquities, may still lie hid beneath the soil.

In front of the theatre stands, or stood, among the olive trees, a large sepulchral chamber, built of white marble blocks. It is of an oblong form, twenty-two feet in breadth, and double the length; the blocks measure fifteen feet, and three layers were then in preservation. The inhabitants call it the Sepulchre of Leonidas, and this coïncides with the account of Pausanias, who mentions the cenotaphion of the heroic king of Sparta in this direction. This, then, is a most precious monument, which ought to have been restored and revered by the modern Spartans; but alas! we are almost ashamed to confess, that on our second visit to Sparta, in August, 1843, not only the Doric doorways or porticoes just mentioned, but even this venerable sepulchre chamber, had been destroyed, in order to use the materials for the construction of the city of New-Sparta, rapidly arising on the southern hills, at half a mile's distance from the theatre. Great was the disgust of the architect, Mr. Schaubert, and myself, when, on our walk to the theatre, we found some New-Spartan citizens engaged in removing and cutting to pieces these beautiful marble blocks. We hurried back to the governor, at that time the learned and active Mr. Latris, who gave the necessary orders to the ignorant *bakalides* (shop-keepers) to replace the few blocks which had been left uninjured.

We had formerly seen several marble altars ornamented with sculptured bulls' heads and garlands of flowers, having the usual Doric inscription "The Senate and the People"—*ΑΒΟΥΛΑΑΚΑΙΟΔΑΜΟΣ*—lying scattered about among fragments of columns, Doric capitals, and heaps of freestones. Some years afterward they had all disappeared, in

spite of the royal ordinance protecting the ancient monuments, and of the exertions and vigilance of the governor and several learned and intelligent members of the newly-established community.

Another highly interesting ruin from the Dorian times is a bridge over the Eurotas, to the north-east of the Castle-hill, where the road from Arkadia crosses the river and enters the city between the northern hill of Aphrodision and the central Akropolis. The river forms there an island, and is fordable at low water; banks, bridge, and island are overgrown with a rich vegetation of willows, myrtle, and oleander. This bridge is supposed to be the Babyka, or Babyx, to which reference is made in the oldest topographical notice of Sparta. It goes so far back as the Lykurgean Legislation, and is contained in the first *rhetra*, or compact, of his laws, wherein the oracle of Delphi is said to have directed Lykurgos to erect temples to Jupiter and Minerva, and to fix the seat of the Senate and the kings between the Babyka and the *Knakion*. The former, according to Aristotle, was a bridge; the latter, a river, which Plutarch explains as the obsolete name for the Oinus, discharging into the Eurotas, ten stadia above the bridge. Here, then, somewhere on the banks of the river, and outside the city, the *Ekklesia*, or national assembly of the Spartans, was held in the open air; for Plutarch adds that there were neither porticoes nor any other accommodation.* Some piers of the ancient bridge and its foundations can be pursued for a length of two hundred and forty-two feet on the side toward the city; yet it is evident that it has been repaired at different periods of time.

These are nearly all the remains of Dorian Sparta which we saw in 1838 and 1843, and no discoveries have since been made, as far as we have been able to learn.

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* The reason why the Lawgiver left the place of assembly undetermined between the river Knakion and the Eurota-bridge, for a distance of ten stadia, or more than a mile, is supposed to be found in the general principle of the Lykurgean laws to hinder every concentration, to encourage widely-scattered settlements, and to remove the place of assembly far away from the market-place and its distractions.

The Roman ruins consist in the great aqueduct running north through the hills for several miles, many large brick ruins, and an amphitheatre—the only one in Greece—near the Eurotas. It is certainly the smallest in existence, being only one hundred and twenty-three yards in diameter, within the circus. It has exactly the form and construction, though in miniature, of the Roman amphitheatres in Italy and southern France. The outer buttresses and vaulted galleries supporting the ranges of seats are still seen, though the seats themselves have disappeared. The narrow space of the arena would hardly have permitted those terrible exhibitions of gladiatorian combats, or the chase of wild beasts, which formed the delight of the Roman public; and it would rather seem that this diminutive amphitheatre, or odeum, may have been employed for musical concerts, or some other such peaceful exhibitions.

Such is the present site of Sparta. Its few scattered relics have nearly vanished, with the exception of the Doric theatre; and the confused masses of Roman and Byzantine brick buildings still covering the hills will no doubt sooner or later suffer the same fate. How truly, therefore, has the ominous prophecy of the great Athenian historian, Thukydides, been fulfilled when he says that, if Lakedaimon were demolished, and nothing remained but its sacred buildings and foundations, men of a distant age would find a difficulty in believing the existence of its former power—that it had held beneath its sceptre two of the five divisions of Peloponnesos—that it had commanded the whole of Hellas, with its numerous allies and colonies—so inferior was the appearance of the city to its fame, being neither adorned with temples and splendid edifices, nor built in contiguity, but in separate quarters, in the rude style of remote ages: whereas if Athens, adds the historian, were reduced to a similar fate, it would be supposed from her magnificent ruins, that her power had been twice as great as the reality.* And indeed, when we stand on the Athe-

* Thukydides, i. 10.

nian Akropolis, among the indestructible monuments of the genius and power of that noble republic, its whole history, with all the vicissitudes of victory and defeat, starts forcibly on our mind, while the low and desolate hills of Sparta, sinking into insignificance beside the snow-decked peaks of the mighty Taygetos, the luxuriant vegetation of forest and field, and the rural solitude on the banks of the Eurotas, bring no remembrances to our mind that here stood the capital of the victors of Athens and the rulers of all Hellas. And yet do we herein find the true historical character of Lakedaimon typified in a highly remarkable manner. Untouched by the fear which caused the other Greeks to retire from their fields, and shut themselves up within their narrowly-built cities, behind walls and towers, the Spartans, continued to cherish the ancient Doric habits of life in the midst of their extensive rural establishments. Every Spartan citizen sojourned on his estate, in the valley of the Eurotas, with his family, and surrounded by his numerous Helots who tilled his fields. He trusted to the impregnable ramparts which Nature herself had piled up around his secluded and happy Lakonia; and when he carried his arms abroad, the nations sank before him—at home he roamed secure over mount and dale. His capital was only the great centre of the most populous township. Canals and water-courses, which were carefully carried through the plain occupied by the scattered villages of Sparta, and whose direction can, as we said above, still be traced near Magula and between the southern hills, watered the copious gardens and plantations that separated the squares of the different quarters, the sanctuaries, public buildings, and extensive farm-houses of the Spartan citizens. This rural independence, this tranquility and wealth, constituted the charm of Sparta, and stood in such singular contrast to the mercantile and artistic activity of Athens, with its noisy and bustling ports; its narrow lanes, densely inhabited by mechanics and workmen; its crowded theatres, tribunals, and popular assemblies, confined within the circumference of mighty walls and towers, that protected

Athens like an island in the ocean. It was in this sense of victory abroad and civic tranquility at home, that King Demaratos called his native capital the queen of all Hellenic cities, and that the poet Therpandros sang in praise of the justice and blissful security which reigned on the broad and shady avenues of Lakedaimon; a picture so well understood by us Americans, who, in our open and widely built cities, beneath the rich foliage of our avenues and gardens, enjoy at the same time all the advantages and comforts of city-life combined with the healthy air and the fragrance of the forest.

Yet, though Sparta was not, like Athens, the teacher of the Hellenes in science and art, we must not, on the other hand, suppose that the Dorian city was without its ornaments in the various branches of architecture and sculpture, and these, in their peculiar beauty, exhibiting the stern and sombre character of the Dorian race. Ancient Sparta presented no doubt a varied aspect during the fifteen centuries of her existence. After the victorious termination of the Messenian and Argolic wars, she occupied the foremost position in Hellas as to military power and political and moral consideration. Sparta became likewise the centre of an active and intellectual life among the Dorians, and the seat of their science and arts. The aversion against foreigners had abated, and the Lakonian capital became frequently the residence of poets, musicians, and philosophers. Chilon, one of the seven sages, was a Lakedaimonian. Gitiades, Syadras, and Chartas were celebrated artists, architects, and founders in brass.* Sparta excelled particularly in works of iron, brass and other metals, like the Etruscans of Italy. Thus many tasteful monuments, temples, statues, vases, tripods, and other votive offerings, grew out of the Persian spoils. This old simplicity of manners and severe Doric style in architecture long con-

* The Spartans sent, in the 58th Olympiad, (548 B. C.,) a magnificent brass bowl, capable of containing three hundred amphoræ, and being covered outside with figures in bas-relief, as a present to King Kroisos, in Lydia. It fell, however, into the hands of pirates, and was afterwards admired in the temple of Juno, at Samos. Herodotus, i. 70.

tinued, and she became the wealthiest city in Greece, until the battle of Leuktra broke her political power. Her external appearance suffered the first change when her scattered townships were fortified with walls. She had then a circumference of six miles, or forty-eight stadia, and remained the capital and most populous city in the peninsula under the Roman empire.

Most of the inscriptions collected in Sparta are from this period, and they prove that the Cæsars of the Julian family extended a generous hand to her. Her squares and avenues became adorned with temples, statuary, and baths; aqueducts on hundreds of arches carried the distant mountain torrents into the city, and the Roman amphitheatre, on the Eurotas, was the only one to be found in Greece. A detailed account of the Roman city has been preserved to us by Pausanias, which, though confused and without great utility for topographical purposes, still astonishes us by the vast number of monuments he records, and the occasional historical remarks with which he accompanies his description. It fills no less than eight chapters of his work.

Sparta was still in good preservation, like Athens, Thebes, and other cities of Greece, toward the close of the fourth Christian century; but at the irruption of the Visigothic King Alaric into the Peloponnesos 396, Sparta was destroyed, and the whole of Lakonia devastated with fire and sword. Afterward a mediæval Byzantine and Christian Lakedaimonia rose on the ruins of the old. This, too, was conquered and occupied by the Frankish Crusaders in 1207, and became abandoned when Prince William Villehardouin, the Prince of the Morea, built his new city Misthrá, at the base of Mount Taygetos. Then came, in 1725, the French madman, Abbé Fourmont, the modern Alaric, with crow-bar and pick-axe, to do what mischief he could. What wonder, then, that so few relics of antiquity remain, though the late discoveries from casual excavations seem to promise a fruitful field for future researches.

Sparta, like Rome, was founded on a site which, already long before, had been occupied by small Achaian settle-

ments. These were not destroyed by the invading Dorians, but became incorporated in the city of the conquerors, without entirely losing their anti-Dorian names and traditions. Thus we find Sparta divided into four very ancient districts or villages—*komai.* Limnai and Pitane, on the right bank of the Eurotas; Kynosura, (that is, Dog's Tail) northwest on the spur of Mount Taygetos; and Mesoa on the south-east, toward Amyklai—all unite a common worship by their sanctuaries, and principally by the horribly barbarous rites of the Orthian Artemis, (Diana.) Sparta had no streets, but broad thorough-fares ran between these separate military camps toward the hill of the Akropolis and the market-place beneath it, as the common centre of the metropolis.*

When, therefore, a traveler in antiquity arrived in the valley of Lakonia, he would cross the Eurotas on the bridge Balyka, and through the suburb of Limnai enter the great market-place on the south of the Akropolis. We, however, shall first ascend to the Castle-hill, which, like that of Athens, remained for centuries the sanctuary of the tutelary divinities of the empire. Nor did it become a fortress until after the extinction of the Herakleidian dynasties, when the tyrants who usurped the power made it their stronghold, in which they placed their treasures and their body-guard of lawless mercenaries.

The principal site was occupied by the great temple of Athene *Poliouchos*, or protectress of the city. It was called the Brazen House, (*Chalkioikos,*) and is described as having

* Herodotos mentions (iv., 149) another "principal tribe in Sparta," the *Ægidæ*, originally a band of Theban warriors, who had joined the Dorians at the time of their invasion of the Peloponnesos. Such is the account given by Pindar and his scholiast. Colonel Leake and others accept this *fifth tribe*, and place their village west of the Akropolis, in the plain of Magula. The Doric cities had everywhere the appearance of large villages. Only at a later period the Arkadian townships began to unite for the common protection, and to build fortified cities, such as Mantinea and Megalopolis. The first Greek cities, built in regular angles, with due regard to beauty and comfort, were those of Asia Minor. The celebrated architect Hippodamos, from Miletos, in Ionia, built the Peiræus, the well-known port and naval station of Athens, and the Dorian city of Rhodes, on the island of that name, with such a symmetry and beauty that the ancients, while expressing their admiration, exclaimed "that all Rhodes appeared like one palace!"

been built by the ancient Tyndarid princes. Long afterward, during the brilliant period of the Æginetic artists, in the sixth century B. C., the Lakedaimonians caused both the temple and the statue of the goddess to be covered with *brass* by the celebrated Spartan artist Gitiades, who, like Michael Angelo Buonarotti of modern times, united in one person the architect, the sculptor, and the poet. Gitiades composed Doric poems and a hymn to the goddess, which was sung at her festival. His poetry was considered to be as beautiful as were his statues; and this Spartan mastermind seems thus to have developed the worship of Athena to its full extent.

The temple of Athena is supposed to have had its roof and colonnades made of brass. The walls, too, were covered with brazen reliefs, representing the actions of Herkules, the birth of Athena, the wars of Kastor and Pollux, and other scenes of Spartan mythology. All around the temple were vast colonnades, sanctuaries, and statues: and there, too, was the small house in which King Pausanias, the victor of the Persians and the traitor of Hellas, sought refuge after his condemnation. It is well known that his aged mother, with Spartan austerity, carried the first stone to the Akropolis, in order to wall up her ambitious and deluded son! All Sparta followed her example. The doors of the building were walled up, and Pausanias perished by hunger; yet the Delphian oracle afterward ordered the Spartans to place two statues of their king before the altar of the brazen temple.

Nearest to it stood that of Athena Ergane, as protectress of the artists; before the southern portico, the temple of Zeus Kosmetas, with the sepulchre of the first builder of the brass house, Tyndareos. The western portico was adorned with Eagles and Victories, as a monument of the naval triumphs of Lysander over the Athenians. The Chapel of the Muses, who, with their flutes and lyres led the Spartan armies to battle, faced the northern front of the brazen temple. Numerous ancient and highly-revered brazen statues, fastened together with nails, stood all around

the building, such as that of Venus Ambelogera, or life-prolonging, those of Sleep and Death, with many old wooden statues of great sanctity. These and other monuments are mentioned by Pausanias as still seen by him during his visit to Sparta, about the year 175 of our era ; but they seem to have been mostly of a comparatively late date, and of an inferior workmanship and material. They elicited no praise from the traveler, who, in his customary dry style, only says, that the great theatre was worthy to be seen.

The Spartan Akropolis, though less celebrated in history than those of other cities in Greece, was nevertheless the seat of ancient and memorable institutions, and the sacred asylum of Lakonia.

From the Castle-hill there were several descents to the great *Agora*, or *forum*, an extensive square on the south-east and south, which in the times of the Roman Empire had still preserved the form and arrangement of a Grecian market-place. It was surrounded by halls, bazaars, and public buildings, leaving intermediate spaces, through which the roads or avenues passed to the different quarters of the city. The Agora was the common centre for the traffic and commerce of Lakonia, and the emporium for cereals and fruits under the supervision of the five *empeloroi—agoranomoi*—or market-inspectors. Here were the fairs and exhibitions of Lakonian manufactures, and principally of the various iron utensils for which that country was celebrated. The *gerousia*, or senate, met there in the city-hall. The *Ephoroi*, or executive committee, and the *Bidiaioi*, or trustees of public instruction, had there likewise their offices and archives ; and in the numerous *phiditia* or *syssitia*, or public eating-houses, ranged around the square, the Spartan citizens, as table-companions, daily enjoyed their black-pork soup with dried figs, goat's cheese, garlic, and a measure of wine, constituting their frugal repasts. Forty officers of government and four thousand citizens, were frequently seen engaged in the Agora.

Yet the most interesting object there was the splendid

Persian portico, erected from the spoils of the Persians vanquished at Platæa in 479. The architrave of the entablature was supported by colossal statues and Persian warriors (*Atlantes*) instead of columns, in the manner of the Caryatid Virgins at the Erechtheion on the Akropolis of Athens. Several of the figures were portraits, such as the Persian Commander-in-chief Mardonios, who fell in the battle, and Artemisia, the Queen of Halikarnassos, who distinguished herself in the naval combat of Salamis. Julius Cæsar and Augustus loved Sparta, and adorned its square with magnificent buildings. In return the humble and grateful Spartans raised temples and altars on the eastern side of the Agora to their Roman masters. A particular space called the *Choros*, was fenced in and smoothly levelled as a dancing ground for the young Spartans at their religious dances, the *gymnopaidia*, in honor of Apollo. The statues of the Delphian gods adorned this circus all around. There, too, were placed the sepulchres of the unhappy Orestes and of Epimenides the Cretan philosopher, together with the statues of Zeus Xenios and Athena Xenia, both as protectors of the foreign guests in Sparta; and last of all, an immense colossus, which, towering high above the other buildings, represented the Spartan republic herself.

Though the Spartan Agora must have been inferior to that of Athens, and other Hellenic cities, yet, when considered without reference to the comparative perfection of art, simply from the general impression it would produce on the spectator, it no doubt presented a grand and imposing picture, being placed in relief against the admirable background of wood-clad hills and snow-capped mountains, in an atmosphere which colors and beautifies even the bleak and barren crags and crumbling ruins.

From the market-place several broad avenues or thoroughfares diverged like radii, in an eastern, southern, and south-western direction. They separated in part the townships of Pitane, Messoa, Ægidæ, and Kynosura. The most eastern avenue, called *Skias*, from a large rotunda in the

form of a tent, built by the Samian architect Theodoros, in which citizens of Sparta assembled in later times, skirted the hill Kolona, and after crossing the brook of Tiasa on a bridge, led on to the neighboring town of Therapne, situated on the slope of the Menelaïon range beyond the Eurotas.

The second, the largest, and most frequented road, the *Aphetais*—the Corso or Broadway of Sparta—went south likewise, crossing the river Tiasa on a stone bridge, parts of the causeway and piers of which are still visible on the banks. It traversed the fertile plain, and reached the sacred temple of Apollo, the great Dorian sanctuary at Amyklai.

Among a great number of monuments mentioned by Pausanias as situated on and between these large thoroughfares, some few remains of the foundations of the Temple of Hera and Apollo were met with, on isolated mounds, some few years ago; but they have vanished, and their site is at present occupied by the cathedral church and city-hall of New-Sparta. While digging the foundations of these modern buildings, the workmen found a number of inscriptions, fragments of statues, such as a beautiful Hermes, two small statues of Æsculapius, the torso of a Satyr, bas-reliefs of Cybele, and a fine bearded head, by modern Spartans supposed to have belonged to a statue of old Lykurgos himself.

All these precious remains were deposited in the new town-hall, as a beginning of a Doric museum. There we saw them in 1838; but a year later a fire broke out in the *eparcheion*, or government-house; and as every body was employed in saving the public money and the archives, and none cared for the antiquities, the entire collection was consumed. Happily the inscriptions, some of which, though unimportant with regard to Spartan history, are curious, as characterizing the times of flattery and degradation, under Augustus and Tiberias, had been copied and published at Athens.

A third road ran westward toward Mount Taygetos. It

passed by the theatre; and opposite to it Pausanias describes the cenotaphion of the heroic King Leonidas, who fell so bravely fighting with his three hundred Spartans, at Thermopylæ in 480. Hence there appears to be some reason for believing that the white marble monument seen among the olive trees in that direction, is the sepulchre alluded to. It was a pleasant custom that speeches on the distinguished men of Sparta were publicly made before the assembled people, near the monument of Leonidas. Other marble pillars around recorded the names of the companions of the hero who fell with him obedient to the laws of their country.

We now turn toward the Eurotas, where, beneath the precipitous bank, we find a beautiful thicket of lofty poplars and plane-trees, at the junction of the rivulet Tiasa with that river. This was the fighting-ground of the young Spartans, called *Platanistas*, from the plane-trees with which the ground was bordered. It was then an island, surrounded by water from the two rivers; two bridges led into it, on each of which was a statue—of Herakles at one end, and of Lykurgos at the other. The young Spartans having finished their sacrifices in the *Phoibaion*, or sanctuary of Apollo, near Therapne, crossed the bridges and rushed against one another, each endeavoring to drive the opposing party into the water. These warlike exercises of the Lakedaimonian youths continued for centuries after the subjection of Sparta to all-conquering Rome, and both Cicero and Plutarch describe the furious struggle of the young combatants here in the island of the Plantains, as they themselves witnessed it in their days.

Not far off is another interesting spot, which we can identify with the ancient locality. I mean the beautiful fountain gushing forth beneath the high bank on which the modern town is situated. It is the ancient spring Dorkeia, near which stood the monument of the Princess Kyniska, the first victress in the Olympian chariot-race, with several heroes of Dorkeus, Sebrion, the sanctuary of Helena, the sepulchre of the Spartan poet Alkman, and those of the Hippokoontidai.

Continuing our route north through the meadows along the Eurotas, now thickly planted with Indian corn—*kalamookki*—we arrive at the place called *Dromos*, where the young Spartans had their gymnasion and race-ground. Here stood a palace of the Pelopid kings, and among the many temples were those of Kastor and Pollux, of Lucina and the Graces.

We turn the sharp corner of the Issorion, one of the strongest and most important positions for the defense of Sparta, and therefore occupied by Agasilaos and his bravest warriors, during the invasion of Epaminondas and the Thebans. At the base of the hill was discovered, in 1840, a tomb excavated in the rock. On the cover is seen a figure in bold relief, larger than nature, enveloped in the Spartan mantle. The Greeks call it King Agis, and they have some reason for doing so, as the family sepulchres of the royal dynasty of the Agidæ were situated on the east of the Akropolis, near the Eurotas.

We continue our walk northward, leaving the Balyka bridge on our right, and the principal entry to the market-place on the left, and traverse a low, swampy ground, in antiquity the suburb or village called *Limnai*, where, in the temple of Artemis (Diana) Orthia, the young Spartans underwent the cruel discipline of flagellation, before the blood-stained altar of the goddess. This barbarous custom was not originally Greek, but introduced into Sparta from Tauris on the Pontus Euxinus, where human sacrifices continued to a late period.

The wooden statue of this goddess, which from remote antiquity was here worshipped with these horrible foreign rites, was lost during the storms of the Doric invasion, when the aboriginal inhabitants were expelled from Lakonia. But having been found again among the shrubbery in the bottom-lands of the Eurotas by Astrabakos and Alopekos, the barbarous worship of Diana was restored, and her altars were again stained with human blood. Yet, instead of slaughtering the victims, Lykurgos introduced the flagellation of the youths. The priestess of Diana at-

tended the disgusting scene with the small wooden image of the goddess on her arm. What an insight does such a picture give us into the dark superstition and cold-hearted arrogance of the Spartans! No wonder that they were as much hated by the other Greeks, as the Athenians were loved. In gratitude for his humanity, Lykurgos had his temple near that of the goddess and of the Heroon of Astrabakos, the finder of the statue.

In the temple of Aphrodite, the *Aphrodision*, standing beyond on the northernmost hill, the statue of the smiling goddess of love and joy was seen with shield and lance in full armor, according to the ideas of the warlike Spartans. On the west of the Akropolis was the splendid temple of Æsculapius, another of Lykurgos' many monuments of great Spartan warriors, and a large portico, richly adorned with paintings, which served as a place of assembly and conversation to the citizens. Here another cruel act of the severe Spartan discipline took place. The new-born children were carried by their fathers to the painted portico, before the grave old men of their own tribe, who permitted them to live, if robust and healthy, but ordered those who seemed weakly and delicate to be cast into a deep chasm of Mount Taygetos. This den of death, no doubt one of the dreadful chasms behind the castle hill of Misthrá, relieved the Spartans from the necessity of erecting working-houses or enacting poor-laws. The surplus population went into the pit! Of these buildings several foundations are still seen near the village of Magoula, and in the surrounding mulberry-grove.

The high and precipitous line of hills forming a strong defensive position toward the Eurotas, and the steady bravery of the Spartan battalions or *moras* of heavy-armed hoplitæ, were able for centuries to repel the enemy. Even a surprise by Epaminondas, a few days previous to the great battle at Mantineia in Arkadia, where he fell, was beaten off by a handful of resolute Spartans.

Epámĭnondas, advancing secretly during the night, had quickly passed the defiles of Sellasia, and suddenly appear-

ing on the bridge Balyka, the Theban army entered the Limnaion suburb, and pressed on to the market-place. But in the narrow defile, between the steep Issorion and the still higher hill of the Akropolis, where every temple and sanctuary served as a barrier, the Thebans found themselves furiously encountered by the few Spartans left in the city and their armed retainers; and although Epaminondas succeeded for a moment in forcing his way to the entrance of the Agora, he was nevertheless soon obliged to retreat beyond the river, with a heavy loss of his most daring warriors.

Sparta was built of less durable materials than Athens. Her fame has outlived her monuments. Yet the disappearance of the Dorian monuments is in part owing, incredible as it seems, to the madness and vanity of a French clergyman, the Abbé de Fourmont. This learned, but vain and arrogant French savant was sent by Louis XV., in 1728, to Greece, where he partly found and partly forged numerous inscriptions which puzzle the sagacity and criticism of the learned philologians even to the present day.

Abbé Fourmont sought immortality by copying inscriptions and describing monuments, and then wilfully destroying every trace of the originals. In the absurd letters which he at that time wrote home to the minister of state, and other distinguished literary men of France, he says, for instance:

"Oh! with what inexpressible delight have I for months been occupied in levelling and destroying old Sparta! I have not left one stone on another. Sixty Lakonian workmen, with crow-bars and pick-axes, are, from morning till night, breaking down the temples, annihilating every trace of that devoted city, while I, with an exulting feeling of victory and glory, proclaim to the world: *Carthago fuit*—Sparta was, and is no more!"*

* In another letter to the French Prime Minister, M. de Maurépas, the crazy Abbé continues running on in this blundering style:

"Je l'ai fait non pas, abattre mais raser de fond en comble; il n'y a plus de cette grande ville une pierre sur une autre. Depuis plus de trente jours, trente, et quelque fois soixante ouvriers, abattent, détruisent, exterminent la ville de Sparte! . . . . Si, en renversant ses murs et ses temples; si,

In reading such fiendish malice, such monstrous absurdity, we certainly would suppose, not only that the French clergyman was more fit for a lunatic asylum than for visiting Greece; but even that his vain boastings bore untruth on their face. This was the opinion of Chandler, Colonel Leake and other eminent travelers of a more modern date. Nevertheless, we must confess that at different places in Arkadia and Lakonia, both at Tegea, Belmina, and Sparta herself, we still find traces of this destructive fury of the fanatic Frenchman. We there see marble slabs, on which both ornaments and inscriptions have carefully been destroyed by the chisel, while in other places fragments of inscriptions, already published by the Abbé, are still existing, thus proving again, that some at least of his hundreds of inscriptions are genuine, though the greater number, no doubt, may have been his own compilations, invented only with the malicious intention of leading his learned brother pedants astray.

The present capital of Lakedaimon owes its origin to a royal decree, by virtue of which it is considered not only the chief place in the province, but the second city in the kingdom of Greece. Among many other brilliant promises of royal munificence, was that of a high-road across the Bardounian ridge to the sea-port of Sparta at Gytheion, (Marathonisi,) and another carriage-road through the mountain-passes north to Tripolis in Arkadia. Such a combination of roads would give the modern Lakedaimonians an easy communication with the sea and the interior of Peloponnesos, and be of incalculable advantage to their industry and the export of their valuable products. But alas! roads are more easily laid out on paper than carried over rugged mountains; the native inhabitants are too ignorant and indolent to support government in its benevolent exertions for the welfare of the country, and though twelve years have passed since our visit, we fear that those brilliant

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"en ne laissant pas une pierre sur une autre au plus petit de ses *sacellum* son lieu sera dans la suite ignoré, j'ai au moins de quoi la faire reconnaitre, et c'est quelque chose. Je n'avais que ce moyen de rendre mon voyage illustre!"

plans have not yet been realized, and that New-Sparta is still lingering in her state of infancy. The prospect at that time, however, was cheering, and Amaliapolis, being the residence of the bishop, the civil and military officers of the administration, grew up with some rapidity. The Government House, the Archiepiscopacy, the royal silk-factory, and Greek church were fine-looking and solid buildings. The principal street was lined with a hundred edifices, consisting of stores, coffee-houses, and barracks for the gendarmerie and the light companies which were stationed there, to have a look-out on the roving mountaineers of the Taygetos.

The *Nomarchos*, or Governor, Mr. Levendis, received us with truly oriental hospitality, and we were thus enabled to spend some delightful days in one of the most beautiful and interesting regions of the world.

The valley of Lakonia being extensively planted with mulberry trees, silk makes an important export article. The establishment for spinning silk, conducted by Italian artists, therefore excited our curiosity, and we visited the factory in the afternoon.

The Norman king, Roger of Naples and Sicily, transported the Greek silk-worms and silk-weavers to Italy during the Crusades. Naples now sends back her workmen for the instruction of the Greeks. A number of young Greeks, men and women, were attending the operation of spinning of the silk from the cocoons as apprentices, and we were amused at beholding their astonishment at the liveliness of the Italian women, who, while working, were singing Italian opera songs in full chorus. The production of silk in Lakonia has made a great progress within the last twenty years, and the price of the Lakonian silk has doubled at the market of Lyons.

The environs of Sparta were described by ancient writers as delightfully situated, and in high cultivation. Sanctuaries, villas, and hamlets were scattered through the beautiful groves and gardens—a peaceful region, in which the women of Lakedaimon for five centuries, from Lykur-

gos to Epaminondas, did not behold the fires of a hostile camp. Two flourishing towns, Amyklai, south in the plain, and Therapne, beyond the Eurotas, on the slope of the Menelaïon range, were both situated at a short distance from the capital. The left bank of the river did not belong to Sparta. Its habitations, however, formed a suburb, which stood in communication with the city by means of the Balyka bridge. When Epaminondas with the Theban army, in 370, burning and destroying, descended the river, he attempted in vain to storm the bridge, being repelled by the young Spartan warriors, who occupied the Temple of Athena Alea and the other sanctuaries on the opposite bank. The prudent Theban, therefore, drew back his troops, and continued his march down the stream toward Therapne. We followed his example, and ascended the steep Menelaïon hill, on which one of the most ancient and important monuments was discovered in 1834. It consists of an obtuse pyramid, one hundred and eight feet square at the base, and rising in three terraces to a height of sixteen feet; the middle offset, or terrace, is eighty-four feet square, and the upper sixty-eight. It crowns the summit of the mountain, being seven hundred and sixty feet precipitous above the river bed of the Eurotas. It is solidly constructed of immense blocks of a darkened, conglomerate lime-stone. Its terminating cone is wanting, together with its glittering covering of Parian marble; but enough of the pile is standing to identify it with the ancient so highly revered temple of Menelaos and Helena, which, by its commanding position, must have presented the grandest and most prominent object in the valley of Lakonia. To this sanctuary rode the virgins and matrons of Sparta in their long processions of adorned chariots, and implored Helena to grant beauty to themselves and their children; while the men invoked the hero Menelaos for valor and victory. All around the terraced steps were found numerous small leaden images, in the shape of diminutive crowns or diadems, and others in the rigid, antiquated form, representing small figures of veiled statues of women and armed

warriors in full panoply—no doubt votive offerings of the pious Spartans. The excavations at that time were left unfinished on account of the heat of summer and an epidemic fever which forced the antiquarian, Dr. Lewis Ross, and the architects to leave Sparta; yet, by a future renewal of the works, we may with confidence expect the discovery of the subterraneous sepulchres of the Pelopid kings.*

Therapne, the residence of the Achaian kings, lay on the slope of the mountain, on a spot, sacred by its ancient rites and from the traditions of the native heroes, long before the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesos: there the twin-brothers, the *Dioskouri*, ruled in their high-turreted castle, and lay buried in the depths of Therapne; there Menelaos, in his glittering palace, received Telemachos at his festal board. The whole region around presented sacred recollections to the Spartans; for on the road to the bridge lay the Sanctuary of Æsculapius, that of Ares, built by the Dioskuri, and that of Pollux himself. Their own temple stood on the right bank of the Eurotas, in the Phoibaion, where the young Spartan warriors sacrificed to their handsome and youthful heroes, and marched boldly to war under their sure guardianship.†

From Therapne we rode in an hour to Sklavochori, or the town of the Sclavonians, situated among the ruins of

* Womanly beauty was then as highly appreciated in Sparta as it is now in America. A Lakonian nurse, perceiving that the child intrusted to her care was mis-shapen, and that the parents felt this to be a great misfortune, went every day to the Temple of Helen at Therapne, and, presenting the child to the image, entreated the goddess to change her ugliness to beauty. One day, while leaving the sanctuary, a woman appeared before her, and asking to see the ugly child, she stroked its head with her hands, and said that she would surpass all the women of Sparta in beauty; and from that day the baby's appearance began to change, and she became the most charming bride in Sparta. See Herodot. Erato, 61.

† Kastor and Polydeukes, the Tyndarids, were the great patrons of Sparta, and held in the highest veneration. During the second Messenian war, two handsome Messenian youths, Panormos and Gonippos, imitating the white dress and gilt armor of the Dioskuri, and mounted on milk-white steeds, galloped suddenly into the midst of the hostile camp while the Spartans were sacrificing and feasting. These superstitious warriors, believing their gods to appear before them, fell down on their faces adoring, while the youths, riding about, slaughtered a great number with their lances before the strategem was discovered, and returned unhurt to Andania. See Pausanias, iv. 27.

Amyklai, at the base of Mount Taygetos. The scenery is the most delightful in the world; the road runs between orange and lemon groves, interspersed with sombre cypresses, while numerous rills from the clefts of the overhanging mountains clothe the soil with a rich carpet of shrubbery and flowers, and refresh the sultry heat of the day. Amyklai lies about four miles from Sparta along the great avenue of the Hyakinthean procession. Here the Spartans celebrated, with great pomp of music and sacrifices, their national festivals—the *Hyakinthia* in midsummer, and *Karneia* in September. The latter was an imitation of Sparta camp-life, on the plain before the temple of the Amyklaian Apollo, the tutelar deity of the Dorians. On the banks of a copious rivulet from the Taygetos, in a sacred grove, stood the old sanctuary, which must have been preserved through the fearful wars that, during the era of the decline of Sparta, swept over her beautiful plain —since it was still admired, with all its artistic treasures, by Pausanias, in the second century after Christ. The temple-buildings themselves did not attract his attention; but he describes with admiration the statuary, alike important on account of its antiquity or of its masterly execution.

The colossal statue of the Sun-god, fifty feet high, was a work of the rudest and most ancient kind, and resembled a column of brass, with the exception of the face, hands, and feet. It wore a helmet, and held in the hands a spear and bow. It stood on a pedestal formed like an altar, which was supposed to be the tomb of Hyakinthos, and richly adorned with statues and bas-reliefs in bronze. This colossal throne was supported by statues of the Charites and Flora; on the right were Echidna and Typhos, on the left Tritons, and the base contained, in forty-two compartments, subjects from the mythology of Dorian gods and heroes. The enchaser, or sculptor, of this magnificent thoreutic work was Bathykles, from Magnesia, on the Maiandros in Asia-Minor, who, about the 29th Olympiad, 664 B. C., with a number of his pupils, found a kind reception

and plenty o work at Sparta. A century later, in a period of victory and glory, the Spartans obtained a quantity of gold from Kroisos, the king of Lydia, with which they gilded the statue of their revered god.

Greek antiquaries found in Amyklai many important monuments of the early history of their country; among these was the celebrated group of five bronze tripods, of which the three most ancient were said to have been dedicated from the tenth of the spoils of Ithome, in the first Messenian war, 722 B. C.; the others, which were of a larger size, from the Athenian booty at the naval victory of Aigospotamoi, in 404. The feet of the tripods were adorned with beautiful sculptures in bas-relief. Two of the most ancient, with the statues of Aphrodite and Artemis, were the work of the above-mentioned Lakedaimonian artist, Gitiades; the third, with the statue of the Kore, (Proserpina,) was by Kallon, the head of the Æginetic school, in the 59th Olympiad, or 544 B. C. Sparta, with a lyre in her hand, was represented on the fourth tripod, the work of Aristandros; and on the fifth was Aphrodite, by Polykleitos. Yet the ruthless sword of Alaric and his Goths, who invaded Lakonia in 396, no doubt destroyed these precious relics of former grandeur and glory, and Apollo at Amyklai shared then the same fate as the goddess Demeter (Ceres) in her temple at Eleusi in Attika.

During the seventh and eighth centuries, the greater part of Peloponnesos was occupied by different Sclavonic tribes, who settled down in the rich valley of Lakedaimon, where they have left their memorial in a number of villages on the mountains all around Sparta, such as Sklavochori, here on the ruins of Amyklai, and *Varsava*, (Warsaw,) *Bilova*, *Sitzova*, *Ardkhova*, *Vréstena*, *Tzintzina*, *Polovitza*, *Levétzova*, on the east and south. Sklavochori was burnt by the Turks during the Russian invasion of 1772, and only eight or nine churches and chapels, in ruins, look out from the forest trees that now cover the ground. Yet some foundations of huge square blocks, fragments of Dorian marble capitals, and inscriptions with the letters

A M Y K, still identify the site of the ancient Amyklaion. At a short distance, a Hellenic castle, towering high on a projecting spur of the Taygetos, looks down on the plain below. It can not, however, be the ancient Achaian *fortress of Amyklai*, which, at the time of the Dorian conquest of Lakonia, was given as a feudal tenure to the native chief Philonomos, for betraying his king and siding with the invaders. Some ruins on a hill, near the village of Kyriakós, eastward a thousand paces from the Eurotas, and in a position commanding the plain, seem to indicate the site of that fortress. Excavations there would, perhaps, throw more light on the subject.

Though the Amyklaians thus recognized the sovereignty of the Dorian kings of Sparta, they, nevertheless, for several centuries, defended their independence and territory, and it was not until they had weakened themselves by military expeditions to Æolis, Achaia, and Crete, that Teleklos, king of Sparta, at last succeeded in subduing and destroying the last remnant of the aboriginal inhabitants of Lakonia. The victors, however, preserved the sanctuaries of their vassals; adopted their religious rites; and thus Amyklai became the centre of the national festivals, processions, and popular rejoicing of all Lakedaimon.

Another discovery likewise tending to prove the high antiquity of the Menelaïan monument of Therapne, was made by Mr. Gropius, the learned Consul-General of Austria and Denmark, in the year 1805, on a hill near the village Vaphió—the ancient Pharis—a mile south of Amyklai, on the banks of the Eurotas.

The consul began to excavate a regular mound or tumulus, and there discovered a circular subterranean chamber, which, in the form of a dome, terminates at a point, or key-stone, similar to the celebrated Treasury of Atreus at Mykenai. Like that, it was entered by a door on one side, the access to which was pierced horizontally through the slope of the hill. Vaphió, the village, is standing on a line of hills running south along the Eurotas, the highest point of which is formed by this tumulus. The doorway

is entire. It is six feet wide at the upper and narrower part. The lintel is one immense stone, fifteen feet in length. At Mykenai that of the Treasury is no less than twenty-seven feet in length.* The vault itself at Vaphió is forty feet in diameter; at Mykenai it is forty-eight feet. They appear likewise to be both from the same remote period. Most unhappily the vault of the treasury in Lakonia has fallen in, and the greater part of its materials was carried away by order of Count Capo d'Istria; so at least the villagers say. Yet the lower part of the round cavity is still in perfect preservation, and might easily be restored. Amyklai and Therapne were populous cities before the Dorians. Menelaios, like the Tyndaridæ before him, resided in Therapne. There, too, we see his sepulchral monument. At Amyklai we find the great and sacred temple, the centre of the traditions, religious rites, and political union of the different races; and at Pharis, according to a lately-restored passage in Strabo, we behold the royal vault or treasury (*tameion*) and armory of the Homeric hero. We may thus rejoice at having ascertained three of the oldest historical monuments in Europe, which throw so brilliant a light on the traditional ages of Hellas.

But our discoveries do not rest here; we have a fourth as interesting as the three last mentioned, and perhaps from the same early period; we mean the beautiful ancient Hellenic bridge at Xerokampi, in Southern Lakonia.

Continuing our route from Amyklai south, along the foot of the terrible precipices of Mount Taygetos, we pass the river Phellia, and enter a fine olive-grove, which extends six miles to the modern village Palaiá Panaghiá, lying in the interior angle of the Lakonian valley, between the Bardounian range on the south and the highest peak of the Taygetos on the west, in a region called by the moderns,

* Remarkable instances of still larger building-stones are those of the temple area at Mount Moriah, in Jerusalem, which are sixty feet in length; and those of the gigantic temple of the Sun-god at Heliopolis, (Baalbek,) in Syria, attain even a length of seventy-five feet. Some of those immense blocks have never been removed from the quarries in the neighborhood, where they are still lying.

Xerokampi, or desert plain. Here an ancient road crossed the Taygetos. The deep chasm or ravine through which it passes, forms one of the most picturesque prospects of the chain, because it permits a full view toward the interior valleys, to the high table-land with its villages, and to the crowning peak, Taleton, immediately overhanging the cleft. On our emerging from the wood, and turning up the ravine, the Cyklopean bridge presented itself full in front, spanning the chasm by a bold arch, which, seen from below, fills the mind with admiration and delight. No entire ancient bridge had hitherto been known to exist within the limits of Greece; nay, the architects had even questioned the ability of the ancient Greeks to throw an arch! They, therefore, pretended that all arches seen in aqueducts and other monuments, were of Roman construction. But this hypothesis, like so many others, has now fallen to the ground. The three vaulted chambers at Orchomenos in Boiotia, at Mykenai and Vaphió, and the fine arched bridge at Xerokampi prove to the contrary.*

Here we stand again before a monument, which, on account of its colossal dimensions and finished workmanship, our traveling companion, the Architect Chevalier de Schaubert, considered as a relic from remote antiquity. The masonry of the arch, the piers, and the walls connected with each, are ancient and in excellent preservation, only the parapet of poor rubble work is modern; and where the outer of the Cyklopean blocks of the facing, on both sides of the flanks, have fallen away, we see traces of Turkish repairs. The stones of the arch are four or five feet long, three in breadth, and two in thickness. In size and proportion they are similar to those of the Akropolis of Mykenai, and, perhaps, of the same period. The span of the arch is twenty-seven feet, and the breadth of the causeway, between the modern parapets, is seven.

* Those readers who have visited Italy may, perhaps, here remember the beautiful Roman bridge, from the era of Augustus, thrown over the deep valley of the Nera, between Narni and Civita Castellana, on the road from Perugia to Rome. The Roman arch spans a wider distance, but the archaic, Cyklopean, masses give a greater interest to the Hellenic bridge in Lakonia.

Interesting as is the bridge, its beauty is still heightened by the magnificence of the scenery, and the vigorous growth of myrtle, oleander, agnus castus, and other fine shrubbery, from out of which the gold-tinged marble arch swings itself across the glen, high above the torrent, that foaming and chafing, dashes below. But how can we account for the singular fact of the ancients constructing this marble bridge in so remote and secluded a corner of the mountain, so far away from the main thoroughfares of Lakedaimonia, in a region which was not visited by Pausanias, nor mentioned by any ancient author? We think to find an answer to this question in the discovery of an ancient carriage-road that here crossed Mount Taygetos. The defile of Xerokampi, lies in the gap beneath the highest peak of the mountain, whence not only the nearest descent is found to Armyros and Pherai (Kalamata) in Messenia, on the west side of the chain, but there likewise branch off the steep bridle-paths leading to the fertile table-lands on the slopes, and from thence along the forest-covered flanks, to the summit of Taleton, the highest peak of Taygetos. Here altars were consecrated to the sun-god Phoibos Apollon, to whom the Spartans sacrificed horses every year, when they, in procession and with great pomp, ascended to the mountain. The ceremony of slaughtering fine white steeds to the Sun was Persian. On the south of the pass lies *Euoras*, another of the high summits of Taygetos, and the region between both is by Pausanias called *Theras*, being the great hunting district of the Spartans. The forests on those heights furnished a plentiful chase of mountain-goats, bears, wild boars, and principally deer. Nor were these elevated regions without their sanctuaries. On the slope stood a temple of the Eleusinian Demeter, and the ancient Lakedaimonians pointed out the place where the wounded Hercules was healed by Æsculapius.

Above the bridge on the left bank of the torrent, we see the ancient carriage-road cut in the living rock, and discover an inscription still legible on the precipitous wall: *ΟΡΟΣ* or *boundary*. Along the road runs an ancient aque-

duct, for more than six miles, following all the sinuosities of the descent. The channel for the water-course is beautifully cut out of the rock, here and there supported by low parapets, which is the only part of the conduit that has gone to ruin. In the upper region of Taygetos, several mills are still in use, near a large artificial tank or reservoir, and the inhabitants of Palaiá Panaghiá told us that with an expense of thirty thousand drachms, or five thousand American dollars, the entire aqueduct might be restored, to the great advantage of the inhabitants of the plain. Two years before the outbreak of the war of independence, the Turkish Agá of the village had offered the Spartan peasants to undertake this restoration at his own expense, on their promise of paying triple taxes for ten years. The villagers declared themselves willing to do so—so important did this undertaking appear to them. The work was begun in the upper part of the chasm, but soon the war broke out and resulted in the slaughter or exile of all the Turks and Albanians in Lakonia and the rest of the Morea.

The president, Count Capo d' Istrias, afterwards made a second attempt, but this project, like so many others of the Count's happy inspirations, remained only on paper. The dell itself is one of the most gloomy and romantic we ever entered. An immense rock, thrown down by an earthquake from the threatening peaks above, now forms a natural gate-way, not so lofty, however, as that more celebrated one in Virginia, but certainly as picturesque.

Within the gap, but unseen from the road, opens the narrow inlet to a deep grotto, where the women and children from the villages of Palaiá Panaghiá, Xerokampi, Komustá, and others in the neighborhood, fled for safety, during the invasion of Ibrahim Pashá in 1826.

With astonishment we distinguish the wheel-ruts of the ancient carriages along the artificial road, winding ziz-zag through the glens of Taygetos. Nay, it seems highly probable that these grooves or channels were scooped out at a distance to the ordinary span of a carriage on purpose, in

order to steady and direct the course of the wheels, and lighten the weight of the draught on the rocky, slanting ground; in the same manner as the sockets of our present railroads. Such regular wheel-ruts we observe in many places in Greece, in mountain-passages, principally those leading to the much-frequented temples or places consecrated to Panhellenic games, as for instance, Delphi on Mount Parnassos, at Nemea, Olympia, Eleusis, and others.

Old Homer seems to indicate this route across Taygetos, in his Odyssey, where he so beautifully describes the visit of young Telemachos to Menelaos, the king of Lakedaimon, in quest of his father Odysseus.

Telemachos lands on the shore of sandy Pylos—the present Navarino—where he is feasted by old Nestor. From thence he performs his journey to Sparta in two days on his chariot, reposing the first night at Pharai, now Kalamata, on the Messenian gulf. Next day he crosses the towering barrier of Mount Taygetos, no doubt on this less precipitous route, following the intricate valleys and the deep gap, south of Taleton, the highest point of the ridge, which, even to this day, forms the frontier of Lakedaimonia toward the Upper Máni, now called the Province of Lakonia. This is the only passage south of Sparta, while the nearest path, directly west of that city by the valley of Trypi, is the most dangerous track we ever passed, not excepting even those of Mount Lebanon in Syria, where not even a horse, much less a carriage can pass, without the greatest danger. Those formidable precipices, and the short turns on slippery rocks, overhanging the yawning abyss beneath, made our horses tremble for fear. Unloading their burdens a dozen times, and tying handkerchiefs over their eyes, we at last succeeded in leading them across the most dangerous passage at Kútzova-Ladá, on our descent to Kalamata.

If, therefore, we can attempt to transfer the poetry of Homer to actual localities in Greece, we would suppose that it was on this more southern route, so ingeniously cut through the rocks, that the bard carried his Telemachos and the prancing steeds of the Gerenian rider, Nestor.

We spoke of the ancient sacrifices to the Sun-god. A very steep bridle-path still conducts the wanderer through splendid pine forests to the chapel of St. Elias, the successor of Apollo, standing on the brow of the highest peak. Here the eye commands one of the most wonderful views in the world. Not only the entire range of Taygetos, with the Lakonian and Messenian gulfs at our feet, and the promontory of Tainaron and that of Malea, with the islands of Kythera, distant Candia, (Crete,) and the blue mirror of the African sea in front—oh no! the eye wanders with inexpressible delight over the violet and purple ridges of Arkadia and Argolis, and rests at last on the charming islands of Zante and Kephalonia, beautifully, in bold forms and in towering snow capped mountains, emerging from the deep-blue surface of the Ionian sea.

Such is the view from the Spartan altars on Mount Taygetos. The conquest of Messenia and the victories over Argos, raised Sparta about the fifteenth Olympiad, 550 B. C., to the supremacy in the Peninsula. Whoever holds the Taygetos, possesses the Akropolis of the Peloponnesos. The Lakedaimonians had now united both slopes of that ridge into a powerful state: they had thus secured their country by an impervious frontier, and, steeled, by their Lykurgean constitution at home, they not only obtained the deciding vote in the general councils of the Dorian confederacy, but their word or sword settled henceforth all disputes among the allies, and their influence soon began to extend beyond the Peloponnesos. In Athens they drove the Peisistratid tyrants from the Akropolis, and restored the popular government. Their fame spread to Asia, and Kroisos, king of Lydia, sent them ambassadors with presents and offers of alliance, and afterward their assistance was implored in preference to Athens, by Aristagoras and the Ionians of Asia Minor, against the Persians.

Thus at the outbreak of the great Persian war, 500 B. C., Sparta took the command of the Hellenic forces. But after the fall of Leonidas at Thermopylæ, and the invasion of Attika by Xerxes, she demanded, true to her principles

of self-defence, that the Athenians and other Greeks beyond the Isthmus, should abandon their homes and withdraw within the barriers of the Peloponnesos, which, as the stronghold of all Hellas, was alone to be defended against the barbarians. Yet the brilliant genius of Themistokles, the activity and patriotism of the Athenians decided the question against Sparta, by the decisive naval battle of Salamis. Athens outflanked her ally, and spreading her sails on her own element, she built up the powerful Ionian confederacy which awarded to her great leaders that *hegemony* or general command, from which Sparta retired in sullen and offended pride.

Henceforth the friendship between Dorians and Ionians was at an end. Aristocracy and democracy were now to enter the lists in deadly feud. The Athenian alliance among the maritime cities and the islands was an artificial combination, offensive from its nature, and held together by the Athenian fleets; while Sparta, relying on the congeniality of feelings and common interests of her Dorian allies, in her defensive position behind the Isthmus, strengthened herself by concentration in the same manner as Athens became weakened, by too great extension.

The Spartans, despising all the pomp and glitter of their rivals, still preserved intact the austere institutions of Lykurgos at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It was the longest and most destructive the world had seen. Sparta, victorious on sea and land, humiliated her rival, and obtained a second time the supremacy in Hellas. Yet her political moderation and the austere simplicity of her manners now necessarily gave way to the ambitious aspirations of a Lysander and an Agasilaos. Her fleets swept the Ægean; her *harmosts*, with their Spartan garrisons, occupied the allied cities and distant colonies, where the governments were changed, and aristocracies sprung up at the wink of haughty and overbearing Lakedaimon. The armies of the Persian king were defeated; but his gold excited disturbances in Greece, and though Sparta yet sustained her dominion in Europe by giving up her conquests

in Asia Minor, she could not long maintain a supremacy which had now no other support than the terror of her arms. The battle of Leuktra decided the downfall of the Spartan rule. The allies fell off one by one, and soon Epaminondas and his Thebans appeared before Sparta herself. Her defence in the hour of danger was truly heroic; the enemy retired; but the Messenian Helots became freemen, and from their strongly-fortified Messene harassed Sparta in the flank; while the united Arkadians from Megalopolis stopped her advance in front; thus the Spartans, thrown back upon the mountains of Lakonia, in 362, for a time retired from the historical scene. A nation must retrograde if it does not advance; and so the Spartans could not long bear their humiliation. Whilst northern Greece was arrayed against Philip of Makedonia, they took up arms against the Arkadians and Argeians, and pressed them so hard that the latter called Philip to their assistance. The victor of Chaironeia suddenly appeared in the Peloponnesos in the third year of the 110th Olympiad, 338 B. C., and invaded Lakonia with an army too powerful for the Spartans to resist in the field. He laid waste the country, but did not attack the glorious old city herself; nor could he force the stubborn warrior-nation either to ask for peace or to recognize him as the already-proclaimed commander-in-chief of the Panhellenic forces against Persia. Philip, having no rancor against the Spartans, and wishing only to gain the affection of the Peloponnesians, and the support of their troops and treasure for his vast schemes in the east, retired after having awarded the disputed territories* to the Messenians, Megalopolitans, and Argeians. Yet Sparta, like a hunted lioness, remained roaring in her den; she was the only city in all Hellas which stood out against the invincible Makedonian, maintaining her ancient freedom

* It was in the war with Philip of Makedonia, so little known in history, though sufficiently mentioned in Polybios, Pausanias, and other writers, that Sparta lost Kynuria to Argos, other frontier territories to the Arkadians, and the much-contested *Ager Dentheliates* on Mount Taygetos, with the Temple of Diana Limnatis, to the Messenians. (Tacitus' Annals, iv., 4, 8.)

and dignity under circumstances of feebleness and humiliation with more unshaken resolution than Athens or Thebes.

She, too, under her enthusiastic and youthful king, Agis II., gathered her warriors and a few faithful allies that still yearned to unfurl the banner of independence against Makedonia. But the times had changed; it is with nations as with the human body; they have their period of youthful vigor, manly fortitude and success, and of senile decrepitude. The Spartan battle-line, in 331, was as inferior to the highly organized and irresistible Makedonian phalanx as the latter, one century and a half afterward became, when opposed to the Roman legions of Æmilius Paulus at Pydna, in 168 B. C. Antipater, the lord-lieutenant of Makedonia, during the absence of Alexander the Great in Asia, on the first news of the Spartan movement in the Peloponnesos, hurried to the peninusula at the head of an army of 45,000 troops, and met the Spartans in the straits near Megalopolis, in Arkadia. The Peloponnesians, though inferior in number and arms, fought with heroic valor; Agis, their king, fell fighting sword in hand, and after the loss of five thousand slain, they retired proudly behind the barrier of their mountains. Alexander left them there in peace; nor were they disturbed until King Pyrrhos, the madman of Epeiros, in 272 B. C., from mere chivalrous desire of battle and bloodshed, invaded Lakonia. But he did so in an evil hour. Spartan virgins and matrons dug ditches along the exposed parts of the city, which were defended by the old men; while young warriors in dense columns, with the brave Akrotatos at their head, fell upon the rear of the Makedonians and drove them in disorder across the river. The opportune arrival of the Spartan king, Areus, who had been absent in Crete with the main army, decided the scale of battle. Pyrrhos, with the loss of his son and best troops, retreated, hotly pursued, and with the greatest difficulty, through the passes of Lakonia, and soon after found his death at Argos.

And here begins a new and highly interesting page in

the history of the Peloponnesos, the renewal of the Achaian league by Aratos in 281 B. C. This able and active statesman, after the bold exploit of expelling the Makedonians from Akrokorinth, succeeded in combining Korinth, Troezen, Epidauros, Argos, and even Athens, in the closest alliance with the ten Achaian republics of the Peloponnesos. Arkadia and Messenia joined likewise; proud Lakedaimon alone resisted, and with that national animosity and irritability which characterize the Hellenes throughout their history, even to the present day, she took up arms against her united republican brethren. The brave and talented Spartan king, Kleomenes III., having restored the old Lykurgean constitution to renewed vitality at home, entered Arkadia at the head of his troops, in 225 B. C. Taking Argos and Megalopolis, he defeated Aratos and the Achaians in several battles, and brought the league into such distress, that the latter called to his assistance the king of Makedonia. Thus the Greeks themselves were now the cause of a new irruption of their former tyrants, which was to prostrate Sparta forever. The great battle of Sellasia, near the river Oinus, north of the city, decided her fate. Her army was again prostrated and cut to pieces by the Makedonian phalanx of King Antigonos Doson, in 222 B. C. She received the victor, and Kleomenes III., the last Herakleid King, perished an exile in Egypt. The Spartans were now obliged to join the Achaian league, and its general, Philopoimen, in order to break the resistance of that stubborn people, abolished every trace of the old Lykurgean institutions. Yet the eagle-eye of Rome had long observed the contest. She now boldly interfered, and taking the part of Lakedaimon against the Achaian league, brought on that last and decisive war which, 146 B. C., terminated with the conflagration of Korinth, and the subjugation of all Hellas.

The independence of the Grecian republics was now gone forever; Lakedaimon, however, gained by the change. Rome permitted the Spartans to reëstablish their Lykurgean discipline, such as occasional assemblies of the citi-

zens in the Skias, or hall of assembly, on the market-place, the public dinners in the Syssitia, and the austere education of the youth.

Wealthy Roman tourists soon began to travel to Sparta, that wonderful city, to see the Spartans swallow the black broth, and, no doubt with horror, to witness the cruel flagellations of their boys on the gory altar of Artemis Orthia, in the same manner as at the present day British aristocrats and American democrats go to Rome to see the pope and the carnival. Sparta had already become a name of the past, and a curiosity of the day.

The Romans repaired the city walls; they built the curious little amphitheatre for the horrible, disgusting combats of wild beasts and gladiators, the magnificent aqueduct, splendid baths, altars to the god-like Cæsars, and temples to the Egyptian Serapis: nay, the proud Augustus, after his victory at Actium over Antonius and Cleopatra, came himself to Sparta to thank its inhabitants for the kind hospitality they had rendered to Livia and her sons on their flight from Rome. Augustus, the ruler of the world, sat down to dine with the Spartans, and tasted their black-pork soup and saltish goat-cheese. He rewarded their fidelity by granting them the honor of precedency at the public games of Actium, instituted in commemoration of his naval victory—a bitter insult offered to poor, down-trodden Hellas by the Roman autocrat!

Augustus even extended the territory of Sparta by adding the island of Kythera and certain Messenian cities beyond Mount Taygetos; but later, yielding perhaps to the continual complaints of the subjects of Sparta on the coast of Lakonia, the Roman emperor declared twenty-four cities free of her control. This at once gave the death-blow to the very shadow of her political existence!

The new constitution or confederation of the Lakonian maritime cities, whose inhabitants called themselves *Eleuthero-Lakones*, or Free Lakonians, is mentioned in several interesting inscriptions found at Gytheion, the ancient port of Sparta, at Vitylos, and other places, and gave birth

to the free and war-like people of Mani—the Maniotes, or *Mainotts*— who, during the vicissitudes of more than a thousand years, defended their mountain fastnesses against all the attacks of the barbarian invaders of Hellas Vitylos, the Sclavonians, the French Crusaders, and Othoman Turks, and did not break down their castles nor sheath their swords until the arrival of King Otho, by whose exertions this wild country has become one of the most quiet and peaceful provinces of the young kingdom of Greece.

The history of this interesting people, the modern Lakonians, with a description of their rocky and picturesque peninsula, will form the subject of our following articles, which will treat principally of the condition of Sparta and the Peloponnesos during the middle ages, from curious manuscripts lately discovered in the Romaïc language, and other historical works.

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Art. VI.—THE STATE CHURCH SYSTEM IN EUROPE.

Ueber christliche Toleranz. Ein Vortrag gehalten im Evangelischen Verein zu Berlin am 29. März 1855, von *Friedrich Julius Stahl.* Berlin, 1855.

Die Zeichen der Zeit. Briefe an Freunde über die Gewissensfreiheit und das Recht der christlichen Gemeinde. Von *Christian Carl Josias Bunsen.* Leipzig. 2 Bändchen. 3 Aufl. 1855.

Wider Bunsen. Von *Stahl.* Berl. 3 Aufl. 1856.

Fur Bunsen wider Stahl. Die neusten Bewegungen und Streitigkeiten auf dem Kirchlichen Gebiete. Von *Dr. Dan. Shenkel.* Darmstadt. 1856.

Bunsen und *Dorner.* Eine Streitschrift wider falsch berühmten Protestantismus. Von *Dr. W. F. Besser.* Schwerin. 1856.

The works above quoted, which furnish us the occasion for the present article, discuss, from opposite stand-points and in a representative manner, one of the most important questions which now agitates public opinion in Germany, the question of religious toleration and religious freedom.

The glory of America is a free Christianity, independent of the secular government and supported by the voluntary contributions of a free people. This is one of the greatest facts in modern history. Its significance can only be fully estimated by a careful comparison with the State-churches of Europe, over which it makes a gigantic progress. Whatever be the defects and inconveniences of the separation of Church and State, they are less numerous and serious than the troubles and difficulties which continually grow out of their union, to both parties. Our self-sustaining and self-governing Christianity calls to mind the heroic period of the Church, with the important difference, however, that in the first three centuries she had to maintain her existence not only without the support, but in spite of the hatred and bloody persecution of the Roman empire, while in our republic she enjoys the friendship and

outward protection of the civil government, to which she in turn imparts moral strength and stability; so that the two powers are really a benefit and indirect support to each other, without unsettling their distinct boundaries and getting into continual collisions by mutual interference. Body and soul, no doubt, belong together and constitute one man; but the body is not the soul, nor is the soul the body; each has its peculiar members, faculties and functions; it is much more important that the soul should enjoy freedom and independence than the body; and if one must rule over the other, this right belongs naturally to the spiritual and immortal part of man. To the perfect kingdom of God there will be no two powers, but Christ will rule King of nations as he now rules King of saints in his Church. But in the present order of things we must "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's: and unto God the things that are God's," without confounding the one with the other.

Great Britain, although still maintaining two different ecclesiastical establishments, Episcopacy in England and Presbyterianism in Scotland, and thus holding to the theory of the union of Church and State, carries the practice of religious toleration and liberty almost as far as the United States, and the heroic sacrifices of the Free Church of Scotland furnish even a more striking illustration of the vitality and power of the voluntary system, than any of our American denominations.

But on the Continent of Europe such a thing as a free, self-supporting and self-governing Church is hardly known, and exists only in the form of small dissenting sects, which bear no comparison in numerical strength and importance with the dissenting bodies of England and Scotland. In Germany, Austria, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Spain, and even in France and in Switzerland, the public religion is interwoven with the State by ten thousand time-honored ties, which it seems impossible to dissolve without endangering the very existence of the Church.

The Roman Catholic Church, it is true, has always as-

serted in principle her supremacy and freedom over against the secular government, which she aims to control and make subservient to her interests, wherever she has the power. By her centralised organization, visible unity, imposing hierarchy and despotic influence over the masses of her membership, she succeeded also in practice to maintain a certain independence, although in constant conflict with Cæsar even in the days of her highest power in the Middle Ages. But, in the first place, Romanism claims only liberty for itself, and denies it, wherever it can, to every other form of religion, on the false assumption that it alone is the true Church, and every dissent from it, a dangerous and damnable error. In the second place, by its hierarchical spirit and overbearing conduct towards the State, of which some of the greatest popes, as Gregory III., spoke in most contemptuous language, as if it was the result of ambition, conquest, rapine and violence simply, and not a divine institution clothed with divine authority, it roused a reaction of the secular power and the spirit of nationality so closely connected with it. Hence, even on its own territory, Romanism is greatly cramped by jealous governments. Gallicanism, which asserts a half way freedom from foreign authority at the expense of domestic liberty, or in other words, substitutes servility to the State for servility to the Pope, still exists legally in France, and is constantly acted upon in Italy, Spain and South America. In Austria the Roman Church was made altogether subservient to the State under the semi-infidel Joseph II., and placed under all sorts of restrictions, which were only recently removed by the famous Concordat of 1855. The future must reveal whether the absolute papacy will improve the morals and promote the prosperity of that empire. Catholicism to this day is nowhere so free from State-control and interference, as in Protestant England (the ecclesiastical titles' bill notwithstanding), and in the United States.

As to Protestantism in Germany, and on the Continent generally, it is almost entirely supported and ruled by the State, and this has a natural tendency to secularize religion

as much as possible and to convert it into a sort of moral police. Fortunately this can never be done fully. For Christianity exerts its indestructible power under all forms of government, and is free and independent in spirit, even where its body, the Church, groans in chains.

The dependent condition of Protestantism dates from the Reformation, which, in Germany, as well as in Switzerland, Denmark, England, and Scotland, proceeded on the hypothesis of the union of Church and State, or even on the Erastian principle of the supremacy of the temporal power, or the territorialistic maxim, *cujus regio ejus religio.* The Protestant princes and magistrates secularized the old Catholic Church-property, and in return assumed the support of the Church out of the public treasury, together with the supreme authority over it. The continental reformers, especially Melancthon, often complained of their avarice and usurpation of episcopal and papal authority. But they were in part themselves to be blamed for it, by confiding the execution of reform to secular hands, and their successors made a theory out of a fact. According to the old Lutheran doctrine, which is still in force practically all over Germany and Scandinavia, the head of the State is at the same time the head or *summus episcopus* of the Church within his territory, and has the right to fill the ecclesiastical offices, to issue new hymn books, liturgies, or even confessions, under certain restrictions, and to superintend not only the external, but to a very considerable extent, also, the internal affairs of religion.

Strange bishops indeed, who never studied theology, nor would ever think of preaching, or of administering the sacraments, and yet claim and exercise supreme authority over the religion of their subjects! Still more strange, if this supreme governor of the Church is a boy, like Edward VI., or a lady, like Queen Elizabeth, or Victoria of England, or a Romanist, like the King of Saxony, the King of Bavaria, and the emperor of Austria, or a notorious adulterer, like the present King of Würtemberg, or a professed infidel, like Frederick II., of Prussia!

It is true, there have been not a few wicked popes in Rome, fox-hunting bishops in England, and infidel professors of theology in Germany. But one inconsistency does not justify another. And then we have to do here with a false principle, and not simply with anomalous exceptions. It is equally true, on the other side, that there have been Protestant princes, from the elector Frederic the Wise to King Frederic William IV., who were nursing fathers to the Church, and exercised their spiritual authority in the fear of God and to the promotion of the best interests of religion. But this only shows what we observed above, that the life of Christianity will reveal itself under all outward organizations, and in spite of them, and proves nothing for a form of government which places the highest spiritual authority into secular hands and gives bad princes as much power for the destruction of the Church, as it enables good monarchs to build it up. Bishops and priests have at times made good generals and statesmen, especially in the Middle Ages. But no sensible man would infer from these exceptions, that the clergy should be trusted with the management of the army, the finances, the police, and the foreign affairs. No body will deny that a truly Christian government is a source of infinite blessing to a people. But how few governments, alas! deserve that name? A few years ago the world saw Protestant England and Roman Catholic France fight arm in arm with the Turks against another nominally Christian power. The same government of England, which supports Christianity at home, appropriates from ten to twelve thousand dollars annually to the idolatry of Juggernaut in India, and patronizes an institution for the training of Mohammedan priests in Calcutta. "If they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry." Of such governments, or misgovernments, as Naples, Spain and Mexico, whose shame is all over the world, we will only say with Dante, "Look on and pass."

Of the many evils which are almost inavoidably connected with the State Church system as it exists in Germany,

and all over the continent of Europe, Catholic as well as Protestant, we will mention only a few.

First, it prevents the free and full development of the duty and virtue of Christian liberality and benevolence. While in our country hundreds of churches are built annually, there are hardly more churches in Germany and France now than there were in the Middle Ages. Even in cities, where the population almost doubled itself within the present century, as Paris, Vienna, Berlin and Hamburg, there has been very little or no progress in this direction. The State spends many millions, in some cases, as in Austria and Prussia, one half of its income upon the army, and treats the Church with a step-motherly hand. To build houses of public worship by private contributions, is almost an impossibility. The people are accustomed to look to the government for the supply of all their spiritual wants, and hardly think of devoting a portion of their means to the support of the Gospel at home. It is true, they have to support it nevertheless indirectly by the payment of compulsory taxes. But these are poorly calculated to promote the love and attachment to the Church amongst the large mass of merely nominal members. Pious persons regard it as their duty, of course, to promote the cause of foreign missions and other benevolent enterprises, for which the State makes no provision. But England alone contributes larger sums annually for Missions, for Bible and Tract distribution, than the whole Continent, Catholics and Protestants put together. For liberality in one direction naturally begets liberality in every other. I heard some of the best men in Germany express the deliberate conviction, that if the people had to provide for the maintenance of public worship, as in the United States, they would starve out, or dismiss at least one half of their ministers. This would probably be the immediate effect, and in the many cases of rationalistic and indifferent ministers who would suffer most, their loss would be rather a gain to the Church. But gradually the evil would rectify itself. Necessity is the mother of invention. The people would soon find out the

priceless value and absolute necessity of religion, as they did in France after the excesses of the revolution, and would respect and love the Church more than they ever did before. For man feels a special interest in that which depends in some measure upon his own will and sacrifice, and where his money is, there is his heart also. Many pious Germans, who never dreamed of giving any thing for the support of religion in their native land beyond their pennies on Sundays, and the perquisites for the extra services of the clergyman, after emigrating to America become in a few years quite liberal in proportion to their means, and prosper the more for it. For liberality to Christ's kingdom never yet made a man poor.

Secondly, the State-control of the Church keeps the latter in a state of continual pupilage, and prevents the development of the truly Protestant idea of the general priesthood and kingship of believers. If Luther complained in his day of the incapacity of the congregrations to govern themselves and to furnish material for elders and deacons, after the apostolic model, the cause may be found in Romanism, which kept the people in absolute submission to a particular priesthood. But if the same complaint is repeated in our days by high ecclesiastical dignitaries in Prussia, Saxony and Würtemberg, and urged as an argument against the introduction of the Presbyterian form of government, it amounts to a serious charge against Protestantism, which in three hundred years should have been able to train its population to true freedom and self-government. It is true, where the Reformed element prevails, as in Westphalia and on the Rhine, especially in the Wapperthal, there is more or less congregational life and activity as we have it in America. But in the strictly Lutheran sections of Germany the congregations are generally almost as passive as in the Roman Church, and have not even a voice in the election of their own pastors. Hence the German emigrants to this country are generally so inferior to native Americans in all matters of church government and discipline. They will all rule in the consistory,

and no one can rule, because they were never taught it at home, and were only expected to be ruled. Individual and congregational self-government must be gradually acquired like every other science and art. No body ever learned to swim by keeping on the dry land. More recently some progress has been made in Prussia and Würtemberg in the right direction, by the introduction of responsible congregational lay-officers to assist the minister in his duties, but it will take some time until the system is fairly in operation.

Thirdly, the close connection of the secular and spiritual power makes the latter responsible for all the faults of the former, exposes the Church to a great deal of undeserved popular dissatisfaction and hatred, leads to a profanation of the sacraments, makes discipline almost impossible, and tends to beget hypocrisy and infidelity. For religion is a free thing which can never be forced. Compulsion in this delicate matter has generally the opposite effect. State-churchism can impose upon its subjects the external marks of religion, like so many ready-made regimentals on the soldiers, but it cannot correct the hearts, or restrain the conscience, and control the inward conviction, which is free all over the civilized world. It, therefore, fills the Church with a most incoherent and heterogeneous membership, from the highest piety and straitest orthodoxy to the grossest immorality and unblushing infidelity. A great statesman recently said, that the enforcement of a rigid scriptural discipline would result in the expulsion from the Church of three fourths of her membership as decided infidels. This is especially, alas! the case in nominally Catholic France.

It is, unfortunately, only too true, that thousands and millions of nominal Christians in Europe, both Protestant and Catholic, disgrace their baptismal and confirmation vows, and care less for religion than pious heathen, and yet all their children must be baptized on the hypocritical profession of the parents or sponsors. It is only too true, that an amount of hostility exists there to Christianity and the Church, which is unknown in the United States, or even in England. The European infidels, revolutionists and anarchists, if they had the power, would not only dis-

solve the union of Church and State, but destroy the Church altogether, which they hate as the supposed back-bone of all political despotism. It is to be feared that another outbreak, like that of 1848, would repeat the mad acts of the first French revolution which abolished the Christian religion and expelled or guillotined its ministers.

This is the very reason why the great majority of pious and conservative people in Germany cling to the existing order of things. They regard the overthrow of State-churchism as an infidel project, that means really the annihilation of Christianity, and they look only to the immediate results, which, no doubt, would be disastrous enough.

But the whole system of State-churchism is now thoroughly undermined in public opinion, and will, in all probability, gradually give way partly under its own operation, partly in consequence of the direct and indirect influence of the example of England and the United States upon the Continent, and especially upon Germany.

The Parliament of Frankfort, in 1848, proclaimed full liberty of religion and irreligion, and a complete emancipation of the State and the school from the Church and Christianity. This radical measure, to judge from the speeches of some of its chief supporters, as Vogt, the atheist and materialist, proceeded far more from hatred, than from love to the Church, and looked not so much to the freedom of religion, as to the freedom of irreligion. But it remained on paper with the other acts of that assembly, and with the triumph of the reaction, the ecclesiastical establishments became stronger, apparently, than they were before 1848, but only apparently.

The new Constitution of Prussia, adopted in 1850, declares, in clear terms, the freedom of the Churches from the State, and the independence of civil and political rights upon the religious profession, but in a manner altogether respectful to religion, and far more cautious and moderate than the abortive act of the Frankfort Assembly. This amounts in principle to a separation of Church and State, although it is not carried out in practice. The reactionary

party, headed by von Gerlach and Stahl, both men of commanding genius and unblemished moral and religious character, made an attempt recently to erase from article twelve of the *Verfassungsurkunde* the clause which puts all religionists on civil and political equality. The principal object was to exclude the Jews from such equality with the Christians. But a motion to that effect, proposed by Legationsrath Wagner, the editor of the "Kreuzzeitung," (and strange to say, himself a dissenter from the State-religion, an Irvingite), was not supported by the government and defeated in the second Chamber (Feb., 1856).

The constitutional guarantee of religious freedom, both public and private, and of ecclesiastical self-government, still stands in Prussia, and the only question seems to be as to the time and best method of its gradual actualization.

We are now prepared to understand and to judge of the merits of the famous Bunsen—Stahl—controversy on religious freedom and toleration, which has excited so much attention recently in Germany, and gives us a clear insight into the present state of parties with reference to this important subject.

It originated with a very able address of Prof. Stahl on Christian Toleration, delivered before a large and highly intelligent audience (the Prussian court was also represented in part) in the Evangelical Association of Berlin, March 29, 1855.

Here the distinguished jurist starts with the assertion, that the religion of the Old and New Testament is essentially exclusive and intolerant over against all false religion. Christianity claims to be the only and universal religion in the world, the only way of salvation, and can, therefore, not be indifferent towards any form of error which deprives God of his honor, and endangers the salvation of man. Under this view Christianity is diametrically opposed to the modern theory of toleration as proclaimed by Voltaire, in France, Frederic II., in Prussia, and Jefferson, in America, which places all creeds and forms of religion, Christian, Jewish, Mohamedan and heathen, on a perfect equality, and

rests, therefore, on complete indifference or downright infidelity. The heathen Pilate, and Lessing's Nathan the Wise, may skeptically ask, "What is truth?" But Christ says, "I am the truth." Here the cardinal virtue of the Christian is not indifference to truth, but unswerving devotion to truth, zeal for the glory of God and the propagation of his kingdom for the salvation of the whole world.

Nevertheless, Stahl continues, Christianity includes a tolerance far deeper than ever entered into the breast of man before. This tolerance rests on that love and charity which beareth all things and hopeth all things; on that humility, which, in the consciousness of its own sin, abstains from judging the neighbor; on that high appreciation of the image of God in man; and finally on the patient resignation to the fact that God has reserved the separation of the wheat from the tares to the last judgment. All this is perfectly compatible with the strictest and most faithful adherence to the divine truth.

But what is now the practical duty of a Christian State to dissenters? Here Stahl draws a sharp line of distinction between the Anglo-American, and what he regards the true German theory. The German evangelical toleration consists in the preservation of the Church, i. e., an established national State-Church, with the recognition of the children of God in all confessions and sects, in their individual capacity. The toleration of the English dissenters and of the Evangelical Alliance places itself essentially on the principle of independency, is a virtual surrender of the idea of the Church in its organic capacity, and places all evangelical confessions and sects on a perfectly civil and religious equality, so that the distinction between Church and sect disappears altogether. And yet this theory which proclaims toleration to all Protestant sects, is intolerant against Romanism, and maintains towards it generally the uncompromising hostility of old Puritanism, as if it was no part of Christianity at all. Stahl admits that this English theory is making considerable progress in Germany, and urges on to a general Protestant war against the Romish Church.

But the true mission of German Protestantism is a higher one, the unity of the Church, not a confederation of sects. Whether this Church shall be Lutheran, or Reformed, or United Evangelical, is a difficult question to be solved by the German Protestantism itself, but the result in any case will be a united Church, and not an indefinite number of coördinate sects. The sound tendency is to unity and harmony, not to division and distraction. The German Protestantism can never recognize the evangelical sects as such, but only individual members of them as brethren in Christ, not because, but in spite of their sectarian connection. It may concede to them the free exercise of their religion, but not the liberty of propagandism to the injury of the Church. The concession in every particular case must be decided by the State, and this has no reason to be especially liberal towards domestic disturbers and foreign propagandists.

Nor can the Protestantism of Germany, according to Stahl, engage in a passionate war against Romanism, but must maintain its historical position, which includes a bond of union with, as well as protest against, the Catholic Church before and after the Reformation. It looks to a final union of the Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic Churches, (what becomes of the Greek communion?) and this is the highest and the most comprehensive form of true toleration and catholicity, not in the Romish sense of uniformity, but in the sense of fulness and totality. It means the ultimate comprehension of the three great confessions, into which Christendom is now divided, into one indissoluble economy of the kingdom of God, to which this separate mission prepares the way. The Roman Church has the particular mission to represent the visible unity and historical continuity of Christianity up to the apostolic age. The Reformed Church is distinguished for its deep fear of God, its energetic faith, its missionary zeal, and tries to build up a world of Christian institutions on the basis of the holy congregation of the believers. The Lutheran Church has the mission to unfold the deepest mysteries of faith and to

show the harmony and interpenetration of the divine and human, the spiritual and natural in the person of Christ and in his sacrament. These peculiar charismata must all be preserved and taken up into the final constitution of the Church. The expectation of such a Church, concludes Stahl, which is elevated above all earthly confessions, and yet their completion in harmony, makes us truly tolerant, not in the indifference, but in the faithfulness to the divine truth and to the particular Church in which we were born, and to which we are sworn.

These are the views of Stahl. There is undoubtedly much truth in them, if we look to the final end of the Church, which is certainly not a mere friendship and brotherhood of sects, but one flock under one shepherd, an organic unity of all believers, one holy catholic kingdom of Christ, that shall include every thing that is true and good and beautiful in the various branches and periods of Church history. But this very end can be best attained by the freest development of Christianity and all its energies, and not by any mechanical square-and-rule-system which only retards its true progress. Stahl confounds the Jewish standpoint with the spirit of the New Testament, in which not one single passage can be found in favor of any compulsion in matters of mere conscience and religion, and he does great injustice to several branches of Protestantism which have as good a mission to fulfil as Romanism and Lutheranism. Yet we would not justify, on that account, the sarcastic severity with which Chevalier Dr. Bunsen, formerly Prussian Ambassador at London, now residing near Heidelberg, has attacked these views in his "Signs of the Times," 1855. He regards Stahl's tract on Christian toleration as a conceited plea for confessional intolerance, which would justify in principle the most bloody persecutions of the Romish Church. He takes up the pen for religious liberty against all intolerance, whether it proceeds from Romanism or Protestantism. His views may be reduced to the following points:

1.) The absolutism of the State has strengthened the absolutism of the hierarchy.

2.) Protestantism has never developed itself vigorously and taken root in the people, except where it produced civil liberty as the necessary fruit of ecclesiastical reform. This development is found only in the bosom of the Reformed Churches, and not in the Lutheran.

3.) Civil liberty has succeeded only on the basis of self-government, and this is impossible without liberty of conscience. Freedom rests on the congregation, and this again on personal religious self-determination.

4.) The hierarchy claims freedom of conscience only for itself, and instinctively opposes it in others.

5., Religious freedom has never yet led to political revolution, but its suppression has.

6.) Intolerance and persecution have never blessed either government or people; but they are the greatest curse to a Protestant government, because they involve an inner contradiction.

With all this, Bunsen still holds to the union of Church and State, and especially to the Prussian establishment, and simply pleads for the fullest toleration of all religious dissenters, provided only they do not violate the laws of the State, or of public morality. His position, therefore, is substantially English, and not American, although he speaks with high regard of the United States, particularly of the influence of Puritanism on civil and religious liberty. But we regret that our esteemed friend has mixed up, with his noble and spirited defence of religious freedom, a good deal of theological liberalism and latitudinarianism, which would be rejected as unsound and dangerous, both in England and in this country. He makes too little account of confessions and creeds, and spreads the mantle of union so far, that Luther, Lessing, Göthe and Hegel may dwell under it in peace, and commune at the same table of the Lord.

Hence the orthodox party denounced Bunsen, forgetful of his former services to evangelical religion, in the strongest terms. Hengstenberg, in his *Vorwort* to 1856, treats his book as perfectly worthless, filled only with idle wind,

calls the author an apostate, charges him with radicalism, and pantheism, applies to him the passage of the unclean spirit, who returns with seven others worse than himself, and compares his Christian phrases with the kiss of the traitor! This is strong enough in all conscience. Leo handled him with equal severity. Stahl wrote a lengthy reply, *Wider Bunsen*, which his admirers and sympathizers regard as a complete extinguisher, and it must be admitted, that as a logical reasoner and skilful dialectician, he is superior to the more brilliant Bunsen, exposes many weak points very successfully and fortifies his own position in regard to toleration and the union apparently with more consistency, on the basis of State-churchism.

But the general principle of religious liberty found a most hearty response throughout Germany, and the celebrated ex-diplomatist has suddenly become one of the most popular men, and that, too, in circles where he was formerly disliked for his religious views. Public opinion pointed him out already as the future minister of public worship in Prussia. The "*Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*" of Berlin boldly declared (1856. N. 7): "The liberty of conscience is a power of the present age, an idea which takes hold with divine irresistibility of all hearts and of all nations, from which no man and no state can escape for any length of time." But not only the liberal and radical organs of the press, but even decidedly evangelical divines, as Dr. Dorner, and Dr. Schenkel, have openly come out for Bunsen and against Stahl and Hengstenberg.

Still others, who have mixed in the controversy, take middle ground between the two extremes. So Dr. Krummacher, who wishes the established Church and the union kept up on decidedly orthodox, though less exclusive ground than Stahl, but asks, at the same time, full toleration for such sects as the Baptists, whom the latter despises as mere disturbers, and favors the Evangelical Alliance.

This seems to be also the position of the King of Prussia, who was formerly an intimate friend of Bunsen. He feels painfully the responsible weight of the ecclesiastical

supremacy of the crown, and declared once openly, he wished the time would soon come, when he could place it back into the proper hands and let the Church manage her own affairs independent upon, and yet in friendly harmony with the State. Although he heard Stahl's famous speech, and allows his small but powerful party a large share in the present management of the Church and the State, he expressed himself nevertheless on several occasions decidedly opposed to all persecution for religious opinion's sake, and has even extended a cordial invitation to the Evangelical Alliance, whose professed object is the promotion of religious liberty throughout the world, to meet at Berlin in 1857. This, too, is a sign of the times.

Mercersburg, Dec., 1856. P. S.

"ODD-FELLOWSHIP EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF SCRIPTURE AND REASON, BY REV. JOSEPH T. COOPER, D. D.", re-examined according to the Word of God, and official Documents of the Order, by a member of Harmony Lodge, No. 16, I. O. O. F. Higgins & Perkenpine, Philadelphia. 1856. 172 pp.

AN earnest, well-written book, which seems, to use a familiar proverb, to aim at killing two birds with one stone. Ostensibly a defense, as the title imports, of the Order of Odd-Fellowship against the charges alleged by Rev. Dr. Cooper in a series of published Lectures, which in fact it also really is, in great measure at least, the book, nevertheless, crosses its arms, Isaac-like, and lays its right hand on Christ and His Church, vindicating their infinitely superior claims whenever, in the author's judgment, they come in conflict with any prevailing practices of Odd-Fellowship. Those portions of the Documents which enjoin faith in God and the duty of religious worship, though in a defective manner, he interprets from his own point of Christian observation, rather than in the light of the Documents themselves, objectively considered. This feature, however, must give peculiar interest to the work, especially in the eyes of truly Christian men who belong to the Order.

The merits of the question at issue between Rev. Dr. Cooper and the author, are comprehended in the more general question relating to the consistency of any secret Order, as organized and prevailing at the present day, with the nature, claims and resources of the Church of Jesus Christ. Into the discussion

of this more general question we do not propose to enter in this short notice. The principle and spirit of the Mercersburg Review sufficiently indicate our position. The Church of Christ is a divine Order on earth, whose organization, functions and powers are adequate to the deepest wants and all the woes of man in all his relations and under all circumstances, and, if true to herself, must supersede the necessity of any independent human Associations originated and perpetuated for similar purposes.

THE PROTESTANT THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA: being a condensed translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia, with additions from other sources, by Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D., assisted by distinguished theologians of various denominations. Part III. Philadelphia. Lindsay & Blakiston. 1856.

THE Editor of this valuable theological publication, which is steadily advancing, has recently received a letter from Dr. Herzog, the Editor of the original work, which fully endorses the principles upon which the condensed translation is conducted. As this letter will be interesting to many of our readers, we give place to it in preference to any remarks of our own.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:

First of all, I owe you an apology for my long delay in answering your cordial and flattering letter. New obstacles constantly came in my way, besides my absence from home on a vacation tour.

You must allow me to render you my thanks for the kind and indulgent reception with which you and your friends have honored my Encyclopedia. I feel myself greatly encouraged by such kind appreciations of my labors, and incited to press onward with my difficult task, and use every exertion to prove myself not wholly unworthy of such confidence. Such encouragements are truly a balm to the spirit under the manifold heavy toils, perplexities, vexations, and cares of all sorts, which the editing of a work like this involves. What chiefly supports me under all this, is the thought that I have undertaken a work which may somewhat subserve the interests of Protestant Theology, and the Protestant Church. That eminent men in America so regard my work, and that it has found so many friends in that country, who sympathize with its true catholic spirit, is for me an important consideration. May God enable me in carrying forward the work, to develop those characteristics more and more, which have won for it so much confidence. In reference to your condensed translation, I must confess that it has my full approval, as have also the principles you have adopted, as communicated to me in your welcome letter, and which I find carried out in the first part of your translation sent to me, and I must express my gratification

that the work has been undertaken by such competent hands. If such a translation should be attempted—and it was very natural that the matter should be thought of—it would necessarily assume the form which you are giving to it; that is, on the one hand it must be an abridgement, and on the other include additions of many articles which I have omitted. In regard to the former point, you remark with perfect correctness, that many articles may be condensed without injury to their integrity. In this respect you are much more at liberty than I can be.

In regard to the second point, you could hardly avoid introducing some articles which I have omitted, especially from Winer's Real Lexicon. Moreover, you will find occasion to take up some English names which I have not noticed; neither should I be surprised at your omission of some names which I have taken up, but which are of less importance for your readers. In this respect again I must fully approve of your plan, as one that necessarily calls for the exercise of personal discretion.

I conclude with the prayer that the blessing of God may rest upon your undertaking, that it may accomplish much good, and prove a new bond of union between the Protestant Churches of America and Europe. I repeat my thanks for your grateful letter, &c., &c.

Respectfully yours, HERZOG.

To the Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger,
Editor, &c., &c.

FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE AND THE NEW ENDOWMENT SCHEME, by Rev. E. V. Gerhart, President. Chambersburg. M. Kieffer & Co.

Franklin and Marshall College is engaged in a two-fold enterprize: the increase of the Endowment Fund by the sale of Temporary Scholarships, and the increase of the Building Fund by soliciting donations from the citizens of the City and County of Lancaster. This little volume of 96 pp. 12mo., has been prepared with the view of spreading correct information on the general subject, in order to awaken a deeper interest in the movements of the Institution. It contains first a brief sketch of the history of Franklin College and of Marshall College, and of Franklin and Marshall College, in which Institution these two, previously existing separately, are now united. This is followed by a statement of the position, the wants, and prospects, and an explanation of the plans of the College. It concludes with an earnest effort to enforce the claims of the Endowment Scheme to general cordial support, on the ground of the relation which higher education sustains to the State, to the Church, and to the best interests of all classes of the people.

THE

MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

APRIL, 1857.

Art. I.—THE IDEA OF THE PARABLE.

The New Testament parable—*παραβολη*, from *παρα*, *to* or *against*, and *βαλλω*, *to throw*, that is, *to throw forward* or *against*, *to place one thing by the side of another*—consists in bodying forth through language a supernatural truth in a natural fact, either actual or supposable. It is the peculiar union of the infinite and finite. The one is the substance, the other the form; the one is the spiritual meaning, the other the verbal expression. The one is a vast profound deep into which the reason may sink by the power of the Spirit, but which it can not fathom; the other a placid beautiful surface, indicating the mystery beneath by the varied rays of light which it reflects. To get an idea of the parable it is necessary, therefore, to apprehend both spheres of being; to stand in the element of the supernatural and invisible by faith, and at the same time to understand, in some measure at least, the natural and visible by means of reflection and study—to be in living sympathy with the spiritual meaning which it bears in itself on the one hand, and on the other, to know the nature of the outward form which its spiritual meaning assumes. As the outward form, however, is the medium through which the internal spiritual meaning addresses the faith and understanding of the Christian, it becomes in turn the medium through which the Christian may approach the internal spiritual meaning; the medium through which he may come to possess the

general idea common to all parables and the import also of any particular one.

We may distinguish two methods, now, according to which we may institute an enquiry into the nature of the parable. We may, as it were, take a position within; we may lay hold of the spiritual meaning in the light of the New Testament as a whole, and then from this point of observation proceed to unfold both the nature of the parable and its outward form. Or, we may take a position without; we may study the outward form as this appears in the natural fact, and through it approach the spiritual meaning which lies deep within. We can not regard either, however, taken by itself, as the true method. Nor is either by itself altogether possible. For the inward and the outward, matter and form, the meaning and the expression, are correlative. A true idea of the one is possible only in the light of the other. The principle, though apparently paradoxical, is actually operative every where. The soul and the body, though parts of one organic whole, are, nevertheless, very different both as to their attributes and functions; yet we can have no true conception of the human body without some idea of the human soul, and no true idea of the human soul without a conception of the human body. A knowledge of form always conditions a knowledge of its matter; and the reverse. A correct view of the parable can be obtained only by uniting the two methods. Still there is a difference of order. Taking a position within, and starting with the deep spiritual meaning of the parable, we may unfold its nature in the light of its outward form. Or, taking a position without, and carefully studying its outward form, we may get an idea of its nature in the light of its spiritual meaning. We propose to pursue the latter, as being the more natural and proper order of thought.

Approaching the general question, then, under this view, we may say that the parable, as to its form, is a figure of speech. The one is a species, the other the genus. To understand the nature of a species it is important to get a

clear idea of the genus. We shall, therefore, first institute a brief enquiry into the nature of a figure of speech.

The term *figure of speech* we shall use in a generic sense, reserving the words *metaphor* and *trope* to denote particular classes of figures. These, it is true, are also frequently employed as general terms, but we regard it as a more correct and consistent use of language to allow to them only a more limited or a *specific* signification.

A figure of speech is the expression of a conception or thought in improper language. A word may be said to be proper when, in any given case, it is the true form of the conception which it contains; it is improper when it is not the true, but the assumed or imaginary, form of a conception or thought. A figure of speech is thus the expression of a conception in language which is not its true form, but the true form of some other conception to which it sustains some internal relation.

The basis of a figure is accordingly the internal relation which two things sustain to each other. An internal relation is objective; it lies in and is determined by the nature of the things themselves; and must be distinguished from an external relation, which is nothing more than a mechanical juxtaposition or a connection of two things brought about by an arbitrary imagination. An internal relation is of various kinds. It may be that of resemblance or contrast, of cause and effect, of ground and consequence, of a whole to its parts, or of a part to the whole, of the condition to the conditional, and the like. Here we find the general principle which determines the classification of figures. A figure belongs to one or the other class according to the nature of the relation upon which it is based.

Starting with this general principle it would be interesting and instructive to unfold a complete classification. But as we do not propose to write a treatise on figures of speech, but aim only at bringing out a definite idea of the parable, we shall limit our enquiry to that class which is based on the relation of resemblance—the class to which the parable belongs. It includes by far the most numerous, most important and beautiful figures.

A figure belonging to this class implies a comparison of two things which resemble each other. This resemblance, which is always assumed, is its principle. In every figure, accordingly, we have these two elements: a subject of discourse and an object of comparison, or, as they are sometimes called, a principal subject and a representative subject. The subject of discourse is supposed to be but imperfectly known—needs illustration or ornament; the object of comparison—that to which the subject is compared—is assumed to be well-known, and lends its light and beauty to the subject. The two things are held beside or against each other, the subject beside the object; and the one is thought and spoken of under the form of the other. The subject is seen in the reflected light of the object; or the subject may be said to put on the familiar and beautiful garments of the object. The object is like the sun which illumines a blade of grass and clothes it in living green; and the subject is in consequence seen more distinctly by the eye of the mind and looks more beautiful than if viewed in its own radiance. Or if it be desirable to degrade the subject, we clothe it in the filthy, tattered garments of some low, despicable object—a vagabond, a beggar, a convict, or any of the like—, and we make it more despicable, or repulsive, or ludicrous, than it could be wearing its own dress, or than the object itself can be, whatever its native degradation.

This, then, is the general conception of a figure based on resemblance. It consists in the substitution of one thing for another—in taking, as the form of expression, the object which the subject resembles, instead of the subject itself. As this may be done in a variety of ways, we get a particular species for each essential variation in the mode of applying the general principle.

But before we proceed to unfold the nature of particular species of figures, we wish to add, in regard to the general principle of resemblance, that it is two-fold: it may be a resemblance of things—of the subject and object themselves; or a resemblance of relations, that is, the relation

of the subject to something else, is like the relation of the object to something else. The comparison on which the figure proceeds may be based on the one form of resemblance, or on the other, or on both together. If based on the mere resemblance of relations, or simple analogy, it excludes the resemblance of things. A figure implying only the former, can not, therefore, involve the latter. When Christ says: *I am the bread of life*, the expression rests on a mere resemblance of relations; the relation which bread sustains to the sustentation of natural life is like the relation which He sustains to the growth of spiritual life. Hence He calls Himself the true bread of which every man must eat in order to live. But it would be absurd to infer an implication of resemblance between Christ Himself and natural bread, or between the attributes of Christ and the properties of bread, in themselves considered. The reverse is true, however, when a figure is based on a resemblance of things; because a thing—an object—an act or transaction, necessarily involves, at the same time, the existence of various relations. Hence, when two things are like each other, it is true very often, that their relations are like each other also. A figure which rests on a resemblance of things does not, therefore, as a matter of course, exclude, but may include a resemblance of relations. It may, in fact, be based on both forms of resemblance.

In the latter case, the conception of one thing is expressed by language which is proper to another, because the two things themselves bear a resemblance to each other. In other words, the name of the object is substituted for the name of the subject, because subject and object resemble each other. In Luke 13: 32, our Lord calls Herod a *fox*, because the character of Herod bore a resemblance to the disposition of that cunning, crafty animal. Here we have an instance of what is properly a metaphor, or an exchange of verbal form.

In the former case, the conception of one thing—the subject of discourse, is expressed by a word which is the true form of another thing—the object of comparison—,because

the two things, or subject and object, are like each other in their relations; in other words, the name of the object is substituted for the name of the subject, because the relation which the one sustains to something else resembles the relation which the other sustains to something else. In John 10: 9, our Lord says: *I am the door*, not because he bears any resemblance to a door as such, but because He sustains the same relation to the Kingdom of Heaven that a door does to a sheep-fold; He is the person through whom a sinner enters into the true Church and into Heaven. He uses the relation of a door to a fold, a common natural fact, as the form under which he communicates a profound spiritual truth.

There is no name for this particular species of figure. It is called indifferently a metaphor, a trope, or a figure. We should prefer calling it a *trope* to any thing else—a word whose etymology would fully justify such a restricted use, and which could easily be spared for this purpose without any loss to the language. Indeed such an application would facilitate the study of figures; for some of the best English writers unfortunately use *metaphor* and *trope*, *metaphorical* and *tropical*, as synonymous and interchangeable terms. In consequence we have different terms which we apply loosely to the same thing, and different things to which we apply the same term. Yet the distinction between a resemblance of things and a resemblance of relations is always important, and especially in the interpretation of the figurative language of the Sacred Scriptures. For the distinction must be borne in mind in the study of the allegory or parable, as well as in that of the metaphor or trope.

Here, then, we have a two-fold principle of resemblance which lies at the foundation of that whole class of figures which we are considering. As stated already, we get as many different figures as there are really different ways in which this two-fold principle may be applied; the metaphor or trope, the comparison, the prosopopœia, the parable, the myth, the allegory, the fable, and many others:

terms, however, all of which are frequently used without much precision; some are even sometimes exchanged for each other, although none of them are properly convertible; for each denotes a species of figurative language which is really different from the rest. We shall confine ourselves to an analysis of those only which will assist us in getting a distinct idea of the parable.

We have already referred to the *metaphor*, *μεταφορα*, from *μετα*, *over*, and *φερω*, *to carry*. Resting on a resemblance of things, it substitues the name of the object for that of the subject. This is not done in the parable. The parable, like every other figure, implies a subject of discourse and an object of comparison; and, like the metaphor, may rest on a resemblance of things, or, like the trope, on a resemblance of relations; or it may rest on both forms of resemblance. But it always differs from a mere metaphor in this, that it keeps subject and object asunder grammatically, and simply deals in a more or less complete description or statement of the object in language appropriately belonging to it. The metaphor, on the contrary, unites subject and object grammatically, applying the name of the latter to the former. Instead of describing the object, it describes the subject, but in language appropriate to the object.

The three parables in St. John form an exception, because they are not pure, but are rather a mixture of metaphor and parable. The principal subject is, at the same time, the grammatical subject, whilst the predicate is expressed under the form of the object or representative subject. In this respect they partake of the nature of a metaphor. Vid. John 15: 1, 2, et seq. But as these figures proceed to describe the object with more or less completeness in language appropriately belonging to it, and thus illustrate the nature and relations of the principal subject, they partake also of the nature of the parable. It may be correct, therefore, to apply to them the name of *parable*, as the last characteristic seems to be most prominent; but it does not follow from such application of the name that the metaphor relation of subject and object belongs to its essential nature.

The parable differs also from formal *comparison*. Comparison states or traces the resemblance formally between subject and object. It holds up the subject distinctly and lets the light of the object fall directly upon it, that it may be seen and admired in the reflected glory. The parable may also indicate the resemblance at certain points; but this is not essential. It may even not in any way intimate the existence of any resemblance, but simply narrate an event, or state a fact, without alluding to the real subject of discourse. It may deal altogether with the object, and not hint in a formal way in what sense the narrative is to be understood.

In this respect the parable resembles the *allegory*, though specifically different. The allegory—from *αλλος* and *αγορευω*, *to say one thing and mean another*—keeps the principal subject entirely out of view and deals exclusively with the object of comparison. It is thus a statement or description of something under a borrowed form. The borrowed form is, however, not always purely such; for the attributes of the thing signified may, to a certain extent, mingle with or penetrate the attributes of the thing signifying, and thus modify and even distort the borrowed form. In other words, the object may appear with some attributes and under circumstances which are more appropriate to the subject than to it. As a consequence, the true sense and application of the allegory are indicated as the allegory advances, and may appear fully when it is complete, although the subject itself, or the thing signified, has not been mentioned. As a specimen we quote Psalm 80: 8–15, than which there is none more beautiful, rich and perfect to be found any where;* "Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt: thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it. Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs into the sea, and her

* Compare Isa. 5: 2–6.

branches unto the river. Why hast thou then broken down her hedges, so that all they which pass by the way do pluck her? The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it. Return we beseech thee, O God of hosts: look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine; and the vineyard which thy right hand hath planted, and the branch which thou madest strong for thyself." This clearly illustrates the chief characteristics of the allegory as to the relation of subject and object, and the mingling of attributes. The principal subject is not mentioned at all; the object alone is described; but the description is of a somewhat mixed character. In the words: "She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river," we see the attributes of the subject, the Jewish nation, the chosen people of God, almost displacing the proper attributes of the object, the vine.

The parable may also, it is true, keep the principal subject out of view and deal exclusively with the object of comparison. Compare the Prodigal Son, the Lost Sheep or the Sower. But it does not allow the attributes of the thing signified to penetrate and modify the attributes of the thing signifying. The borrowed form is such purely; that is, the object, or representative subject, is described with attributes and under circumstances which are altogether natural and proper. Were the parable of the Prodigal Son intended to be nothing more than the narrative of an actual historical fact, the language from beginning to end could not be more natural and proper than it is as constituting one of the most perfect, profound and comprehensive parables of our Lord. To render this point of difference evident, it is only necessary to compare this parable, for example, or that of the good Samaritan, with the allegory of the vine just quoted.

Besides, the allegory may introduce fanciful or arbitrary persons in the place of those which really belong to the object, or it may ascribe imaginary characteristics to real

persons, and cause them to occupy unnatural relations.* The parable always deals with the actual world as it is. It introduces such persons and things, and such only, as really belong to the object, and introduces them in natural relations and under natural circumstances. The form of the parable is throughout entirely consistent with itself.

But the principal difference lies deeper. The subject of the allegory, that is, the thing signified, is always the human under some one of its manifold aspects; a human judgment, human hope and fear, a human state, human conduct, a human idea of the divine and eternal, or a view of religion projected by unaided reason. Hence it is a marked feature in the productions of oriental nations, being the form under which their notions of God, of religion, the relation of God to man and of man to God, take outward shape and gain expression. But they have no parable in the New Testament sense. The subject of the beautiful allegory of the vine in the 80th Psalm, is the Jews viewed as the chosen people of God; not, however, simply as they are in view of the special interposition and favor of God; in this respect the divine plan was steadily unfolded with unerring certainty; but viewed as they became in consequence of their natural character and conduct; it is not the divine but the human side of the Jewish economy which constitutes the prominent aspect of the thing signified. The vine is Israel transferred to Canaan, prospering and extending, and then apparently destroyed in consequence of transgression. The resemblance, accordingly, on which the allegory rests is that which holds between man and the animal, man and the vegetable, between man in one relation of life and man in another, or between his own idea of supernatural things and his conceptions of the natural world.† But the subject of the parable is the supernatural,

* Crabb's Synonyms, p. 582.

† Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress is very properly called an allegory, not a parable, metaphor or myth. The subject is the life of the Christian; his awakening, conversion, trials, conflicts, perseverance, death and final triumph. This is not the supernatural or divine, but the human; the human as

the divine, the heavenly. The human may indeed come into view also and even prominently, but in its subordinate relation to the divine, whilst the allegory holds the divine relatively in subordinate relation to the human.

Or, we may say, in the parable the principal subject is always something connected with the Kingdom of Heaven, the Church, or some truth of supernatural revelation. This fact or truth may pertain directly to the fall, condition, wants or destiny of man; hence man comes into view with more or less prominence as a matter of course. See, for example, the parable of the Importunate Widow, or of the Pharisee and Publican. The resemblance, accordingly, on which the parable rests is that which holds between God and man, the supernatural and natural, between the Kingdom of Heaven and the kingdom of nature, or between the grace of God affecting and determining the life of man and some actual or possible event in the natural world. The reverse thus of the allegory. The allegory exhibits man or a human conception of the divine; the parable exhibits God, or some truth made known by divine revelation. Both take their outward form from nature as the object of comparison; but the one uses the natural in a somewhat unnatural way, whilst the other takes the natural in a natural way and fills it out with divine truth—spiritual realities.*

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influenced, determined and unfolded by divine grace. The divine comes thus into view unavoidably, not as a prominent theme, however, but only as operating upon the human, whilst the human is throughout the principal subject. The allegory illustrates Bunyan's view of a man who is a true follower of Jesus Christ; and in consequence also the subjective side of Christianity.

* The allegory as a figure of speech is only one species of allegory. An allegory may also be a painting, a piece of sculpture, or some architectural work. Or it may lie in persons. Persons in the Old Testament, for example, may be at the same time both real and allegorical; that is, they may represent not only themselves as they are, but also something else which they are not. In this sense the Apostle Paul refers to Hagar and Sarah, Gal. 4: 24: *which things are an allegory*, Ἅ ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα; (rendered by Robinson: "*which things are allegorized*, spoken allegorically, i. e., may be taken or used as an allegory." Lex. N. T., p. 33.); that is, the history is of an allegorical nature; it signifies something different from the literal facts; Hagar representing the ceremonial dispensation instituted on Mount Sinai, and Sarah, the free Gospel. Yet these different species of allegory are all intrinsically the same: one thing is held up to view, and another thing is signified.

A *myth*—*μυθος*, *word*, *speech*, or *discourse*,—also implies the expression of some moral or religious truth or idea under a borrowed form. But the borrowed form becomes, as it were, the body of the truth. The truth and the improper form are completely blended, or merged, the one in the other; the improper form appears as the proper form; and that which is in reality only the representative subject is taken for the principal subject. In other words, all sense of distinction between subject and object, or between principal subject and representative subject, is lost altogether; and the myth, though as to form but a figure, stands out as a historical fact. A succeeding age may discover the idea concealed in the apparently historical fact, and separate the one from the other—may distinguish between matter and form. Accordingly we call the reputed facts relating to the gods of the Greeks and Romans—their birth, parentage, and achievements—*myths*, and their whole system of religion a *mythology*. Rationalists and infidels, apply the same name to the Mosaic account of the creation. And Strauss turns the life of Christ, his incarnation, miracles, sufferings and death, as recorded in the Gospels, into a myth. Whilst the narratives recorded in the books of Moses and the Gospels, are to all appearance veritable facts, they are held to be nothing more than forms of the imagination with which certain ideas have become so entirely identified that the difference between the original idea and the borrowed form is no longer perceived, the borrowed form being itself taken for the original idea.

In the parable, however, subject and object, the true meaning and the outward form, are kept entirely separate. Whilst they are internally connected, the subject being seen through the medium of the object, the one is not merged into the other. The object is not taken for the subject. Even though the import of the parable be not understood, the object is seen to be but the borrowed form of some spiritual truth, the literal historical sense of the narrative never being identified with the true meaning. And should a mistaken judgment regard the literal mean-

ing of the narrative as the only true meaning, it would still so far forth at least be in possession of the truth; for the object is either an actual or supposable natural event. The parable is the real in the sphere of nature taken as the form of the real in the sphere of spirit. On the contrary, the object, or representative subject, of the myth in which its true meaning is embodied, though seemingly a historical fact, is not such really, nor is it supposable as an actual event, but is the product of the imagination projected into outward shape.

The *fable* belongs to the same class of figures, but occupies a place and subserves a purpose of its own. It is a narrative in which the principal actors are men actuated by considerations of worldly wisdom, or animals or plants endowed with the power of thought and speech. Its design is to illustrate and enforce some truth of human reason, or some lesson of prudence. A natural truth is represented in a fictitious narrative.

The parable differs very widely from the fable, both as to matter and form. The parable clothes a divine truth in a legitimate earthly form; the fable clothes a moral lesson or a human notion in an earthly form, and permits the earthly form to be either legitimate or arbitrary. The parable illustrates a truth belonging to the kingdom of grace by a fact belonging to the kingdom of nature. The fable belongs to the kingdom of nature under every aspect; generally illustrating some truth relating to man by an imaginary event occurring in the animal or vegetable kingdom; it illustrates a higher by a lower order of nature.

In the parable, the object or representative subject belongs to the human kingdom; if the animal or the vegetable is introduced either by itself or in connection with man, it is done according to its real nature and relations; the animal never appears with human attributes or under any factitious circumstances. In the fable the animal or vegetable is introduced as possessing a mixed nature, partly its own and partly human, and under artificial circumstances; if men are introduced they do not manifest the presence

and influence of any supernatural agency, but speak and act according to the dictates of their natural judgment; or if imaginary deities have a place in the narrative their intervention is subordinated to earthly ends, to the illustration of lessons of human wisdom. Both as to matter and form, therefore, the parable is always the truth—the higher truth in the lower truth; but the matter of the fable is nothing more than the judgment of man, which may be false or true, and the form is not a legitimate but an arbitrary and fictitious transaction.

The parable, accordingly, is freely used as a medium of instruction by Him who spake as never man spake. Prophets use the metaphor, the comparison and similitude, the allegory, the proverb and other species of figures, but it is a remarkable fact that they do not introduce a perfect parable.* The prophet Ezekiel introduces a figure of speech which is an approximation to the parable (Ez. 17: 2 and 29: 3); but it must be regarded at most as belonging to an inferior class, and as sustaining a relation of subordination to the New Testament parable like that which the old dispensation itself sustains to the new; other figures, however, are as beautiful and perfect in the Old as in the New Testament. The word occurs also in our English translation of many other passages of the Old Testament,† but in a different sense, sometimes as synonymous with discourse or message, and at others as equivalent to illustration, metaphor or proverb. Yet as applied to any improper form of speech, it bears a faint resemblance to its peculiar nature as fully developed in the New Testament.

Perhaps it is more remarkable still that the Apostles, with the example of Christ before them, and enjoying the fullest revelation of divine things, do not employ the parable as a form of communication; not even John, who lived in most intimate fellowship and communion with our Lord.

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* Robinson remarks: "This is a favorite mode of oriental teaching, and was much employed by our Saviour; so often in the first three Gospels, but not elsewhere in the New Testament." Lex. N. T., p. 546.

† Numbers 23: 7, 18; 24: 3, 15, 20. Job 27: 1; 29: 1. Ps. 49: 4; 78: 2. Pr. 26: 7, 9.

The Acts of the Apostles, and especially the Epistles and the Apocalypse, abound with various rich and pertinent figures, but of this one we find no trace, not even in the discourses of Peter and Paul as reported by Luke in the Acts.

It was reserved for Him, who unites and harmonizes in his person the divine and the human, the infinite and the finite, the supernatural and the natural, and therefore comprehends and fathoms the supernatural and eternal in all its mysterious relations to the natural and temporal, and knows the origin, being and operation of the natural in its reciprocal relations to the supernatural—it was reserved for Him to exhibit the infinite fulness of the one in the outward finite form of the other with inimitable beauty and power, giving to the human and natural a depth and wealth of divine and spiritual meaning, which the Christian may approach, and into which he may sink, and bring forth as from an ocean many precious pearls, but which in the ages to come he will never be able fully to explore and exhaust.

The fable, on the other hand, is nowhere honored as the vehicle of divine revelation. No instance occurs in the New Testament at all, and but two, strictly speaking, but one complete one, in the Old. The complete fable is found in Judges 9: 8–15: "The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them, and they said unto the olive tree, Reign thou over us. But the olive tree said unto them, Should I leave my fatness, wherewith by me they honor God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees? Then said the trees to the fig-tree, Come thou and reign over us. But the fig-tree said unto them, Should I forsake my sweetness, and good fruit, and go to be promoted over the trees? Then said the trees unto the vine, Come thou and reign over us. And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my vine, which cheereth God and man and go to be promoted over the trees? Then said all the trees unto the bramble, Come thou and reign over us. And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust in my shadow; and if not, let fire

come out of the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon." The other is in 2 Kings 14: 9: "And Jehoash the king of Israel sent to Amaziah, king of Judah, saying, The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle." These are the only instances in the sacred Scriptures; we have, therefore, quoted them entire. In the one case, Jotham, the surviving son of Gideon, the late king of Israel, sixty-nine of whose sons had been inhumanly slaughtered at Ophrah by Abimelech in order to usurp the throne, reproves the men of Shechem for their ingratitude to his father, and illustrates the folly of their conduct in making Abimelech king. In the other, Jehoash, king of Israel, to whom Amaziah king of Judah, elated by his recent victory over Edom, had sent messengers, saying, "Come let us look one another in the face," would teach him the folly of meddling to his hurt with a man who was greatly his superior. Both teach a moral lesson. There is a sense indeed in which these fables constitute a part of divine revelation, but there is another and a higher sense in which they do not. They constitute a part of sacred history, and serve to illustrate the spirit and character of particular men and particular times; but they are not the form under which an inspired prophet communicates the will of God to man. They help to bring out the human side of sacred history, but do not reveal the presence and power of the divine. In this repect, these fables are to be classed with the account of the cunning of Rebecca, the duplicity of Abraham in his conduct towards Abimelech, king of Gerar, and many other facts recorded in the Sacred Scriptures, which illustrate human character or the workings of sin, but are not, properly speaking, a revelation of the divine will.

We will yet endeavor to draw the line of distinction between the parable and the *proverb*. Derived from *pro* and *verbum*, the proverb signifies a word or a few words in common use, which are taken, instead of a full statement, to

convey a wide and comprehensive sense. Or, it may be said to be a sententious saying. Sometimes it is a particular proposition, stated either in proper or figurative language, and embodying a general meaning, that is, a meaning which is held to be common to all the particular cases arising under a given head. Though the word is not always used in the same sense, there is a general idea which it embodies in every instance, distinguishing it from every other peculiar form of verbal expression, namely: Much meaning in a few current words. The meaning may be true or false;* it may be a lesson of human or divine wisdom—"apples of gold in pictures of silver;" or it may be a current error passing for a truth. The meaning, if true, may have been ascertained by experience and observation or through the elevating influences of the Holy Spirit.

The difference of a proverb from a parable is evident. As to form, the parable is not a current sententious saying; it is the narration of an actual or possible natural event. Nor is it a particular proposition involving a general idea. The parable does indeed teach a general truth; but a general truth belonging to the sphere of the spirit, which is exhibited in an analagous fact belonging to the sphere of matter. A lower order of life is used to reveal a higher order of life. As to its substance, the parable always contains a spiritual *truth*, never an *error*. A proverb may be good or bad, wise or foolish; but the New Testament parable leaves no room for the distinction. To sum up the whole, we may say, the essence of a proverb consists in a few words or a short expression obtaining currency as the embodiment of a comprehensive sense, without respect to the nature of the sense as true or false; whilst the essence of the parable consists in the narration of a natural fact exhibiting the nature and relations of a supernatural or spiritual truth.

* Webster's definition is not accurate: "A short sentence often repeated, expressing a well-known truth or common fact, ascertained by experience or observation." The truth or falsity of a proverb is not essential, but altogether accidental, to its nature as such.

The idea of the New Testament parable, which we have thus endeavored to unfold, we conceive to be its true idea, viewed as a particular figure of speech in contradistinction from the metaphor, the comparison, the allegory, the myth, the fable, and the proverb. We do not wish to imply, however, that the word is always used in its specific sense in the New Testament. Like nearly every other word, it is used in various senses. Sometimes it has a much more general signification, comprehending the comparison or simile, and the proverb, as well as the particular figure which we call a *parable.* For example, it is said: And without a parable —χορις παραβολη—spake he not unto them. (Matth. 13: 34.) Here the word παραβολη must be taken to include all forms of figurative language which our Saviour adopted in imparting instruction to the people. We refer also to the use of the word in the thirty-fifth verse: "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables, εν παραβολαις; I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world." The passage quoted by Matthew is taken from Ps. 78: 2, where the Hebrew word, rendered by *parable,* is MASHAL, meaning according to Gesenius, *similitude, sententious saying, apothegm,* then *proverb,* and finally *a poem* or *song;* it is also the general title given to the Proverbs of Solomon. This illustrates the wide sense in which the word *parable* is employed by Matthew. In Luke 4: 23, it is used directly as synonymous with *proverb*: "And he said unto them, Ye will surely say unto me this proverb, την παραβολην ταυτην, Physician heal thyself." Our Saviour makes use of the well-known proverb: *Physician heal thyself,* but calls it παραβολη, which our translators have correctly rendered into English by the word *proverb;* for it is to such a sententious saying particularly that we apply the name of proverb, not of parable. But the use of παραβολη instead of παροιμια, the proper Greek word for *proverb,* shows plainly that the word has not only a general sense as comprehending various forms of figurative language, but that in its application to a particular species of figure it is

employed as a convertible term. Taken as a particular word it is applicable to different things. In this respect, however, the word is like many others, whether in the Greek or English language, which are employed in a general or comprehensive sense, and are, at the same time, susceptible of application to different particulars.

Apart now from the general sense of the word *parable*, and its susceptibility of commutation with other words, it has a sense which is peculiarly its own. It is the proper name for a specific figure of speech. As such we have aimed at developing its meaning in distinction from various other figures to which it is allied.

What we hold to be the specific idea of the parable is not to be found accordingly in every figurative form of speech to which the name is applied in the Gospels; but only in a particular class of figures. To this class belong the Sower, the Tares, the Mustard Seed, the Net, the Good Samaritan, the Pharisee and Publican, the Prodigal Son, and many others recorded by Matthew, Mark and Luke. These are parables in the specific sense of the word. And it is in the study of these, and all of this class, that we have sought to unfold the true idea of the New Testament parable. "It is remarkable that in St. John there are only three passages approaching to parables, which yet essentially differ from those of the other gospels. For the three instances are those in which our Lord compares Himself to a door and a vine; and where He describes Himself as the Good Shepherd. In no other parable is He one term of the comparison: and we may say, without danger of error, that these three comparisons of Himself to other objects ought hardly to be called parables. At any rate they form a separate class."*

In unfolding the true idea of the New Testament para-

* *Essays on Various Subjects by Cardinal Wiseman*, Vol. I, p. 160. The scope of the Essay on Parables is to show that no believer in Christ is in a position to understand them properly but a Roman Catholic. Though such a narrow view involves the author in many gratuitous assumptions against Protestantism, the Treatise is, nevertheless, an able and interesting discussion of the general subject.

ble in distinction from other figures, one fundamental point has all along been assumed. As the class of figures to which the parable belongs is based on the relation of resemblance, it has been assumed that the parable is based on the same relation—on the resemblance between the natural and the supernatural, between the human and the divine, the earthly and the heavenly. An important question which now arises is, whether such an assumption is correct. Is there an analogy between the order of nature and the order of grace? or, if it be admitted that such analogy is conceivable, is it real? Does such analogy exist only in the minds of men, or is it an objective verity? Our answer is implied in the position we have taken as to the nature of the parable. We must hold that the analogy is not a mere accommodation to the ignorance and prejudices of the people. It did not lie simply in the mind of Jesus Christ. It was not assumed for the time being as a convenient medium of instruction. But the analogy is real and objective. Nature in her whole organization is the image of that order of life which lies above and beyond it.

That this position is necessarily true could be established by a philosophical argument starting with the scriptural idea of creation, and negating on the one hand the eternity of matter, and on the other the pantheistic theory of emanation. It can be established also by a scientific enquiry into the relation which the lower forms of inorganic nature sustain to the higher forms of organic nature, and into the relation which the whole irrational creation sustains to the human reason. Nature unfolds herself, as it were, in circles, each higher one being both a repetition and a fuller manifestation of what is essential to the lower; so that each one to be rightly known must be studied both by itself and by comparison with another. The process culminates in the human reason, which though generically different is nevertheless the mirror which reflects all subordinate orders of creation. Its laws of thinking correspond to the laws of being in every

knowable object. Hence the vegetable kingdom, for example, is properly apprehended according to the laws of reason, and we get a science; and the vegetable kingdom in turn serves as a true illustration of the nature and laws of reason. For the one is analogous to the other. To say now that the kingdom of nature is analogous to the kingdom of Heaven is only a completion of this ascending process of reflection. Man is created in the likeness of God, capable of knowing, loving and adoring Him. In the nature of the case, the finite, created reason must apprehend the self-existent, infinite Creator according to its own forms of thought. This implies a correspondence of the laws of thinking to the nature and relations of the spiritual world. Thus we have a correspondence of the reason to objects in two directions—to a descending series of objects until we reach the lowest forms of inorganic matter, and to an ascending series of objects until we reach the personal, absolute Creator Himself. If, now, the laws of the material world correspond to the laws of thinking, so that the irrational may serve as a valid illustration of the rational; and if the laws of thinking correspond to the nature and relations of the Godhead, so that the created reason may obtain, though an imperfect, yet a true knowledge of the infinite Creator, it must follow that the natural world, including both the rational and the irrational creature, corresponds to the supernatural world, or that there is a real analogy between the two, in virtue of which the one becomes the true image of the other.

But we may reach the same conclusion in a more direct way. The nature and design of the parable itself implies such a true analogy. Our Lord used the parable as the medium of revealing and communicating divine, spiritual truth to the people. The people were taught to receive the truth concerning the person and work of Christ, the relation of God to man and of man to God, the way of salvation from sin and death by entering the kingdom of Heaven, as well as the state of man, whether good or evil, beyond the grave, under an imagery drawn both from human society and

from every department of nature. He held up to their view the supernatural and divine in the form of the natural and human; not only to the view of the disciples and the Jews but to the view of the Church in all ages. The Great Teacher, Himself the fullest revelation of God in man, causes the whole Church, to the end of time, to look at the one *in the light* of the other. This necessarily implies, not indeed an external, but an internal resemblance—a real analogy. Otherwise the light in which he teaches us to look at the supernatural would be false instead of true —would be a discoloration instead of an illustration; and the parable instead of being an exhibition would be a distortion of the truth.

A closer examination will afford us more direct evidence still. In a number of instances our Saviour says plainly that the kingdom of heaven is *like* certain natural events. "The kingdom of heaven is *likened* unto a man which sowed good seed in his field." (Matth. 13: 24.) "The kingdom of heaven is *like* to a grain of mustard seed." (v. 31.) "The kingdom of heaven is *like* unto leaven." (v. 33.) "The kingdom of heaven is *like* unto treasure hid in a field." (v. 44.) "The kingdom of heaven is *like* unto a merchantman." (v. 45.) "The kingdom of heaven is *like* unto a net." (v. 47.) Compare also Luke 13: 18–21. These instances may suffice. The Greek words translated *like* and *likened* are of course ὁμοιος *like, similar, resembling,* and the verb, ὁμοιοω, *to make like,* to *resemble,* to *assimilate.* Hence we learn that the nature and design of the parable does not only necessarily imply an analogy, but that in the introduction to many of His parables, our Saviour says in almost so many words that the kingdom of grace does resemble the kingdom of nature; and then selects a fact in the sphere of the one in order by it to teach a corresponding fact in the sphere of the other.

This view completes the idea of the parable. It is an earthen vase containing the ripe fruit of Heaven. It is a cup of gold putting the water of eternal life to our lips. The inward substance is spiritual and divine, but the out-

ward form is of the earth. This is true in a certain sense of the language of the Old and New Testament in general. It is the will and truth of God in the language of man. Infinite thoughts in finite forms. But the parable may be regarded as the culminating point, the flower, of the language of the Scriptures. The tree of revelation had been growing in the garden of the Lord for a period of four thousand years, putting forth leaves and branches and twigs, and giving promise of something better that was to come; at length it blooms in the fulness of time; and the beautiful flowers, that now cover its branches, taking up and unfolding the deepest sense of all language, exhibit the unsearchable riches of spiritual truth in an outward texture of nicest finish, in most wonderful accuracy and delicacy of outline, and in the greatest variety and brilliancy of color.

The idea of the parable is the key to its interpretation. But this branch of the subject we propose to consider in a subsequent article.

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Art. II.—HODGE ON THE EPHESIANS.

SECOND ARTICLE.

In resuming this subject, it seems proper to bring into view again, in the way of brief recapitulation, the leading topics or heads of argument discussed in our previous article.

The New Testament Epistles in general proceed throughout on the supposition of two different sides in Christianity, which, to a certain extent, oppose each other, and yet are quietly presumed always to be equally essential to its true constitution. In one direction all stress is laid upon its supernatural distinction, the fulness of divine grace which is comprehended in it for the salvation of its subjects. In virtue of this, they are represented as having a present interest in the privileges of Christ's redemption, which sets them high above the common level of human existence, and involves for them potentially all that is required in order to everlasting life. All the blessings of the new creation in Christ Jesus are regarded as already theirs, with a form of real possibility, such as we have no right to conceive of as existing for the world in any other circumstances, or under any different view. This is one aspect of the case. In another direction, however, we are met with such a representation of the simply human and earthly side of the same Christian state, as seems at times completely to obscure the glory of the other conception, and to bring all down again to the range of the most common every day experience. The powers and possibilities of a higher world, are found to be strangely at the mercy of the sins and frailties of the present world. The opportunities of grace show themselves as liable to be neglected, frustrated, or abused, as the corresponding opportunities of nature. Thus it is, that heavenly and earthly, divine and human, move hand

in hand together throughout the whole economy of the Gospel, as it is here offered to our contemplation. So in the case of the Epistles of the New Testament generally; and so particularly, we may say, in the case of this Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians. It is palpably constructed on such a double or twofold view of Christianity, from beginning to end.

This being the case, it follows that no theological system or scheme can be relied upon as sufficient here for the purposes of exposition, which either fails to recognize at all the true and proper structure of the Epistle in this view, or brings with it no power to do fair and full justice to both sides alike of the peculiar hypothesis on which it is thus found to rest. The solution must answer to the nature of the problem, which requires to be solved. The key must agree with the wards and turns of the lock it is employed to open. The commentary must be as wide as the text it pretends to explain, meeting its requirements with equal readiness and ease all round, and satisfying them in a natural and harmonious way.

From the nature of the subject, there is room thus for exposition to become false and inadequate here in two general ways. The simply human and earthly side of Christianity may be allowed to throw into the shade entirely its proper supernatural significance and force; or the wrong may be reversed, by making all of this latter interest, at the cost of what rightly belongs to the first. In either case, we shall have an imperfect onesided theory of religion, that can never answer to unfold the full meaning of the sacred text. These two kinds of theological obliquity may be characterized by the terms Arminian and Calvinistic, as serving at once to express their general bearing.

The Arminian tendency makes no earnest account of the supernatural side of Christianity, the order of grace as distinguished from the order of nature. It confesses indeed the presence of the supernatural in its own way; but under the view only of such a relation to the constitution of nature as virtually resolves it into a mere abstraction, belong-

ing properly at last to the life of nature itself. No room is left thus for the conception of another economy, different from mere nature, above it, and yet joined with it in the way of inward lasting union, in the bosom of which the powers of salvation are to be regarded as permanently comprehended, under a form not known in the whole world besides. The distinction between the Church and the world on the outside of the Church, loses thus all proper reality, and resolves itself into a simple word or name.

Such a scheme can have no power of course to do justice to the double aspect, under which Christianity exhibits itself to our view in the Epistles of the New Testament; and it is very easy, accordingly, to convict of palpable and gross failure any Commentary, which may pretend to expound these Epistles by its aid.

The opposite Calvinistic tendency, however, is not for this reason any more worthy of regard or trust, in the same exegetical view. It affects to do justice to the strong terms in which the supernatural side of Christianity is spoken of; but in doing so, it wrongs its proper natural or human side. The work of redemption is taken to be, not for the human race, as such, but for a certain portion of the race elected from all eternity to such distinction; and in this view it is regarded as the irresistible execution or carrying out of God's decree for this purpose, in favor of those who are thus predestinated to everlasting glory. In this way, the transaction of salvation is not so much a real historical process in the world itself, as the playing into it rather of supernatural forces, which are supposed to be at work above and beyond it, and yet come not really to any true union with its proper life. Whatever of human activity may seem to be concerned in it, must be considered as phenomenal more than actual and real, the mechanical echo or reflection simply of the divine activity that sets all in motion from behind the scenes. The two worlds thus come to no organic conjunction. There is no bridging over really of the deep chasm which lies between them. Natural and supernatural, human and divine, are held apart for

the imagination, so as to exclude entirely the conception of any intervention, serving to mediate between them, and having power to bring them together in a real and constant way. It is taken for granted, that the action of the higher world upon the lower can be direct only, reaching over into this last under its own natural constitution, immediately and at once, without the help of any other constitution whatever. So we lose again the true idea of the Church; and for the conception of grace in its legitimate character, we are put off with what seems to be too often little better than the notion of magic.

This Calvinistic theory rules the thinking of Dr. Hodge. His Commentary on the Ephesians lives, moves, and has its being in it, from the first page to the last. It is an attempt throughout, to construct the sense of the Epistle according to this scheme. He does not extract his scheme, in the first place, from the text. It can hardly be said, that he pretends to do any thing like that. Most clearly, he brings it along with him to his work, as something al ready settled and fixed. The Calvinistic theology is to his mind one and the same thing with the doctrine of the Gospel; how may it be imagined then that St. Paul, rightly interpreted, should fail to agree with it in any of his Epistles? Thus it is, that the scheme, as an established preconception, is allowed to anticipate and forestall for the thoughts of the Commentator the general meaning of his text, and goes before him shaping the exposition of it everywhere into conformity with its own requirements. It is presumed, that St. Paul had in his mind exactly the same view of religon that is embodied in the writings of Calvin; that he was familiar with the same theological positions and distinctions; and that these, as a matter of course, were continually before him when he penned his Epistles; so that they must be considered to furnish now also the only key by which they can be properly understood or explained. The Commentary before us is a vigorous trial of this exegetical rule upon the Epistle to the Ephesians. The author shows himself in general true to his system through-

out; not shrinking to follow it out, as it would seem, even to the full length of supralapsarianism itself. The principle of the whole process of redemption is taken to be God's decree of election, in favor of a definite number of persons ordained from all eternity to salvation. Under such view, the process can have no reference really to those who are beyond the range of this decree. It carries with it the certainty of salvation for the elect, but includes no possibility of salvation, no actual provision of grace in order to salvation, for any others. All the arrangements of grace are at once bounded and circumscribed by the measure of the decree in whose service they stand, and can never have any force truly beyond the range of operation with which it is carried forward invincibly to its appointed end. The fall, it would appear, took place in subordination to this decree, to make room only for the restoration of the elect, while it served to doom all men besides to hopeless destruction. At all events, Christ became man, and died, not for the world at large, as the Scriptures seem to assert, but for the elect exclusively and alone. The promises are for them only. They alone can make any valid use of the means of grace; since to all others they are means in form and show only, and not so as to carry along with them any intrinsic significance really for the ends towards which they are made to look. The articles of the Creed are required necessarily to narrow themselves throughout to the same particularistic view.

Knowing the Commentary to be constructed on this scheme, we have a right to consider it a failure even before any more particular examination; just as we might come to a similar judgment by anticipation, in the case of a Commentary pretending to take the full measure of the Epistle, from the opposite stand-point of Arminianism in its vulgar rationalistic form. No such onesided view can possibly do justice to its twofold constitution. The true conditions of the problem to be solved are either misapprehended or ignored from the very start. How then should the solution be expected to succeed? In such circumstances, any Com-

mentary must, in the very nature of the case, prove wholly unequal to its proposed task. No ability or learning can help it.

The work before us corresponds in fact with this unfavorable presumption. As an exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians, we cannot help feeling that it is lame and imperfect throughout. It fails to reach the deep sense of the Epistle, and comes short altogether of its grand and magnificent scope.

One general example and proof of its insufficiency meets us immediately, in the way it takes for granted everywhere that the idea of election, which plays so prominent a part in the Epistle, is of one nature precisely with the dogma of election as held by Calvin. We have taken some pains to show, that this imagination is wholly gratuitous and groundless. The two conceptions do not correspond at all. In saying this, no judgment whatever is pronounced upon the merits of the Calvinistic dogma, in itself considered. In its own form and place, it may be entitled to respect. The question here is not at all concerning the light in which it should be regarded as a point of metaphysical theology; but only concerning the use of it for exegetical purposes, in the exposition of the New Testament. Are the references to the idea of election in the New Testament such, as a general thing, that they may be fairly construed in the known and established sense of the Calvinistic dogma; or are they so circumstanced and conditioned as to require plainly a different interpretation? On this point, there is no room really for any serious doubt. The New Testament doctrine of election, as it meets us, for instance, in the Epistles of St. Peter, and rules continually the thinking and writing of St. Paul, is something essentially different from the doctrine of election which is presented to our view in Calvin's Institutes. The proof of this is found sufficiently in one single consideration. The Calvinistic election involves, beyond the possibility of failure, the full salvation at last of all those who are its subjects; there is no room to conceive of their coming short

of this result, in any single instance, made certain as it is in the form of a specific purpose and predetermination in the divine mind, from all eternity. Election and glorification, the beginning and the end of redemption, are so indissolubly bound together, that they may be considered different sides only of one and the same fact. The "elect," in Calvin's sense, have no power really to fall from grace, or to come short of everlasting life. But, plainly, the "elect" of whom the New Testament speaks, the "chosen and called of God" in the sense of St. Peter and St. Paul, are not supposed to possess any such advantage. On the contrary, it is assumed in all sorts of ways that their condition carries with it, in the present world, no prerogative of certain ultimate salvation whatever. They may forget that they were purged from their old sins, lose the benefit of their illumination, make shipwreck of their faith, and draw back to everlasting perdition. They have it in their power to throw away the opportunities of grace, just as much as it lies in the power of men continually to waste in like manner the opportunities of mere nature. Their salvation is after all hypothetical, and suspended upon conditions in themselves, which are really liable to fail in every case, and which with many do eventually fail in fact. Hence occasion is supposed to exist, in the sphere of this election itself, for all sorts of exhortation and warning to those who are the subjects of it, having the object of engaging them to "make their calling and election *sure*." The tenor of all is: "Walk worthy of your vocation. Only such as endure unto the end shall be saved. So run, that ye may obtain."

Plainly, we repeat, the two conceptions are not the same. The difference here brought into view is such as to show unanswerably, that the Calvinistic dogma is one thing and the common New Testament idea of election altogether another. The Calvinistic election terminates on the absolute salvation of its subjects; that forms the precise end and scope of it, in such sort that there is no room to conceive of its failing to reach this issue in any single case.

The New Testament election, as it enters into the thinking of St. Peter and St. Paul, terminates manifestly on a state or condition short of absolute salvation. Whatever the distinction may involve for those who are its subjects, in the way of saving grace, it does not reach out at once to the full issue of eternal life. The fact it serves to establish and make certain for them, is of quite another character and kind. It sets them in the way of salvation; but it does not make their salvation sure.

All this is so clear, that we may well be surprised to find no account whatever taken of it by Dr. Hodge; while it is at the same time of such far reaching import, that his want of attention to it must be considered as forming at once a fatal objection to his whole Commentary. He confounds here, from the very start, two materially different conceptions, in a way that cannot fail to bring uncertainty and confusion into every part of the Epistle he seeks to explain. Those whom St. Paul addresses as the subjects of God's election and vocation in one view, he considers to be addressed as the subjects of such election and vocation in quite another view. For the Pauline idea of election, he substitutes at once, as though there were no room to imagine any sort of difference between them, the idea of election as held by Calvin; and then proceeds, accordingly, to measure the mind and sense of the Apostle, from first to last, by this hypothetical theory alone, reducing all to conformity with it as he best can. What must be regarded as in fact a fundamental mistake, is made thus to condition and govern throughout the formation of his work. St. Paul writes to the "saints at Ephesus" under one view; Dr. Hodge has them in his thoughts under another view altogether. The case which is before the mind of the Apostle, as the general object of his address, is not the case which is before the mind of the Commentator, as the general object of his exposition. It is not necessary to say, that Dr. Hodge's scheme of election is anti-scriptural and false. We pronounce no such judgment upon it here. It is enough for us to know, that whether true or false, it is

not what was present to the mind of St. Paul, in writing this Epistle to the Ephesians. He was not thinking at the time of the metaphysical subtleties, since known as the theology of Calvin. These furnish, therefore, no true rule for the interpretation of what he has written. He wrote from a widely different stand-point. How is it possible then that Dr. Hodge, with all his learning and piety, refusing to see this plain fact, should be able to make us acquainted fully and fairly with the sense of the Apostle's text? Must it not be more or less travestied in his hands throughout? How shall it pass through such Procrustean exegesis, (forcing all ruthlessly to the measure of its own iron bed,) without being subjected to serious dislocations and wrested into all manner of false proportions?

Before proceeding, however, to notice farther the difficulties and defects that grow out of Dr. Hodge's system of interpretation, it may facilitate the order of our discussion to consider here more particularly what that election of grace is, (in distinction from the Calvinistic predestination to eternal life,) on which the whole doctrine of the Church is made to rest, with St. Paul, in this Epistle to the Ephesians, as well as in his Epistles generally.

It determines, we have just said, not the certainty of final salvation for its subjects, but only the possibility of it, in such a form as places it really and truly within their reach, while it leaves it in their power, notwithstanding, to come short of it altogether. In this view, their condition is represented to be parallel precisely with that of the ancient Israelites, who were chosen and set apart by solemn covenant to the possession of certain great and glorious privileges, in the way of possible future good, which yet carried along with them no sort of guaranty whatever, as was proved by the event on a large scale, that what was thus possible should at last become actual and real. All were under the cloud of the Divine Presence, we are told (1 Cor. 9: 1–5), and all passed through the consecrating miracle of the Red Sea; so as to be baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea. All partook moreover of the manna in the

wilderness, and of the water that flowed from the rock. Their relation to God, as his covenant people, was most real. Its privileges were such as to exalt them far above every other people. All was ordained and designed, at the same time, to bring them into the full possession finally of far greater blessings, the natural and proper end of the covenant, to which none might hope to come beyond the range of its peculiar grace. "But with many of them God was not well pleased, for they were overthrown in the wilderness" (v. 5); and now they are held up, in such view, as examples of warning and admonition, for those who have been chosen and called out of the world to enjoy the opportunities and privileges of the Christian state, under a like real view (v. 6–11). Indeed no parallel is more familiar than this to the mind of the sacred writers; and it is of itself sufficient to show at once, what view they were accustomed to take of the grace which was supposed to be involved in the Christian profession generally, for those who were "called to be saints," and distinguished as the "faithful in Christ Jesus." It was, in their way of looking at the subject, such grace as made room for salvation, opened the way to it, secured a full right and title to it, rendered it in all respects practicable and possible, while it allowed full occasion still for the exhortation: "Let us fear lest a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it!"

Here, however, all depends on having some right idea of what is meant by the real possibility of salvation, which is thus made to be the peculiar and characteristic distinction of the state in question.

It may be so taken, as to amount to little or nothing more than the relation of the world at large to the Gospel, so far as this has come to be published and known. There is a sense, of course, in which Christianity is for men in general, offering to all alike, wherever it comes, the opportunity of having part in its glorious benefits. So much the Arminian has full right to assert, over against the false particularism of the Calvinist, which seeks to restrict this op-

portunity to one part of the human race exclusively, in such a way as to place all the rest of it beyond the reach of salvation entirely. The commission which commands the Gospel to be preached to every creature, and which makes the obedience of faith also to be incumbent on every one to whom it is thus preached under pain of eternal damnation, is amply sufficient of itself to prove that what all are so required to believe is really and truly for all a divine fact that may and should be believed. It is no empty word merely sounding forth the phantom of a sense which is not in it actually and in truth, but in all respects, as St. Paul terms it (1 Tim. 1: 15), "a faithful saying," a word credible and "worthy of all acceptation," when we are told that "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners," and that God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son (John 3: 16), "that *whosoever* believeth in him shall not perish, but have everlasting life." We have no right to narrow the meaning and force of the Christian salvation a whit within these catholic limits. In its own nature, it is as wide as the power of the curse from which it proposes to set men free, as fully universal as the wants and necessities of our whole fallen race. Take men just as they are then, in the order of nature, all the world over, and wherever the Gospel is preached to them, we may say that in a most important sense it makes it possible for them to have part in its grace. Christianity is applicable to their circumstances, addresses itself to their wants, and verifies for them the full signification of that word: "Say not in thy heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down from above:) or, Who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead.) The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart; that is, the word of faith, which we preach: that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved" (Rom. 10: 6–9).

It may be supposed now, as we have already intimated, that this general relation of the world to the grace of the

Gospel, forming what may be denominated the opportunity of salvation in the order of nature, the possibility of redemption as it extends to the world at large along with the diffusion of Christianity, includes really all that is comprehended in the gracious condition or state of which we are now speaking, as that distinction of Christians on which so much stress is laid in the New Testament. To such rationalistic extreme the Arminian habit of thought always tends, running its natural course through Pelagianism out to the open, bleak and dreary waste of Unitarianism itself. Men may be regarded, according to this view, as possessing in the bosom of regularly organized Christian societies or churches, certain advantages and helps for the cultivation of religion, which they cannot have to the same extent in the surrounding world; just as they may be assisted in any other pursuit by similar organizations voluntarily formed for the purpose; but it is not to be imagined, that they should come thus within the range and scope really of a new and higher form of grace altogether, "powers of the world to come," means and appliances of salvation armed with divine virtue and supernatural force, for the action of which no room is to be found in the whole compass of the world's life besides. The conception of the Church falls, in this way, to the reigning level of man's ordinary natural existence. It is one simply among the other forms of its proper social order, the result of its general relation to the powers of religion; just as the organization of a school in politics or science may be considered the product of the general spiritual tendency it serves to represent. So far as the actual efficiency of the heavenly forces of the new creation is concerned, they cannot be said to be in the Church in any other sense than as they are in the world at large. Their relation to the world generally is taken to be immediate and direct, needing no intervention in any such form to make room for their saving action on the souls of men. The very notion of any such mediating constitution, indeed, is boldly repudiated, as something supposed to be fundamentally at war with the entire genius of the Gospel.

The order of grace, in such view, is confounded with the order of nature; the wall of distinction between them falls to the ground; in such sort that there ceases to be, for faith, any order of grace whatever in the Christian economy. All resolves itself into the life of nature, acted upon through its religious powers by influences supposed to proceed from a higher world. Looking at the subject in this way, the distinction of the Christian profession, of which so much account is made by St. Paul, must be considered more nominal than real; and it becomes necessary, therefore, to allow, that much of his language in regard to it carries with it a certain hyperbolical sound, which needs to be toned down exegetically to a much more moderate key, in order that it may suit fully for our common thinking the actual nature of the case. In the hands of a Commentator, like Paley, or Taylor of Norwich, this is done to some purpose. The "saints" at Ephesus or Philippi, we are told, are only those who have been gathered outwardly into the bosom of the Christian Church. So much is clear. But no such merely outward state, as such, can be supposed to carry along with it really any supernatural grace. What St. Paul seems to say of it, therefore, in such view, must be looked upon as a sort of figure of speech merely, a mode of thought transferred from the relations of the Old Testament to the different relations of Christianity, in conformity with the mental habit of the Jewish nation, for the purpose of effect. Election, vocation, translation from darkness to light, exaltation to heavenly places in Christ Jesus, sonship in the family of God, sanctification itself in the primary sense of the term, mean nothing more here than the powerless fact, that those of whom these high sounding terms are used have been led to make an outward profession of Christianity, and are to be regarded as having so far gone before others in seeking to improve the resources of salvation which it offers for the use of all in its proper higher and more spiritual form. The great things which are spoken of their state are either shorn thus of all proper significance, or come to be referred to an ideal Christianity,

whose actualization cannot be said to depend on the resources of this state in any exclusive sense whatever. The possibility of salvation which is secured to Christians in the Church, turns out to be at last nothing more than the general possibility of salvation which is set before men universally, wherever the Gospel comes with its message of grace and peace.

How little this agrees with the plain sense of St. Paul, we need not be at any pains to show. The Calvinist has a most perfect right, on his side again, to protest against it, as a view of Christianity which goes to destroy the idea of supernatural grace altogether; although he can have no right, for this reason, to force upon us his own theory of partial redemption, as if *that* were the only and, therefore, necessary alternative of what he feels thus bound to reject. The possibility of salvation which is put forward as the general distinction of the Christian state in the New Testament, is neither one nor the other of these antagonistic views, but carries with it a form which plainly excludes them both. It is not for those only who are predestinated to eternal life in Calvin's sense, and so have no power to come short of it in the end; for it is everywhere taken for granted, that the state or condition in question includes no such certainty of salvation whatever. And yet it is just as much taken for granted everywhere, that the condition is one which offers, not to some only, but to all who have part in it, a form of grace which is not to be found in the constitution of man's life under any other view, and in virtue of which salvation is brought nigh to them with such a character of real and full possibility as is not known in the whole world besides.

Those whom St. Paul addresses collectively as saints, chosen of God to be holy, partakers of the heavenly calling and heirs of eternal salvation, are not regarded by him certainly as the possessors of a merely nominal and imaginary distinction, over against the world at large with which their state is thus broadly contrasted and compared. It is not in the way of compliment only or conventional form, most

clearly, that he can be supposed to speak of it in such lofty terms. Nothing can be more plain, than that for his mind the difference between their condition and that of the world around them, was most substantial and real, and of a kind to warrant in full all the strength of language he was accustomed to use in regard to it. His sense of difficulty, in setting forth the significance of the distinction, is not that his terms are too high for his subject, but only that they come not up to the proper greatness of it, as he finds it overwhelming his own thoughts. It is no simply outward separation alone, no merely nominal peculiarity of position, which in the view of the Apostle goes to make up the true idea of the Christian profession, the state into which men are brought by entering the hallowed precincts of the Church. This state, as he looks upon it, sets all who are in it, whether the privilege be properly improved or not, in a relation to God which cannot be said to exist at all for others. The possibility of salvation here is made to assume a far higher form, than all it is ever found to be in the world at large. It is no longer the mere capability of being saved, but in a most material sense salvation already begun. The difference of relation to the powers of redemption is not merely in degree, but actually and truly in kind. A new order of life has been entered, the order of grace as distinguished from the order of mere nature. In this respect, the state includes a strictly supernatural character. Those who are in it stand, by virtue of their position, in correspondence with the powers of a higher world, the mysterious forces of the new creation in Christ Jesus, in a way not possible to men in any other condition. They are brought within the range and sweep of that victorious dispensation, which having run its course first in the person of the Saviour himself, is now revealing its presence in the world, through the Spirit, for the final and complete salvation of his people. To this salvation they have already a full title. It is theirs by covenant and promise, and they have full opportunity to come at last into its possession.

Such clearly is the conception of the Christian state, in its distinction from the general condition of the world, as it dwells in the mind of St. Paul. And this conception forms for him precisely the idea of the *Church;* the sense of which enters so largely into all his Epistles, but most of all we may say into this Epistle to the Ephesians; underlying as it does here the universal course of his thought, and forming in truth the key note around which it seems to proceed throughout, as a grand and magnificent anthem belonging not so much to earth as to the skies.

Answering to the view now described, the Church is regarded by St. Paul as a real constitution, of supernatural origin and force, existing in the world under an outward historical form, and comprehending in it the opportunity and possibility of salvation as they are to be found nowhere else. It finds its symbol or type in the Ark, which served in the days of Noah to save those who sought refuge in it from the waters of the deluge. So far as it lay in the power of the unbelieving and disobedient generally, at that time, to give heed to the Divine warning and betake themselves to the hope which was set before them in this form, it might be said that there was a possibility for them to be saved. But the possibility of salvation for those who had already entered the Ark, as we can see at once, was of a very different kind. It was not such indeed, in its own nature, as to make it absolutely necessary for them to be saved. There was no room, it is true, for any question in regard to the full sufficiency of the Ark for this purpose. But it was possible for those who were in it, to frustrate for themselves its merciful purpose and design. They might forsake it through unbelief; or staying in it, they might neglect the needful conditions of life, so as to come short finally of the proper end of their probation. Notwithstanding all this, however, their state was already one of glorious miraculous privilege, as compared with the condition of the world at large. It placed them in a new order of existence, and brought them into living actual communication with the scheme of grace which God had been pleased to

provide for the deliverance of his people. It was in such view this deliverance itself, already in sure progress towards its appointed end. In these circumstances, those who were in the Ark might be spoken of easily enough as possessing from the first the full and entire salvation which was really comprehended in its constitution for their benefit; although this was not yet reached, and might possibly never be reached by all of them in fact; since that must depend, in the nature of the case, on their own persevering use of the means they enjoyed for this purpose. Still all might be said to be theirs, as soon as they passed from the sphere of nature here into the sphere of grace. They were rescued from the general condemnation of the world. They were made secure from its impending destruction. They were prepared to outride the flood. They might be said even to have a present footing on the shores of the new earth, which they were called to seek through its waters.

Behold a true figure of the Christian Church (1 Peter 3: 21), as it appeared to the mind of St. Paul. It stands as contrasted with the world in its natural character, under the most real view, as a different order of life altogether. The world in its natural character is fallen, alienated from the life of God, and literally under the power of Satan; who is styled, for this reason, "the god of this world" (2 Cor. 4: 4), and "the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience" (Eph. 2: 2). The redemption of man, in these circumstances, called for the intervention of grace under a wholly new form of existence. This was accomplished by the mystery of the Incarnation. Here the "Word became flesh"; in such a way as to bind heaven and earth together in a new mode of human life, which comprehended in itself supernaturally the power of surmounting and overcoming the evils that press upon this life in its natural and merely Adamic form. Christ came into the world, not simply to make known the will of God, and to preach righteousness, as the last and greatest of all the prophets; but primarily and mainly to actualize God's will, to create righteousness, to bring grace and truth for men into being. The salva-

tion of the world stood, first of all, in his own person. It was there as a real outward constitution, an act of self-revelation on the part of God, set over against the order of nature, the presence of a higher economy brought down into the midst of it from above, and making room within its bosom for all the grace that is comprehended in the idea of the Gospel. "In him was life; and the life became the light of men." He was himself the way to the Father, the absolute truth, the resurrection and the life. It is in this deep sense originally, that the Gospel is represented to be "a new creation;" for it is in fact no modification merely of the old Adamic order of man's life, but the introduction into the world really and truly of a new and higher mode of being, through the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the flesh. The case required, however, that this new creation should not remain an isolated fact in Him, who was thus constituted its original ground and foundation. Hence the process of redemption, in the ordinary sense of the term, including the whole conflict of Christ with the powers of darkness, the satisfaction which he rendered to the broken law of God, his sufferings upon the cross, his voluntary bowing to the stroke of death, his descent into hades, his resurrection from the dead, and his glorious ascension into heaven; all designed to complete the full sense of the mystery which lay hid in his person, by advancing his Mediatorial life to its proper position of actual victory and superiority over the whole world of sin and death, that it might become thus for men generally, through the mission of the Spirit, the principle and fountain of life after its own kind, thenceforward to the end of time. Such is the order of salvation, as we find it embodied in the Apostles' Creed. The constitution of grace in distinction from the constitution of nature, as it appeared originally in Christ's single person, was never designed certainly to be a mere temporary fact, passing out of the world entirely when he was "put to death in the flesh," only in order that he "might be quickened in the Spirit," and so enter into his glory, and take possession of his king-

dom in its true and proper form. No thought could well be more remote than this from the habitual thinking of St. Paul. The constitution of grace, to his view, becomes fully established in the world, only after Christ's glorification; and then it is identical for him with the idea of the Church. He sees in the Church always, accordingly, a peculiar and distinct order of existence, an economy of life absolutely different from the constitution of the world under every other view, in which is comprehended the actual presence of forces and powers for man's salvation that are strictly supernatural; not belonging at all to the world in its merely Adamic life, and not to be measured by the capabilities of this in any way; but such as are derived wholly and entirely from the new creation in Christ Jesus, carried out to its proper completion in his glorification at the right hand of God. He reigns there as "head over all things to the Church;" which in this very view is denominated "his *Body*, the fulness of him that filleth all in all;" as being the form of his continual presence in the world, as well as the organ and medium of his grace through all time. Here he works with a power, which goes altogether beyond the strength of nature, transcending its whole fallen constitution, and producing results that cannot possibly be reached in any other way. The Church is the Home of the Spirit, and the true Ark of Salvation; offering to men under a real form the supernatural resources, by which alone it is possible for them, so to "pass the waves of this troublesome world, that finally they may come to the land of everlasting life."

So apprehended, the Church is found to be, in a most important sense, the necessary medium of salvation for men. How should it be otherwise, if it be indeed the constitution of grace itself, the only form in which the powers of the new creation are at work in the world; while all beyond resolves itself into that mere life of nature, from the weakness and curse of which it is the object of the Gospel to set men free? To say that no such intervention is needed, to make room for the course of the Christian sal-

vation, is virtually to deny and reject the truth of all that has now been said concerning the difference between the order of nature and the order of grace, and to hold that men may be saved absolutely in the order of nature itself without any order of grace at all; which is such an error again, as necessarily involves at last, when carried out to its legitimate end, the denial and rejection of the whole mystery of the incarnation. If the grace by which salvation is made possible be in the world only as a supernatural system, flowing from Christ, and if this system be itself the Church, related to him as the body to the head, it follows forthwith that there can be no ordinary salvation out of the Church, that it is the first duty of all to seek refuge in its bosom from the wrath to come, and that those who do so are at once made to have part in such full power and possibility of being saved as may be said to be in fact salvation already begun. So much, accordingly, is involved everywhere for St. Paul, in his established idea of the Church. He has no difficulty whatever in assuming continually, that it sustains to the world a relation corresponding in full with all that the Ark was, in the days of Noah, to the men of his generation.

Apprehended as it is by St. Paul again, the Church has necessarily an objective organic life. It is in this respect a system or constitution parallel in full with the constitution of the world, under its simply natural form. It is made up of manifold forces and powers, working with a vast array of outward historical results, through successive ages, which are yet all bound together as one general movement, and capable of being referred to a common principle or source. That principle is Christ. The Church starts from him, and stands in him always, as its perennial undying root. Whatever of grace, power, opportunity and possibility, there may be in it, as distinguished from the universal range of man's life on the outside of it, all proceeds from the new order of existence which was introduced into the world by his incarnation, and in virtue of which he now reigns at the right hand of God. It is a

sphere of being, which refers itself back organically to the principle of the new creation in such view, even as the sphere of nature, with all its powers and possibilities, refers itself back organically also to the principle of the old creation, advanced to its highest form in the "living soul" of Adam.

Such in general is St. Paul's conception of the Church. It unites in itself at once the two sides of the peculiar and truly enigmatical hypothesis, on which we have found all his Epistles to be constructed; doing full justice to both, and causing their seeming contradictoriness to disappear; for which very reason also it offers to us the only satisfactory solution of their sense, the only key by which it is possible to expound them in any full and harmonious way.

It is easy to see, that no like idea of the Church is at all attainable for either of the onesided tendencies, which allow themselves, as we have seen before, to turn the true synthesis of the Christian mystery into a false antithesis, by separating its factors, and then exalting one at the sore cost and sacrifice of the other. It is very certain, on the contrary, that these schemes must lead necessarily, each in its own way, to a different notion of the Church altogether; and it is very certain, moreover, beforehand, that no such different notion can ever be made to square exegetically with the true meaning of St. Paul's Epistles, but must serve rather to involve the exposition of them in endless and hopeless embarrassment.

Neither the Arminian nor the Calvinistic extremes can make true earnest with the proper objective and historical character of the Church, regarded as a constitution of grace in distinction from the constitution of nature. Neither of them can do justice to the idea of its organic nature, the unity and continuity of its being, considered as the power of a new creation in Christ Jesus. With neither of them can it ever come to a true acknowledgment of the position which properly belongs to it in the supernatural economy of salvation, as a part of the "mystery of godliness," itself a mystery, and in such view fairly and of right an object of

faith, as it is made to be in the Apostles' Creed. For neither of them is the Church, in any sense, what the Ark was in the time of Noah, the bearer actually of the redemption which it offers to those who are invited into its bosom, the very organ and medium of grace, the home of the Spirit, the sphere of celestial powers, through whose intervention alone the blessings of the Gospel are made to be available and possible truly for any of the children of men. Both schemes are careful in fact to denounce the idea of all such interposition and mediation in any form, as interfering with what they take to be the proper freeness and directness of Divine grace, and as tending in their apprehension to rob religion of that character of inwardness and spirituality, which forms its highest distinction, and which it is held to admit only in the form of an immediate personal transaction between every man and his Maker.

In the case of the Arminian or Pelagian theory, (having its natural end in Socinianism,) all this is at once plain. It brings the whole economy of salvation, regarded as a process upon the earth, down into the order of nature, in such a way as to leave no room truly for any order of grace whatever. Grace, with it, is at best the presence of supposed heavenly forces, coruscations of power from a higher world, playing over into the world of nature in a purely magical way; which remains in such view throughout the real field of action, where all is carried forward and brought to its conclusion. The Church cannot be considered thus as any thing more, than a particular province of the general life of man, defining and taking in his religious relations, just as his social relations are variously embodied and expressed in other provinces of the same life, without its being imagined for a moment that these form in any separate view the actual ground of their being.

The Calvinistic theory, sublimating as it does the idea of grace, and laying all stress on what it conceives to be the strictly supernatural side of religon, would seem to offer room, on first view, for a much more honorable notion of the Church. Who can fail to be impressed by the well

known lofty and solemn terms, with which Calvin himself approaches the topic in the last book of his Institutes? "Coming to speak now of the visible Church," he says, chap. I, §. 4., "let us learn from the single title *Mother*, how much lies for us in the knowledge of it; since there is no other entrance for us into life, unless she conceive us in her womb, unless she give us birth, unless she nourish us from her breasts, unless finally she hold us under her tutelage and care, until having put off our mortal flesh we shall be as the angels (Matth. 22: 30). For our infirmity will not allow us to be discharged from school, till we shall have finished the whole course of life as pupils. Add, that beyond her bosom no remission of sins is to be hoped for, and no salvation." All this sounds like a true echo of the ancient faith, as it might have been pronounced with unfaltering voice by St. Augustine or St. Cyprian, the faith of the universal Church in the beginning, according to the plain sense of the Creed. It is, however, in truth, the old doctrine in sound only, and nothing more. Calvin's conception of the Church, after all, is by no means the same with that contained in the Creed; and it is easy enough to see, how his theological system is at war with this, and leads necessarily to a wholly different view. This comes out fully with Dr. Hodge. He too has much to say of the Church; and is forced to allow it a prominent place in his Commentary; as how indeed could it be otherwise, in endeavoring to explain an Epistle like that to the Ephesians, which is so full of it from beginning to end? But the article, in his hands, is conditioned by the Calvinistic notion of election and predestination, in such a way as to bear almost no resemblance whatever to the light in which it was regarded by St. Paul. A passage, quoted from his work, may assist us in coming to some right apprehension of this point.

"The purpose of election," he tells us, (pp. 30, 31), "is very comprehensive. It is the purpose of God to bring his people to holiness, sonship, and eternal glory. He never intended to do this irrespective of Christ. On the contrary

it was his purpose, as revealed in Scripture, to bring his people to these exalted privileges through a Redeemer. It was in Christ, as their head and representative, they were chosen to holiness and eternal life, and therefore in virtue of what he was to do in their behalf. There is a federal union with Christ which is antecedent to all actual union, and is the source of it. God gave a people to his Son in the covenant of redemption. Those included in that covenant, and because they are included in it—in other words, because they are in Christ as their head and representative —receive in time the gift of the Holy Spirit and all other benefits of redemption. Their voluntary union with Christ by faith, is not the ground of their federal union, but, on the contrary, their federal union is the ground of their voluntary union. It is, therefore, in Christ, i. e., as united to him in the covenant of redemption, that the people of God are elected to eternal life and to all the blessings therewith connected. Much in the same sense, the Israelites are said to have been chosen in Abraham. Their relation to Abraham and God's covenant with him, were the ground and reason of all the peculiar blessings they enjoyed. So our covenant union with Christ is the ground of all the benefits, which we, as the people of God, possess or hope for. We were chosen in Christ, as the Jews were chosen in Abraham. The same truth is expressed in 3: 11, where it is said that the carrying out or application of the plan of redemption is 'according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.' God purposed to save men in Christ, He elected them in him to salvation."

So Dr. Hodge expounds theologically the clause: "According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world" (1: 4). All this means plainly, that the economy of redemption starts in God's absolute unconditional decree of election, terminating first of all on a certain definite number of the human race, singled out as individuals, without any respect whatever to the mode and manner of their salvation; for whom, and in whose behalf exclusively, it is then purposed to provide a Redeemer, who

should be constituted from all eternity, in God's mind, their federal head and representative, having authority to undertake for them in the covenant of redemption, and power to execute in full afterwards the terms of this covenant, by accomplishing all that their salvation required ; in which view they may be considered to have been chosen *in him* to holiness and eternal life before the foundation of the world; just as he forms now actually in time the instrumental medium, through which the purpose of election in their case is carried forward to this its necessary end. Christ, in this view, is not first in the order of the decree, but only second. He is not the primary and main object of it, but only a subordinate provision brought in for the purpose of carrying it into effect.

Now the first thing that may well strike us with surprise here is, that this view does *not* correspond at all with the case which is brought forward by Dr. Hodge himself as its proper parallel, the relation namely of the Israelites to Abraham. "We were chosen in Christ," he says, "as the Jews were chosen in Abraham." Very true. But if so, then most certainly not in the sense of this Calvinistic decree. To bear out any such analogy as that, the Abrahamic covenant must be supposed to have sprung primordially from an unconditional eternal purpose, on the part of God, to separate and call to the peculiar benefits of this covenant a certain fixed portion of mankind, chosen simply as so many individual units of the race, and without any reference whatever to their subsequent nationality as Jews; in the service of which decree then, Abraham himself was also preordained to be the instrument both of their national existence and of its covenant blessings; so that they might be said to have been chosen in him to Judaism and its privileges, before all time. Only so would the case offer a fair and true parallel with the other representation. But who seriously believes anything like this to be the actual signification of the Abrahamic constitution? Who does not feel rather, that the whole subject is caricatured by being placed in any such monstrous light?

Looking at the Abrahamic constitution in its true light, we have before us here, in fact, two altogether different forms of election. We may distinguish them as mechanical and organic. The scheme set before us by Dr. Hodge is strictly of the first character; the reigning Biblical scheme is altogether of the last. The difference between the two conceptions is so important, that we may well be at some pains to have it clearly in mind.

If a man should suppose a law in nature to be of one measure exactly with its phenomenal results, the numerical comprehension of these and nothing more, a mere term to express and set forth the general truth of their existence as so many separate facts, it would be an example of a mechanical notion coming short entirely of the real nature of its object. The case calls for an organic conception. Such a law is not the product merely of its own results, (a contradiction in terms,) nor yet an instrument simply for bringing them to pass; but the very power itself of their existence.

To bring the matter nearer to the case in hand, take now the common relation of a tree to its branches, blossoms and fruit. If these should be supposed to exist in any certain quantity and form aside from the tree itself, and there to be joined to it in an outward way, causing it to appear as the instrumental bond and bearer of their collective life, the conception would be again purely mechanical; whereas the actually existing relation itself, as all may easily see, is organic; the tree being in fact the true ground and foundation of all the life that is comprehended in its branches, blossoms, and fruit; to such extent, that they cannot exist at all, nor be so much as conceived even to exist, except through its presence and power.

Make such a case, in the next place, the object of God's decree; which must be considered in truth to extend to all his works; and we may readily see how there is room here again for the same difference of conception, accordingly as the decree may be taken to agree with one or the other of these views. What the tree is really, it must be consider-

ed in any right view to be ideally also in God's eternal purpose and plan. The order of its being, in both modes, must be intrinsically the same. The decree looks to the branches, blossoms, and fruit, only through the tree, which forms the whole ground of their being and life. They are viewed as being in fact a single constitution. To will their existence, is to will, not secondarily but primarily, the existence of the tree itself. In such sense only, may they be said to be chosen in it to what is at last their actual destination. The election, by which this is secured, is organic. Dr. Hodge, however, to be consistent with his own theological theory, would need to reverse the order of the conception altogether. The branches, the blossoms, the fruit, are to be considered as all predetermined to their existence in time, in the first place, just so many, neither more nor less; and then, next in order, and for the purpose of bringing this to pass, must be supposed to follow the preordination of the tree, fitted and contrived to serve as an instrumental medium for reaching the end in view. This is the mechanical notion of election. The two schemes, in this case, may be distinguished without any great difficulty; and it is by no means hard to say, which of them is entitled to the most respect.

Take now, finally, the natural constitution of the human race, flowing from Adam; which is so often referred to in the New Testament, and especially by the Apostle Paul, as forming a general parallel with the new order of life in Christ. All proceeds from God's eternal purpose or decree; and we may say of men universally, that they have been chosen in Adam before the foundation of the world, to become what they are actually afterwards in time. It makes all the difference in the world, however, in what sense this election may be taken. Conceive of it under the mechanical character which Dr. Hodge assigns to the corresponding election of grace, and it must be held to mean, that the decree starts with the purpose of calling into actual existence, under a human form, a distinctly settled number of possible beings, irrespectively altogether of any in-

tervening condition, and then falls upon the expedient or device of making the whole process centre in Adam, as it does now in fact; a view that is not likely to be entertained seriously here, we think, even by Dr. Hodge himself. The organic conception alone falls in rationally with the demands of the case. So apprehended, the decree coincides with what we are irresistibly constrained to regard as the world's actual constitution. The relation of Adam to men generally is seen to be an organic law; through the presence and power of which alone they come to be what they are; and aside from which, therefore, there is no room really to conceive of their existence at all. To be the object of God's purpose then in any way whatever, they must be regarded by it from eternity in this form and no other. The Divine decree terminates on the whole race immediately and at once, as a constitution derived from Adam, and holding in him continually as its natural root.

Such unquestionably is the eternally established order of the Adamic constitution, as it presented itself to the view of St. Paul; and with this corresponds in full also, we are bound to believe, his doctrine of election as applied to the new creation in Christ. The decree of creation, so far as the human race is concerned, looks to men as being in Adam, that is, as having part in the conditions, and qualities of humanity, the order or sphere of life that grows forth from him as its organic principle and root. He is the law, in which is comprehended the whole real possibility of their being. They are elected in him, so far as they are ever to exist at all, to whatever of worth and significance there may be in the simply natural life, into which they are introduced only by being born of his blood. And just so Christ is considered to be, only in a far deeper way, the principle and root of the new and higher order of life, which is supposed to be comprehended in the Church, as distinguished from the world. The "faithful" are held, by the very conception of their faith itself, to be in Christ; and with this order must be allowed to correspond also, in their case, the decree of salvation. It is strictly organic.

It looks to them only through Christ. They are chosen to salvation, not as being out of him and beyond him in the order of nature, but as being in him, and so in the order of grace.

It may be said, indeed, that even under this view it must be owing to God's purpose and election at last, that some are brought to be in Christ, and so to have part in the constitution of grace, while others fail to enter it and perish; just as it may be said also, that the specific results of any organic law in the sphere of nature are all numerically foreknown, and so necessarily foreordained, in the Divine mind, from all eternity; that every particular tree, for instance, and every particular herb and plant, produced by the law of vegetation, must be viewed as being chosen out of all possible entities, and determined to the order out of which it then actually grows and proceeds; or that, in the case of any single tree, its countless leaves, and buds, and blossoms, are all numerically willed to exist, and fixed to their several places, and ordained to their various individual contingencies and fortunes, from all eternity, in the same way. All this may be said; and we are quite willing to allow, that the metaphysical argument for predestination, when thrown into this broad and universal form, is one which it is by no means easy to meet. Three things, however, are to be observed in relation to it.

In the first place, this metaphysical view of foreordination, as it may be supposed to lie back of all organization, deciding and fixing in every case its precise contents and results, is not the view of St. Paul presented to us in the Epistle to the Ephesians. We do not say that it is one which he was not prepared to understand or acknowledge, in its proper place. That is another question. What we mean is, that it was not in his mind at all, not present to his thoughts in any way, in writing this Epistle; and that it cannot be used, therefore, as a true key to its sense.

In the next place, the conception in question does not offer itself as one that is peculiar in any way to the sphere of religion. It looks to the universal constitution of the

world. So far as it goes, the order of grace is viewed as being the real counterpart and parallel of the order of nature. That is just what it is made to be in the thinking of St. Paul. The one is to him as really as the other an objective constitution, having in itself its own laws and powers, and working organically for the accomplishment of its own ends. With what may be supposed to lie behind all this in either case, the metaphysical conception of the Divine decree, he does not allow his mind to concern itself in any way whatever.

In the last place, it makes a vast difference, whether this metaphysical conception be allowed to form directly one notion of election as in the mechanical scheme, or be simply thrown as an impenetrable mystery behind it, according to the organic view. In the first case, it becomes absolutely unconditional, having regard to no conceivable relations or qualities whatever; as being itself necessarily the ground and reason of all such distinction; in which view, we can think of nothing more perfectly abstract. In the other case, it is at once conditional; eyeing all existences from eternity as they actually are in time; seeing the whole always in its parts, and the parts in their whole, as well as in the relations they bear mutually among themselves; determining and fixing things concretely; the only way that can be said to answer truly at last to their being; the only way, indeed, in which they can ever be really and truly the object of either purpose or thought at all.

Such is St. Paul's idea of election, we repeat, as applied to the economy of the Christian Church. It is not mechanical but organic; not abstract, but concrete. It has to do with men, not in the general view simply of their common natural humanity, but under the conception of their being Christians, such as have come to stand, through the obedience of faith, in the bosom of the new order of life which is revealed in the Church; without any reference immediately to the way in which this may be supposed to have come to pass. What the Apostle has immediately in his eye, is not so much the election of men into Christ, as their elec-

tion *in him;* the heavenly prerogatives, the glorious privileges, possibilities, opportunities and powers, that are comprehended in the new creation of which he is the Alpha and Omega, and to which they are chosen in fact by being embraced in its organic sphere. Just as, by being in the vine, its branches may be said to be elected and chosen in it to all the fruitfulness, which is made possible for them in this way, and in this way alone.

The grand object of the whole purpose is primarily and fundamentally the Lord Jesus Christ himself. All else is seen as having place only in him and by him. What fills the soul of the Apostle with adoring admiration, is the thought of the glorious constitution of grace in his person, considered as present to the mind of God from all eternity, and as forming in truth the ultimate scope of all his counsels and dispensations towards the human race, though in the unsearchable depths of his wisdom it was not allowed for ages to come fully into view. Through all the graces of nature, made subject to vanity by reason of sin, its gloomy forebodings, and wild utterances of despair; through the long night of expectation that went before the Flood and followed after it; through the clouds and darkness, which shrouded the mysterious presence of Jehovah during the whole period of the Old Testament; this was the end, towards whose revelation, in the fulness of time, the universal plan of the world had been directed from the beginning, and in the advent of which alone was to be reached finally the full resolution of its inmost sense. All looked in this way to the new constitution which was to be ushered into the world by the glorious fact of the incarnation, carrying with it redemption and victory over the powers of sin and hell, for all who should come into its bosom, and use faithfully its grace. And now God's eternal purpose was fulfilled. The mystery of ages was no longer hid, but open. Christ had come in the flesh; and by his death and resurrection room was made for the Church, which now stood among men, accordingly, and was destined to do so to the end of time, as the comprehension of the unuttera-

ble blessings which had been procured for the world by his mediation. Into the bosom of this Divine economy, both the Apostle himself, and those to whom he writes, had been already brought. There was nothing doubtful or uncertain, to his mind, about the reality of their privilege in this view. They had submitted themselves, with the obedience of faith, to the authority of the Christian constitution, coming into its supernatural order by the holy sacrament of Baptism; and they were regarded as being, for this reason, certainly in the sphere of redemption, with a full title to all its privileges and powers. The Apostle does not allow himself to be disturbed for a moment, by the consideration that some of them, in all probability, were not what their profession called for, and that it was possible for such to come short of salvation altogether. He sees in them all notwithstanding, the subjects of a true heavenly distinction. Use it as they might, their Christian birth right was a present boon, the value of which was not to be expressed by any earthly arithmetic. They were elected in Christ to everlasting life; called and set apart in him to be saints; brought out of the order of nature, where neither sanctity nor salvation were possible, and placed in the order of grace, where there was room and power for both. What if some prove false to their vocation, faithless to the covenant of life in Christ Jesus? "Shall *their* unbelief make the faith of God without effect?" Shall it be said that there was no reality in God's purpose here, no actual meaning in the election of grace on his part, because men fail to "make their calling and election sure," and, it may be, turn his grace itself to the purposes of licentiousness and sin? God forbid: yea, let God be true, though every man be found a liar (Rom. 3: 4).

As viewed by St. Paul, the being of the Church, the power of Christianity, is not just the aggregate of actual piety which may be found among Christians at a given time; but something far wider than this; even as a true law of life in any case, forming objectively a new and distinct sphere of existence, must ever go far beyond the measure

of its actual products, quantitatively considered, being always in truth of endless force and fulness in its own order. It is a constitution, as real as the constitution of nature, starting from its own principle, and carrying with it a whole world of powers for its own purposes and ends. It is of itself a supernatural, or more than merely natural, condition and state, over against the vanity and misery of the world in every other view; and simply to be in it, therefore, is to be εν τοις επουρανιοις εν Χριστω, with an emphasis of meaning that comes up fairly to the full strength of the expression itself. It is the sense of all this, reigning in the heart of the Apostle, that gives form and tone to his whole address directed to the "saints at Ephesus." In view of this, they are congratulated as the chosen of God, whom he has been pleased to "bless with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ." With reference to this, he prays that their understanding may be enlightened to know what was actually comprehended in the Christian calling, "the riches of the glory of God's inheritance in the saints, and the exceeding greatness of his power towards them that believe." On this, as a foundation, he rests the whole plan and scope of the Epistle, all its instructions and all its exhortations, from beginning to end.

With his Commentator, Dr. Hodge, all is different. He has in his mind another notion of election altogether; and along with this, consequently, an altogether different notion of the Christian Church. Such a notion in fact as really destroys the very being of it entirely, in any form answering to the idea of St. Paul. Christianity, with Dr. Hodge, is the product of a purely mechanical decree on the part of God, terminating at once in the eternal salvation of its objects, considered under the most abstract view, without the intervention of any really objective and concrete constitution of grace whatever. Of course, then, it can be only for the "elect" in this miserably narrow sense; having as little to do with others, as though they belonged to a different world altogether. It is easy to see, in these circumstances, what must become of the Holy Catholic

Church. It must resolve itself into an abstraction or an empty form. Regarded as the comprehension of those who are really so in Christ, as to be sure of final salvation, the case of the elect only, it takes necessarily the first character, being in truth but the generalization of this fact as it dwells in the knowledge of God. Regarded as the "body of those who profess the true religion," and nothing more, it just as necessarily takes the second character, being at best an outward show and name only employed to represent something which it is not in fact. The first conception is that of the invisible Church; and it is the only one which deserves, from these premises, to be considered valid; as it is the only also, indeed, with which Dr. Hodge pretends to make earnest, as answering at all to the "glorious things which are spoken of Zion" in this Epistle. The other notion is that of the Church visible or empirical; which, however, is not considered to exist necessarily under such view, in the form of any general organization, nor even in the form of any number of particular organizations as such; but if we are to believe Princeton, may be in the world without any organization at all, "so long as professors of the true religion exist" (Bib. Rep., Oct., 1856, p. 696), being the collective body only of such as own this faith in any and every way. So all runs out here again also into a sheer generalization, a mere word or notion simply employed to bring a certain class of persons outwardly under a common view. The whole theory, at the same time, is perfectly dualistic. It gives us in fact two totally different notions of the Church, instead of one; for there is no sort of common life really between the two spheres which are thus baptized with a common name, as though they were opposite sides merely of the same fact. There is not so much as the shadow of an organic relation, joining them together, and making them unitedly the subject of any common predicates whatever. Each has its proper being really on the outside of the other; and each moves in its own separate orbit, much as it might do if the other had no existence at all. Such duplication, however,

brings with it here no gain, but only wide and heavy loss. With its show of two Churches, the theory in effect leaves us none;—none, we mean, that can be said to possess in any way the true and proper attributes of the Church, or to fulfil its needful offices and functions in the economy of redemption; none answering in such view to the place which is assigned to the article in the Apostles' Creed; none that could possibly have satisfied the mind of St. Paul. In neither view does it come before us in the character of a real constitution or order of grace, whose existence is at once objective, historical, organic, and concrete. In neither view can it be said to come between God and men, like the Ark of old, as the necessary organ and medium of their salvation. Nothing of this sort, indeed, is pretended or imagined on the part of those by whom the theory in question is held. It is one of the last things precisely, which they have any disposition to admit.

So far as the doctrine of Dr. Hodge is concerned, there is no room here for any mistake. Not only does it flow necessarily from his theological system; not only does it lie before us plainly expressed in this Commentary; but he has taken special pains besides to make the world acquainted with it, in different articles on the subject published in the Biblical Repertory. Many, we believe, have been dissatisfied with these articles, even in the Presbyterian Church itself. By some they have been considered well nigh scandalous, seeming as they do to betray the cause of Protestantism completely into the hands of its foes. It must be allowed, at all events, that the ground they take is exceedingly low. It is not saying too much to affirm, that Dr. Hodge has no faith whatever in the article of the Church, in the only sense in which it was held to be in the beginning a necessary part of the Christian Creed. We make the affirmation sorrowfully, but at the same time deliberately, and with the fullest conviction of its truth. The only marvel to our mind is, that one so wise should not himself clearly perceive the fact, or that one so good should be able to do so and not be seriously troubled with the

perception. He holds what he calls the doctrine of the Church in a certain sense of his own, and considers himself at liberty then to profess the old formula of the Christian faith with this in his mind; as though in doing so, he placed himself really on the same platform of belief. But to what can any such merely verbal correspondence amount, where there is no consent after all, in so material a point, with the actual meaning of the symbol itself? To receive the Creed truly, can only be to receive it in its own original and proper sense. That Dr. Hodge, with the Puritan world in general, does not do. The sense which rightfully belongs to the article of the Church in the early Creeds is by no means doubtful or obscure. It simply echoes what we may easily know, (if we *will*,) to have been the universal faith of the true Christian world in the first ages. It is in truth determined also by the position of the article in the Creeds themselves. Between this sense and the low Puritanic conception of Dr. Hodge, the difference is very wide indeed. The Church, in the old view, constitutes an essential part of Christianity; belongs to the "mystery of godliness;" is truly and properly an object of faith; includes in itself, as such, the presence of supernatural powers under a natural form; stands in the world, indestructibly, as the body of Christ and the home of the Spirit; and challenges the obedience of all men to its high claims, in such view, under pain of eternal damnation. All this is comprehended unquestionably in the article: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," according to the order it holds in the Apostles' Creed. For the whole mystery of salvation, as it takes its rise in the miraculous conception and birth of Christ, and flows onward to his resurrection and ascension, is there represented as afterwards descending upon the world, through the "coming of the Holy Ghost," in the constitution of the Church; which is then immediately made to be again the comprehension of its powers, and the orb of its whole celestial action, from the one baptism for the remission of sins onward to the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting. Need we say, that

the Church, in which Dr. Hodge professes to believe, is of another order altogether? Under neither of its dualistic aspects, as they have come already under our consideration, can it be in truth the object of any such faith. His theory furnishes no clew for understanding at all its position in the Creed; as the whole architecture indeed of this grand and venerable symbol belongs plainly to another order of thought, and to be fairly comprehended must be seen and studied from a wholly different point of view.

But our business is not now primarily with the faith of the Primitive Church and the true sense of the Apostles' Creed. It may be said, that we are not bound here by the opinions of the first Christian ages; that their doctrine of the Church was extravagant and false; and that there is no good reason, therefore, why it should not be revised and improved, at pleasure, in the modern Puritanic and Baptistic form. Let what we have just said on this subject pass, then, as merely spoken by the way. What we charge upon this low scheme of the Church at present is, that it is plainly at war with the doctrine of St. Paul. The Epistle to the Ephesians is constructed throughout on precisely the same view of the Church that is made to challenge our faith in the old Christian Creeds; whereas it wholly refuses to fall in naturally with the scheme of Dr. Hodge, and is put to exegetical torture only, in being forced, however skilfully and adroitly, into any such sense.

In the Epistle, the organic view of Christianity reigns throughout. With the Commentary, all is mechanical and abstract. In the Epistle, Christ is held to be the real root of the Church; which is then spoken of continually as an actual constitution in the world, proceeding from his person. With the Commentary, the notion of God's absolute decree is made to be the only principle of salvation; and the Church is nothing more at last than the fact of its execution in the case of the elect, a word, or at most a mere thought, employed to generalize its actual results.

The difference, in this view, between the spirit or soul of the text, as we may term it, and the spirit of the exposi-

tion, is of a kind to be felt almost everywhere. Take, for example, what is presented to us as the "analysis" of chap. 1, vs. 3–10. The Apostle blesses God, we are told, for the spiritual gifts bestowed upon his people. Of these, "the first in order, and the source of all the others, is election," vs. 3–6; the second is "actual redemption through the blood of Christ," vs. 7, 8; the third is "the revelation of the divine purpose in relation to the economy of redemption;"—as if all lay really in the form of any such logical mechanism! As if these were to be considered so many separate kinds of grace, externally brought together, instead of being taken to represent, as they do in truth, the proper wholeness, and full concrete unity, of one and the same grace. So it follows then in the particular exposition: Election first, a system purely abstract, and as such full and final in its own form. Then redemption, on the outside of this, to serve as an instrumental medium for carrying it into effect—another system, full also and final in its own form. And then, lastly, the revelation of all this, on the outside of both the other blessings, to make room for their subjective apprehension on the part of believers—still a third system, again full and final in its own form. It does not seem to come into the mind of Dr. Hodge, that both the election and the revelation of which the Apostle speaks are in Christ himself; that the mystery of election is in very truth the mystery of his incarnation and its glorious results; and that the true revelation of the Gospel is no written word or doctrine merely, no report made concerning Christ in any simply external way, but the very presence rather of what Christ actually is, under the view now stated, in his own person. Just as any living object in the world of nature, a plant, for instance, may be said at once to actualize its own idea, the thought from which it springs, and also to make this the matter of intelligence and knowledge as it can never be in any other way.

A still worse specimen of analytical logic, is presented to us in the Commentary on chap., 1, vs. 17–19, taken in connection with the verses that follow. "There are three

leading petitions," it is gravely declared, "expressed in the prayer here recorded. First, for adequate knowledge of divine truth. Second, for due appreciation of the future blessedness of the saints. Third, for a proper understanding of what they themselves had already experienced in their conversion." The first petition, according to this scheme, ends in the middle of the 18th verse, and is to be considered a prayer for spiritual illumination in general. The residue of the verse, "That ye may know what is the hope of his calling, &c," forms then a new petition; "having prayed that the Ephesians might be enlightened in the knowledge of God and of divine things, the Apostle here prays, as the effect of that illumination, that they may have a proper appreciation of the inheritance to which they have attained." Lastly. v. 19, "he prays that his readers may have right apprehensions of the greatness of the change which they had experienced." The mere statement of the scheme may enable us to presume, in what style it is carried out. "The hope of his calling," means the hope which true Christians "are now, on the call of God, authorized to indulge." There are two things which the Apostle desires they may know; first, the nature and value of this hope; and secondly, the glory of the inheritance in reserve for them. The "exceeding greatness of God's power towards them that believe," mentioned in the supposed third petition, is made to refer wholly to their experience of conversion, regarded as a past fact. "Grotius, indeed, and commentators of that class," we are told, "understand the passage to refer to the exertion of the power of God in the future resurrection and salvation of believers." But this is summarily denied. "It evidently refers to the past and not to the future." Then most characteristically: "The Apostle never compares the salvation of believers with the resurrection of Christ, whereas the analogy between his natural resurrection and the spiritual resurrection of his people, is one to which he often refers. This is the analogy which he insists upon in this immediate connection. As God raised Christ from the dead and set him

at his own right hand in heavenly places; so you that were dead in sins, hath he quickened and raised you up together with him. This analogy is the very thing he would have them understand. They had undergone a great change; they had been brought to life; they had been raised from the dead by the same almighty power which wrought in Christ. There was as great a difference between their present and their former condition, as between Christ in the tomb and Christ at the right hand of God."

This, we say, is characteristic. Dr. Hodge, it would seem, has no sense for the proper wholeness of Christianity, as a fact reaching over in a real way from Christ to his people, and including in their case the entire process of redemption from the first germ of life in the soul to the full resurrection of the body at the last day. It does not occur to him, that the idea of Grotius need not necessarily be so taken as to exclude his own; that the two things thus compared and opposed, sustain to each other the most intimate inward relation; that the only true conception of Christianity must be allowed to involve them both at once, with all that lies between them, as going together to make up the concrete fact in which it consists. The bodily resurrection of believers, as it is to take place when Christ shall come in his glory, is not considered to be the continuation strictly of the process which begins with their new birth this side the grave—the last result of that "law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," by which they are made free from the law of sin and death even in this world; and it is only metaphorically, moreover, that their spiritual resurrection itself is represented as answering, in any way, to the natural resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The relation resolves itself, when all is said, into a mere "analogy"!

Afterwards, indeed, (p. 81), the representation is somewhat improved. Commenting on the words: "According to the working of his mighty power which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead," v. 20, Dr. Hodge tells us they evidently mean two things. "First,

that the power which raises the believer from spiritual death is the same as that which raised Christ from the grave"; (just as one might say, we suppose, that the power put forth in the creation of Adam was the same as that employed in creating the angel Gabriel). "Secondly, that there is a striking analogy between these events, and an intimate connection between them. The one was not only the symbol, but the pledge and procuring cause of the other. The resurrection of Christ is both the type and the cause of the spiritual resurrection of his people, as well as of their future rising from the grave in his glorious likeness." This is well so far as it goes. But it falls immeasurably short of the whole truth, as it was before the mind of St. Paul. The causal relation allowed in the case remains after all instrumental only, mechanical, and outward. As for any proper apprehension of the true organic nature of the connection that holds between the resurrection of Christ and the spiritual life of his people, it would seem to be wanting altogether. Only so can we explain the truly surprising observation made on p. 82; where we are told that, the immediate subject of discourse in this chapter being the blessings of redemption conferred on believers, "the resurrection and exaltation of Christ are introduced *incidentally* by way of illustration"; and that having dwelt for a moment on the nature of this exaltation, and on the relation of Christ to his Church, (in the way of digression, we suppose,) the Apostle then, at the beginning of the following chapter, "reverts to his main topic"!

How differently all shows itself, when we take the right position for looking at it, and then simply allow the text to speak for itself. It is only strange how any one can commune with the spirit of this grand and magnificent passage at all, and not have the organic idea of Christianity and the Church irresistibly forced upon his mind. It is this precisely which imparts to the whole subject, in the mind of the Apostle, that character of greatness, which no language seems to him sufficient fully to express. What fills him with overwhelming interest, is the sense of the new crea-

tion, the mystery of godliness in its proper universal form, as it proceeds from Christ and runs its course in the Church. To his glowing contemplation, past, present, and future, rush together here with the power of a single glorious fact. The prayer with which he starts is not made up of three logically different topics, in the sense of Dr. Hodge; but wrestles throughout with one and the same general object of thought, only thrown rapidly into different aspects, till the whole loses itself at last in a sort of triumphant song of praise to the risen and glorified Christ, from whom the entire order of salvation proceeds. What he desires is, that those who have been brought to stand within the economy of grace, through the obedience of faith, may have their understanding enlightened to know, more and more, how much is comprehended in this high and glorious distinction for the purposes of life and salvation; as being not nominal merely, but replete with power; as serving to set them truly in communication with heavenly agencies and forces; as carrying with it potentially all the supernatural blessings of the new creation, from "the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost" away onward to the "resurrection of the body and the life everlasting." It was much to understand and appreciate the privileges of the Jewish covenant, in its distinction from the general life of the world; for even the Jewish covenant was by no means outward merely and nominal; but here is something which goes immeasurably beyond all that. Where Judaism had to do with shadows and types only, Christianity has to do with the very realities themselves to which these shadows and types referred. It is a constitution, which without any sort of figure may be said to carry in its own bosom actually the "powers of the world to come"—powers more than natural, having their principle in Christ, and able with him to triumph over the whole present world in every other view. All this of course, can never come within the range of mere natural observation and knowledge. How should any such intelligence transcend the order of its own life, so as to become truly cognizant of that which

is above it and beyond it altogether? The presence of such grace in the Church, as being not the shadow only of good things to come but their very image (*αυτην την εικονα των πραγματων*, Heb. 10: 1), is by its very nature such a mystery as can be really apprehended only by faith. Nor is it easy for believers themselves to maintain a steady practical sense of the mystery, over against the suggestions of the mere carnal reason; while the general apprehension of faith also is not of itself enough, to bring them at once to anything like a full and complete knowledge of all that is included in the mystery which they are thus enabled to own; even as it is not enough to be set down by the power of sense in the actual midst of the world of nature, that one may be prepared to take in at once the full sense of the manifold facts, relations, powers, and possibilities, which go unitedly to make up the conception of its vast and mighty organization. Therefore it is that the Apostle, here, and elsewhere, makes it the burden of his prayer for Christians, that they might be able to comprehend what was actually at hand for them in that new world of grace into which they had been introduced by their faith in Christ; that they might have some just sense of the relations of love and peace in which they were brought to stand with God, through the merits of his well beloved Son; that they might learn to think largely enough of the exceeding greatness of God's power embodied in the economy of redemption, not simply as measured by any particular effect already wrought in themselves, but more especially and mainly as taken in connection with the whole range of its action in the Church, and the glorious resurrection life of Christ in which it has its origin and source. For it is no outward analogy only, that holds between the life of Christ in this view and the mighty working of God in the Church. This last is nothing more nor less than the organic force of the new creation itself, in virtue of which Christ rose from the dead. To know what it is then in believers, and especially to know what the Church is in whose mysterious constitution it finds its enduring home in the world, we

must consider what it has been and still is in the Saviour himself. The power which appeared in his resurrection, and by which he now reigns "head over all things" at the right hand of God, is that which he puts forth by his Spirit also in the Church.

It might be interesting, as it would be easy also, to pursue still farther this sort of comparison, by bringing into view other examples of plain discordance between the true sense of the text and the sense assigned to it in this Commentary; all going to illustrate and confirm what we have already said of the different theories of religion, and different conceptions of the Church, which are involved in the case. But the length to which our article has already run, admonishes us to forbear. We may say in general, however, that wherever the text lays stress on any point under a churchly view, it is sure to be wrested by Dr. Hodge into some other aspect altogether, to suit the requirements of his own most mechanical and unchurchly scheme. The view, for instance, which is taken of the Christian ministry by St. Paul in chap. 4: 8–16, making it to be a strictly divine constitution derived from the ascension of Christ, and designed to carry forward the purposes of his glorious exaltation in the Church—a view which involves necessarily the idea of Apostolical succession, and of a true mystical force in the solemnity of ordination—fades with Dr. Hodge, we may say, almost into thin air. The ordinance of Baptism, which he allows to be the object of reference in chap. 5: 26,27, is laboriously shorn in his hands of its true sacramental character altogether. As a matter of course again, in the exposition of chap. 5: 30–32, no proper justice is done to the mystical union and the doctrine of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper. Here, however, it must be acknowledged there is an evident sense of difficulty, and no small amount of confusion, in the effort which is made to get through the deep meaning of the text.

On the subject of Calvin's view of the Eucharist, our author now says without any reserve: "Calvin did not hold that Christ's body was locally present in the Lord's Supper,

nor that it was received by the mouth, nor that it was received in any sense by unbelievers. He did hold, however, that the substance of Christ's glorified body, as enthroned in heaven, was in some miraculous way communicated to believers together with the bread in that ordinance. He, therefore, understands the Apostle as here referring to that fact, and asserting that we are members of Christ's body because the substance of his body is in the Eucharist communicated to us" (p. 341). This is just the view ascribed to him in the *Mystical Presence.* Dr. Hodge, however, rejects the whole idea of any such mystery, and denies besides that the passage here in question includes any allusion whatever to the Eucharist.

But what now, leaving the Lord's Supper out of view, is Dr. Hodge's own theory concerning the union of believers with Christ, as answering to the declaration: "We are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones"? The passage in which we have his reply to this interrogation offers too rich a specimen of his philosophical and theological style of thinking, not to be quoted here in full.

"The doctrine taught," we are told, "is not community of substance between Christ and his people, but community of life, and that the source of life to his people is Christ's flesh. In support of this interpretation it may be urged: 1. That it leaves the passage in its integrity. It neither explains it away, nor does it make it assert more than the words necessarily imply. The doctrine remains a great mystery, as the Apostle declares it to be. 2. It takes the terms employed in their ordinary and natural sense. To partake of one's flesh and blood, does not, in ordinary life, nor according to scriptural usage, mean to partake of his substance, but it does mean to partake of his life. The substance of which the body of any adult is composed is derived exclusively from his food and from the atmosphere. A few years after the formation of Eve not a particle of Adam's body entered into the composition of her frame; and yet she was then as truly as at the beginning, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, because derived from him

and partaker of his life. For the same reasons, and in the same sense, we are said to be flesh of Adam's flesh and bone of his bones, although in no sense partakers of the substance of his body. In like manner nothing is more common than to speak of the blood of a father flowing in the veins of his descendants, and of their being his flesh. This means, and can only mean, that they are partakers of his life. There is no community of substance possible in the case. What life is no one knows. But we know that it is not matter; and, therefore, there may be community of life, when there is no community of substance. There is a form of life peculiar to nations, tribes, families and individuals; and this peculiar type is transmitted from generation to generation, modifying the personal appearance, the physical constitution, and the character of those who inherit it. When we speak of the blood of Hapsburghs, or of the Bourbons, it is this family type that is intended and nothing material. The present Emperor of Austria derives his peculiar type of physical life from the head of his race, but not one particle of the substance of his body. Husband and wife are in Scripture declared to be one flesh. But here again it is not identity of substance, but community of life that is intended. As, therefore, participation of one's flesh does not, in other connections, mean participation of his substance, it cannot be fairly understood in that sense when spoken of our relation to Christ. And as in all analogous cases it does express derivation or community of life, it must be so understood here" (pp. 344–346).

We may be peculiarly constituted; but to our mind, we are free to confess, the mysticism of Olshausen is like the light of day, and as the genial breath of summer, in comparison with the hard, dry obscurity of this wonderful statement. We do not pretend to understand it, as applied to the subject in hand. It sounds to us absolutely unintelligible. Is the life of a man, then, no part of his substance? Are these two things extraneous each to the other? Or taking a man's *body* aside from his soul, does the "substance" of that stand only in what is derived "from

his food and from the atmosphere"? The law of life, the organic power, by which alone such material aliment is received, assimilated to its nature, and made to live in its constitution—is this indeed no part of its true substantial being? So Dr. Hodge would seem to think, if we may trust here the sound of his own words. For his argument allows nothing between the idea of life in its most spiritual form, and the idea of simple matter, which he takes to be synonymous with substance; and having satisfied himself that participation in the life of any one does not imply participation in his substance, under such view, that is, in the very matter of which his body is composed as such, he proceeds at once to draw what is in fact a far wider conclusion —this, namely, that it involves no participation whatever in the bodily side of his existence under any view. Making the body thus to be its own bulk of matter simply, and nothing more. As if such a man as Olshausen ever dreamed of taking the idea of corporeity (Leiblichkeit), in any such grossly Capernaitic sense!—But we drop the subject.

The two schemes before us, as they involve totally different conceptions of the Church, lead also to materially different notions of faith. With St. Paul, the Church, regarded as a real constitution of grace in the world, through which only the resources of Christ's resurrection life are made available for the purposes of man's "deliverance from this present evil world" (Gal. 1: 4), is of course at once an object for faith, as really as Christ's resurrection itself. It is a constituent part of Christianity, answering truly to the position which is assigned to it under such view in the primitive Creeds. It is no abstraction, no mere generalization, resolving itself at last into the mental notion by which it is apprehended; but in some form the objective presence of a true concrete fact, whose authority men are required to own in an outward practical way, as well as with the inward homage of the spirit. This practical acknowledgment forms thus an important part of the true idea of the Christian faith; nay, we may say, it is the very form in which all such faith necessarily begins. For if

there *be* any constitution of this sort really in the world, the first duty of all men must be plainly to acknowledge its supernatural claims, and to place themselves within its bosom, in order that they may be saved; and it can never be anything better than folly for them to talk of believing and obeying the Gospel at other points, while they refuse to comply here with that requirement, which in the very nature of the case must be taken to underlie and condition all requirements besides, as offering the only way in which it is possible for them to be fulfilled; just as it would have been the folly of madness itself, for any in the time of the Flood to have professed faith in the Ark, and firm trust in its offers of grace, whilst they continued obstinately to stay on the outside of its walls. In this light, the sense of the Apostolical commission becomes plain. It ordains a constitution, not in the world before, flowing directly from Christ's glorification, ("all power is given unto me, &c."), through the Apostles, ("go ye *therefore*, &c."), organized and set off from the world at large as a distinct sphere of life, ("preach—make disciples—baptize"); to which, accordingly, all men are required to yield the "obedience of faith," not simply by consenting to what they may hold to be the truth of its doctrines in their own minds, but by actually bowing to its claims, and coming into its bosom, through the sacramental sign and seal of baptism. Hence also the stress laid on the significance of this sacrament throughout the New Testament, (as being the entrance or birth of men into this heavenly constitution, the laver of regeneration, the washing away of sins, the counterpart of salvation by Noah's ark and the passage through the waters of the Red Sea,) all in full conformity with what is well known, (by such as *choose* to know,) to have been the universal way of thinking and speaking about it in the first Christian ages. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, as elsewhere, St. Paul's idea of faith is plainly conditioned always by this reference to the Church, regarded as Christ's "body," the necessary organ and medium of the whole Christian salvation. It never enters into his mind, certain-

ly, that any proper use of his instructions and exhortations could be made by those who were not in the Church; that there could possibly be any room to talk of faith, spirituality, charity, and good works generally, in the Christian sense, so far as any were concerned who still, in this way, showed themselves "disobedient" to the heavenly vision of the Gospel, by refusing to come within the range of its power. He writes for Christians, for the baptised, for the faithful in Christ Jesus alone. All others with him are "children of *disobedience*", and for this very reason still under the power of Satan, whose kingdom is thus assumed to be commensurate in full with the universal order of the world's life on the outside of the Church (Eph. 2: 2). All this of course the Commentary now under consideration has no power to see or acknowledge; because it moves in a wholly different sphere of thought. The Puritanic notion of faith is really independent of the doctrine of the Church altogether.

"The word *απειθεια*," Dr. Hodge tells us on Eph. 2: 2, "means unwillingness to be persuaded, and is expressive either of disobedience in general, or of unbelief, which is only one form of disobedience. In this case the general sense is to be preferred, for the persons spoken of are not characterized as unbelievers, or as obstinately rejecting the Gospel, but as disobedient or wicked." This exegesis cuts the true nerve of the thought completely, and altogether obscures the primary sense of faith and unbelief as they were conceived of by St. Paul. "Disobedience," with him, is emphatically unbelief, considered not simply as an obstinate rejection of the Gospel in the Puritanic sense, but as the general opposite of that faith which brings men actually to bow to the authority of the Church. This is the radical sin of the world (John 16: 9), its true and proper condemnation (John 3: 19); just as faith, on the other hand, under the like practical view, is the root of salvation, the mother of all other graces and virtues belonging to the Christian life.

It is everywhere taken for granted by Dr. Hodge, in the common Puritanic style, that the presence and power of

the Spirit, which all acknowledge to be the medium of Christ's presence now in the world, are in no way bound to the Church, regarded as a fixed objective constitution in any view; that he works in the world at large; that faith in Christ may be complete, without reference to anything beyond the abstract thought of Christ himself, as having died to save sinners; that the Church indeed is only a name, used to denote collectively those who are considered to be already Christians under a different aspect altogether. No opportunity is spared of dealing what is held to be, in this view, a home thrust at the "Church system," as being supposed to obscure the proper freeness of the Gospel, and also to contradict the true conception of God's grace, by making it to depend on something beyond itself. "The only essential and indispensable condition of participation in the benefits of redemption," it is declared, "is union with Christ. And this union is effected or brought about, *by the Gospel.* It is not by birth, nor by any outward rite, nor by union with any external body, but by the Gospel, received and appropriated by faith, that we are united to Christ, and thus made heirs of God" (p. 166). "*We* have this access to God; we believers; not any particular class, a priesthood among Christians to whom alone access is permitted, but all believers without any priestly intervention, other than that of one great High Priest who has passed through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God" (p. 175). "This is the great question which every sinner needs to have answered: How may I come to God with the assurance of acceptance? The answer given by the Apostle, and confirmed by the experience of the saints of all ages is: By faith in Jesus Christ. It is because men rely on some other means of access, either bringing some worthless bribe in their hands, or trusting to some other mediator, priestly or saintly, that so many fail who seek to enter God's presence" (p. 176).

The general drift of all this is abundantly plain. It is the key on which the unchurchly spirit is ever ready to harp. To what, however, does it amount at last? A

mere play upon words, and nothing more. All depends, of course, on faith in Christ. So much was allowed even by the ancient Gnostic, as it is allowed now also by the Unitarian. But the question is always, What does such faith necessarily involve? His real coming in the flesh, we say at once, against the Gnostic. Even the Puritan will admit, however, that this again involves his life of sorrow, his death upon the cross, his resurrection, and his ascension to the right hand of God. And now the question comes, With what reason does *he*, the Puritan, require us to stop just there with our idea of what necessarily belongs to faith in Christ, and to shut off all that follows in the Creed as something to which it need not reach. As if it were possible to believe really in the Lord Jesus Christ on to the point of his glorification, and yet not take account of what this was to prepare the way for, the mission of the Holy Ghost, and the constitution of the Holy Catholic Church. It is at best only begging the whole matter in debate, when this mutilated notion of faith is held up to our view, as being all that is comprehended in the Formula: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." In the sense of the Creed, beyond all controversy, such faith includes necessarily an acknowledgment of the Church, under the very view that Dr. Hodge so heartily dislikes; and St. Paul here, we have no hesitation in saying, agrees with the Creed.

Many thoughts, well worthy of attention, offer themselves here for consideration, growing out of the general subject of our discussion, and bearing on the doctrine of the Church, which, however, it would carry us altogether too far to notice now in any sort of detail. If we have succeeded at all, in bringing into view the form in which this great doctrine was held by St. Paul, and the place it occupies in his writings, it must be at once plain that it is not easy to lay too much stress upon the significance which properly belongs to it in the Christian system. It is found to take its position at once very near the centre, and not simply in the outward circumference, of the general scheme

of salvation; in a way which answers exactly to the order of the Creed, and serves to justify in full also the method or plan of its construction. The very first object of faith, following the mission of the Holy Ghost, must be in the nature of the case, (if Christianity be no mere abstraction, and no modification simply of the life of nature, but really and truly a new order of existence in the sense of St. Paul,) just what it is made to be in the Creed. Not the Bible, but the Church; not any particular doctrine, such as human depravity, for instance, or the atonement, but the fundamental fact of Christianity itself, on the ground of which only it is possible to hold any doctrine whatever with true Christian faith. The argument for the Church, in this view, is very broad. It lies in the organic structure of Christianity itself. Once fairly apprehended, as we have it in the Creed, this is found to involve the article as a necessary part of its general conception or scheme. We may say, indeed, that the article of the Church forms the very keystone of the grand and glorious arch, with which the mystery of the new creation is represented in the Creed to span the chasm, otherwise impassable, which separates between earth and heaven, creating thus a way for the ransomed of the Lord to pass over. Only to suppose it gone, is to turn the arch itself into a Gnostic vision. The argument for the Church, we say, is comprehended mainly in the organic constitution of Christianity itself; and this is the form precisely, in which it is made to challenge our faith, and our obedient regard, in the New Testament. The doctrine of the Church is in the New Testament just as the other articles of the Christian faith are there; not so much in the way of single naked texts, as under the general and broad view of necessary comprehension in the Christian system regarded as a whole.

That is a most lean use of the Scriptures at best, which affects to keep itself in any case to isolated texts, and overlooks the vastly more important significance of what lies in the organic relations of the facts themselves with which the whole revelation is concerned. What are the few testimo

nies which assert in an immediate and direct way the doctrine of the Trinity, or the doctrine of the Saviour's Divinity, in comparison with the vast body of evidence for both, which is involved in the representations and assumptions of the Gospel in its universal view? They underlie in fact the whole thinking of the New Testament, the entire universe of its gracious revelations, just as they are made to bear up the whole structure of the Creed.

And so it is with this article of the Church. There are single and separate texts which may be quoted, in proof of its being, its attributes, and its claims to regard; more than we are able to produce in such form for the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; more than we have for the inspiration and divine authority of the Sacred Scriptures. But it would be a great mistake, to think that the Scriptural argument for the article lies wholly, or mainly, in any such passages. The true force of this argument comes into view, only when we are brought to see how the truth of the article is everywhere assumed and taken for granted in the New Testament, as something necessarily involved in the very constitution of Christianity, and as little to be separated from the conception of the mystery in any case, as form from substance, or body from soul. Of this we have a broad and striking example, in this Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians. Strong testimonies occur in it for the doctrine of the Church, in the direct textual form; testimonies that may well embarrass the Puritan mind, so utterly foreign are they from its whole habit of thought. But these texts are, after all, only a small fraction of the evidence, which is really contained in the Epistle for the doctrine in question. That is found, not so much in what the Apostle directly asserts on the subject, as in what he presumes to be true of it, from the salutation with which his Epistle begins to the benediction that brings it to a close. The idea of the Church runs as a silent hypothesis, or underlying assumption, through all his teachings and exhortations. It may be said to be fairly woven into his whole scheme of religion. All that he says is conditioned and

ruled continually by the thought, that those whom he addresses stood not in the general world, but in the bosom of the Church; and that their position in this view served to place them actually, and not by figure of speech only, in correspondence with the powers of a higher world, under such form as was not possible elsewhere, while it was sufficient here to justify in full the strongest language he employs in regard to their privileges and hopes. This is in fact a constant practical recognition of the article in question, as it stands in the Creed; and a recognition of it also under the same general view, as being not simply an arrangement added to Christianity from without, but a true organic part of its actual substance and proper heavenly constitution, making it to be fairly and of right an object, not of opinion merely, but of faith, for all men in all ages of the world.

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Art. III.—BETHLEHEM AND GOLGOTHA.

FROM THE GERMAN OF RUECKERT.

In Bethlehem the Lord of glory,
Who brought us life, first drew his breath,
On Golgotha, O bloody story!
By suffering broke the power of death.
From western shores, all danger scorning,
I traveled through the lands of morning;
And greater spots I nowhere saw,
Than Bethlehem and Golgotha.

Where are the seven works of wonder
The ancient world beheld with pride?
They all have fallen, sinking under
The splendor of the Crucified!
I saw them, as I wandered spying,
Amid their ruins crumbled, lying;
None stand in quiet *gloria*
Like Bethlehem and Golgotha.

Away ye pyramids, whose bases
Lie shrouded in Egyptian gloom!
Eternal graves! no resting-places,
Where hope immortal gilds the tomb.
Ye sphinxes, vain was your endeavor
To solve life's riddle, dark forever,
Until the answer came with awe
From Bethlehem and Golgotha.

Fair Rocknabad, where ever blowing
The roses of Schiraz expand!
Ye stately palms of India, growing
Along her scented ocean-strand!
I see, amid your loveliest bowers,
Death stalking in the sunniest hours.
Look up! To you life comes from far,
From Bethlehem and Golgotha.

Thou Ca'aba, half the world, benighted,
Is stumbling o'er thee, as of old;
Now, by thy crescent faintly lighted,
The coming day of doom behold;
The moon before the Sun decreases,
A sign shall shiver thee to pieces,
The Hero's sign!—'*Victoria!*'
Shout Bethlehem and Golgotha.

O Thou, who in a manger lying
Wert willing to be born a child,
And on the cross in anguish dying
The world to God hast reconciled!
To pride, how mean thy lowly manger!
How infamous thy cross! yet stranger!
Humility became the law
At Bethlehem and Golgotha.

Proud kings, to worship One descended
From humble shepherds, thither came,
And nations to the cross have wended,
As pilgrims, to adore his name.
By war's fierce tempest rudely battered,
The world, but not the cross, was shattered,
When East and West it struggling saw
Round Bethlehem and Golgotha.

O let us not with mailed legions,
But with the Spirit take the field,
To win again those holy regions,
As Christ compelled the world to yield!
Let rays of light on all sides streaming,
Dart onward, like apostles, gleaming,
Till all mankind their light shall draw
From Bethlehem and Golgotha.

With staff and hat, the scallop wearing,
The far off East I journeyed through,
And homeward, now, a pilgrim bearing
This message, I have come to you:
Go not with hat and staff to wander
Beside God's grave and cradle yonder!
Look inward, and behold with awe
His Bethlehem and Golgotha.

O heart! what profits all thy kneeling,
Where once He laid His infant head?
To view with an enraptured feeling
His grave, long empty of its dead?
To have Him born in thee with power,
To die to earth and sin each hour,
And live to Him—this only, ah!
Is Bethlehem and Golgotha.

T. C. P.

Art. IV.—GERMAN REFORMED DOGMATICS.

It is a remarkable fact that no scientific work upon Systematic Theology from the Reformed stand-point has appeared either in Europe or America, within the present century. Other religious spheres of intellectual activity were by no means neglected. This was especially the case with Exegesis and Church History. Some of the most profoundly learned and original works upon these subjects were produced during this period, but nothing in a manner was done to advance the theology of the Reformed Church to a position to compare with the progress that had been made in collateral and affiliated studies. No one will pretend to say that the systems of divinity published in this country and Great Britain, within the last sixty years, are of this character. They are extremely popular, and for the most part are but one-sided reproductions of the particular views which belonged to a past age and a condition of things no longer subsisting. That this should continue to be the case would be a reproach to the Church, inasmuch as she would be deprived of the rich ripe fruit of modern Exegetical and Dogmatic historical research.

This has been prevented by the appearance of the able and learned works of Schweitzer, Lange, Ebrard and Schneckenberger, within the last ten years, which exhibit, in different forms, the peculiarities of the Reformed Confessions. Ebrard's "*Christliche Dogmatik*," especially deserves notice in this respect, as placing the German Reformed Church relatively in proper position. For this office he was well qualified. To a discriminating logical mind, well stored with various learning, he adds a thorough acquaintance with the whole field of Dogmatic controversy, and particularly with the objections which the ingenuity of the different classes of infidels have brought against Christian-

ity itself. He is also always consistently orthodox. He is sometimes found in advance of the old systems of Dogmatics, especially upon subjects involving questions of psychology, and other branches of philosophy, but is never at variance with the Confessional writings of the Reformation. He frequently presents a doctrine in new points of view, and enforces it by new arguments, but he is always soundly evangelical and sincere. For the reasons suggested by these remarks, it is thought that a free translation of a portion of his work referring particularly to the Dogmatics of the German Reformed Church, would not be unacceptable to American readers at this time.

B. C. W.

Theology has to unfold the *need* of salvation within the sphere of *illuminatio*, under the purifying and correcting influence of the sacred Scriptures, which in the Old Testament presents to us the history of its divinely directed development. The *fact* of salvation must be derived purely from the Bible. But here the subjective study of the Scriptures must be followed by a proper regard to the *objective* history of the knowledge of the sacred writings, that is: to *Exegesis* must be added *Church* and *Dogmatic history*. It is not just the individual, who has come, *pro virili*, to the knowledge of the Scriptures, but the whole Church, in her objective process of development, under divine direction, has been gradually brought to a more correct acquaintance with particular saving truths, in the course of the attacks which have successively been made upon them by heretics within, and infidels without the Church. Thus, by means of apologies and polemics, the *Dogmas*, i. e., the *established* doctrines of the Church, have been so perfected that the Church has consciously brought out the truth in opposition to error, and presented it in the form of *Confession*. But the Confession could only be taken from the Scriptures, and thus the authority of the Scriptures is paramount to that of the Confession; and as the Church organism has no promise of infallibility, the Church Dogma—

the *norma docendi*, must always be brought to the Scriptures, the *norma credendi*, as its test,—and the more the Church Dogma corresponds with them, the less it has to fear. It is an evasion of this, to admit in so many words the superior authority of the Scriptures, and then to assert the historical sense of the Scriptures as laid down in the Church symbols, as the absolute standard of interpretation for believing theologians in our day. But it is far worse, to give the Scripture meanings (?) of unbelieving men opposed to Christianity, now living, as authority over the united opinions of the Church of all ages and of believing theologians of the present time.

Scientific Theology may, accordingly, be divided into, *a.*) *Systematic Theology*, which exhibits the necessity of the biblical doctrine of the fact of redemption, by comparing it with the need of redemption; *b.*) *Exegetical Theology*, which brings out the historical sense of the books of the Bible; *c.*) *Church Historical Theology*, which exhibits the history of the development of the Church and of its Confessions.

The chief object of Systematic Theology is the *fact* of redemption, Christ and his work. The plan of salvation, the work of salvation, and the appropriation of salvation are its principal parts. But there is a divine act at the ground of each of these. In connection with the plan, we have the act of creation, or the *glorification of God* as the author of all temporal things; as necessary to the work, we have the incarnation of Christ, or the *glorification of God in time;* and in order to the appropriation of salvation, there is the operation of the Holy Ghost, or the *glorification of God* as the *Finisher*. Theology may then be treated, *a.*) as Dogmatics, in which case, we proceed from God and his divine act; or, *b.*) as Ethics, and then we proceed from the nature of man;—both, however, essentially have the same contents. Dogmatics are not confined to God, but unfold the whole anthropological side from the nature of God in such way that the nature of man, the side of freedom, is not impaired; for if it were, it would be a predestination scheme destitute of moral character. And so others, pro-

ceeding from the nature of man, must have respect to its relation to God, to the fall and the restoration, or it will be a bald Pelagian moral system, without doctrinal character. They should differ only in form. Dogmatics, for instance, should enquire in reference to sin, how the permission of the fall is to be harmonized with God's holy will, and in what the relation of man to God has been changed by the fall; Ethics, in what light, sin, as the corruption of the individual life sphere, is to be regarded?

Having shown that the *idea* of Christian Dogmatics proceeds from Christian Theology, and having ascertained its object, we are prepared to enquire as to the manner of accomplishing this object. It would not be impossible to construct a method almost *a priori* from the fundamental idea. But if it is supposed, that the individual engaged with Dogmatics, should be ruled by a certain stand-point, by categories belonging precisely to his own time, and still more to his own peculiar habit of mind, the construction under such circumstances would inevitably be of a very subjective character, and could never, and in no way, be objective. It would exhibit, not the idea corresponding with the nature of the subject, but as apprehended by the person himself. In this we see the necessity of proceeding in a *historical way*. We must ascertain the different methods of treatment, which have been one after another suggested by the idea and nature of Dogmatics; that is, in what way the idea of Dogmatics has evolved itself in its *objective completeness*. More is here meant, certainly, than a mere aggregation, or enumeration of these several methods. The historical evolution, in its synthetical unity, is to be derived from the subjective idea possessed, and in this way the subjective idea must correct, and perfect, and establish a *method*—not one to be classed with others already in use—but one that is related to all others *organically*, as ahead of them, and superior to them. But before we proceed to the method of Dogmatics, we must advert to its history.

Here we meet at the threshold the antithesis of *two*

periods, that of the *authority* of the Scriptures, and that of the authority of *subjective criticism*—Orthodoxy in its widest sense, and Rationalism. The Reformers opposed the authority of the Scriptures to that of the Pope. This, from the stand-point of bald Rationalism, is sometimes regarded as *accidental;* as if the sage idea of rejecting, at the same time, the authority of the Bible had never come into their minds, or as if they acknowledged the authority of the Scriptures, which was equally admitted by the Roman Church, solely because it afforded them a convenient appeal in their controversies against Popish doctrines and views. Aside from the silliness of such a moral and intellectual position, the notion is historically untrue. There were sects enough which rejected the *Bible.* The Anabaptists tore it in pieces and tramped upon it, when Zwingle quoted it against them; and Servetus, and many other fanatics, spurned its authority. The Reformers, accordingly, must have been fully assured of the grounds upon which they rejected the authority of the Pope and of tradition, whilst they held fast to the authority of the Bible, making it the ground of their Dogmatics, and opposing it to a purely inward spiritual illumination as fanatical. They opposed Popery by no means merely because it was unscriptural, but precisely for the reason also that it placed the human understanding above the Scriptures. Do we ask now for the positive grounds upon which the Reformers came to the acknowledgment of the absolute truth in the Bible, we will find that both in Switzerland and Saxony they were these, that they received the sacred writings as the *word of Christ*, and still more, as the word of reconciliation through Christ, and the only way of peace and holiness. The *synthesis* between the *need* of redemption, as to an atonement, and the *redemption through Christ*, revealed and offered in the word of God, constitutes the basis upon which they first came to the knowledge of the absolute truth of the redemption, and then also to the acknowledgment of the authority of the Bible, as the original announcement of it. When I thirst, and a cup of water is

given me, and I find the water refreshing, and pure, I safely conclude that the cup itself was pure.

But that synthesis at first was immediate and only *felt*, and there was no occasion, over against the Roman Church, to raise it by reflection to full consciousness, or to exhibit it in ideas. The Reformers and the Theologians of the Evangelical Church after them, *felt*, each for himself, immediately, the law immanent in man to love God, and the historical apostacy from that law. So they *felt* also the truth, sufficiency and satisfying power of the Gospel of redemption; but they did not exhibit them intelligibly—did not refer to those facts of consciousness to prove them. They had this *synthesis* in feeling, in experience, but not in system. Their business, as they thought, was not to show in *what way* the redemption through Christ, together with his word, was the absolute truth, and that this redemption, and this redemption only, but this fully, met and answered the *need* lying in the facts of consciousness—and, accordingly, not to comprehend Christianity in its *necessity*;—but as the authority of the Scriptures, and the truth of the redemption which they taught were confirmed to them by immediate feeling and were also admited by their *opponents*, so they regarded this truth as a settled proposition, and they simply enquired what the Bible taught concerning redemption. The business of theology, and especially of Dogmatics is, not to investigate Christianity in its inward necessity, but to exhibit the *material* it *furnishes*, to explain, to arrange and define it as it respects outward categories, i. e., to bring out a *new scholastic*.

This scholastic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was advantageously distinguished from that of the Middle Ages in this respect, that it had for its material, not the word of man, but the word of God, and yet, as in the case of the medieval scholastic, this material as *at hand* and externally objective, had to be externally made use of. Exegesis and Church History assumed again a mere *tributary* —not an organic, productive, radical relation to Dogmatics—and thus failed to harmonize with the higher psychol-

ogy, with the facts of consciousness, with inward experience. In this way the science fell away from the life and lost its power to pervade it. The life flitted about here and there in Germany and England, even out of the Church among the sects, and as the Church gradually declined and lost its vitality, the question arose, Whether the orthodox Church views of Christianity were true, and whether indeed Christianity itself was true?

Both these questions are not only proper, but it is in fact the business of theology to proceed from them, and the whole of theology should be an answer to them. But to be this, it must be the *intelligible synthesis* of the need of redemption and the fact of redemption, and to be this again, there must be the *immediate synthesis* of both as a life and heart experience already at hand (just as the naturalist must first *see*, before he can investigate the laws of optics, and the physiologist must first *breathe* before he can establish the theory of the functions of the lungs). In this, however, it fails. Those who have this synthesis of feeling never raise these questions; those who do, know nothing of the experience. The questions are proposed by practical, not theoretical skeptics, and the result is, not the *admission* of Scripture authority, but the *denial* of it. At first they only deny the Christianity taught by the Church, and array against it a so called Biblical Dogmatic as contradictory to it. But it soon appears that the so called natural exegesis, upon which this Biblical Dogmatic rested, was artificial, and becoming bolder, they discard the authority of the Bible itself, and set up the abstract objective reason, emptied of all historical contents, as a criterion superior to to the Bible. And finally, when the folly of such an historical reason, rejecting, as it does, the judgment of the whole past, was made to appear, they admitted Christianity to be true, but not as philosophically shown from the need of redemption, and constructed the redemption itself *a priori*, changing it, however, at the same time, from a historical fact of absolute significance into an idea. At length, after making a long circuit, Theology and Dogmatics attained

to such a position, by means of these various phases of Rationalism, that those theologians, who had *experienced* the synthesis of the need and of the fact of redemption and needed no proof for themselves, were sufficiently disinterested to exhibit the genesis of their faith in intelligible reflections.

Positive gain for any one method of Dogmatics can only be obtained from such other methods as start from the stand-point of the authority of the Bible. The rationalistic period of Dogmatics furnishes nothing more than this one negative, although important inward principle of Dogmatics, that we should never be content with *what* the doctrine has exhibited, but with that which, *in its inward necessity is indicated* by the whole structure of the doctrine of the Gospel, as well as by all its parts, and that must be tested by the subjective need of redemption. As it regards the older Dogmatics of the period of the authority of the Scriptures, their methods must be severally examined, i. e., the history of Dogmatics for that period must be investigated. But here we meet with another antithesis, that of the *Reformed* and *Lutheran Dogmatics*. Bearing this in mind, we will take our stand-point upon the Reformed confession, and will just enquire concerning the Reformed Dogmatics.

That which is peculiar in Reformed Dogmatics is not to be ascertained by abstract reasoning *a priori*, but by a purely historical enquiry into the history of the Reformed Church, with a full appreciation of all its factors, national and theological, personal and providential, accidental and religiously essential. The Reformed Church did not spring into being as a part, nor as the work of a single individual, but as the result of a combination of three altogether different elements—brought about less by any human purpose, than by a divine interposition. Entirely independent of Luther, and without a knowledge of his movements, Zwingle commenced the work of the Reformation in Einsiedeln in 1516, and in Zurich in 1518. The whole process of his humanistic training differed from that of Luther, and so

did his general views. If Luther, by inward, *subjective* experience discovered that the penances prescribed by the Church brought no peace to his conscience, Zwingle, by the study of history, and a profound historical insight into the *objective state* of things, was equally satisfied, that the way of salvation pointed out by Rome was false and wrong. Whilst Luther insisted upon the *justification of the conscience by faith, in contradistinction to justification by works*, Zwingle contended for the *justification of our sinful race through Christ*, in opposition to *justification by Church ordinances of human invention.* In either case, the principle was the same, only that with Luther it was in the subjective form, with Zwingle in the objective; conducting both to the authority of Scripture as the formal rule. From this point Luther first proceeded to reform the doctrines of the Church, as his subjective religious feelings seemed to require, and afterwards to the correction of its morals. Zwingle, on the contrary, first attempted the reformation of the objective state of the Church, and then of its doctrine. Thus it happened that the discipline of the Lutheran Church was fragmentary and incomplete, whilst its Dogmas at an early period were perfected with scholastic accuracy. The reverse was the case with Zwingle. With him, cultus and discipline were energetically reconstructed, whilst but little attention was given to doctrine, and his early death prevented further progress. This is evident in the controversy on the Lord's Supper. Luther, with bold and pious zeal, seized upon the whole contents of the ordinance in its profoundest and most mystical depths, without troubling himself about its exegetical grounds. Zwingle adopted a more correct exegesis, but was very careful not to take up from the *anal. fidei*, a deeper idea than was contained in the letter of the exegetical passages. By Zwingle's influence, there arose, in addition to the *Church of the Augsburg Confession*, in the empire, a *Reformed Church* in German Switzerland.

With this Church, the friends of the Reformation in the Romanic nations of France, Spain, Italy, Belgium and England, had little or no connexion. This was owing

partly to the influence of Luther's writings, but still more to the spirit of the age tending to a reformation in an independent way. These friends were fearfully persecuted by the civil authorities, and the Inquisition; but the thousands of congregations which they established, constituted a *diaspora*, of which it would be scarcely a reproach to say, that the opposition which they exhibited in some instances to every thing Popish, was thoroughly puritanic. This character was already deeply impressed upon these congregations before they had any thing to do with the Swiss Reformation. This was done in two ways. In the first place, the French Reformer, *Farel*, combining his Zwinglian training with puritanic fanatical zeal, carried the Reformation, under the protectorate of Bern, into French Switzerland. In the second place, the French refugee, *Calvin*, detained in Geneva by Farel, formed a spiritual point of union for all the Romanic Reformed congregations; and in fact reflected the most powerful spiritual influence upon eastern Switzerland. If, however, Farel impressed more deeply upon the French Reformation, the negative, puritanic character, which it already possessed, Calvin, on the other hand, worked positively and systematically. He was not simply the author of a strictly scientific Theology, Exegesis and Dogmatics—he not only prepared a most admirable and appropriate discipline for the persecuted Reformed Church of the Romanic nations; but whilst he concentrated and formally organized the peculiarities of the Romanic Reformed Church, on the side of the proper *Church life*, so on the other side, that of doctrine, he surmounted the existing opposition between Luther and Zwingle. Cherishing for Luther the highest esteem, whilst he was far from entertaining the same measure of respect for Zwingle, his scholastic education inclined him of course to agree with the former. Besides this, he had spent several years in Germany, where he appeared as the theologian of the Augsburg Confession and the bosom friend of Melancthon. Agreeing with him upon the doctrine of the Eucharist, he was only advantageously distinguished from him by the

more open and fearless assertion of his views. In this way, by a manly, but dispassionate attack upon Zwinglianism, he succeeded in establishing in Zurich the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, modified by himself and Melancthon. Thus the Romanic Reformed Church, together with the Zwinglian Reformed Church, *harmonized in doctrine* with the Church of the Augsburg Confession, so far as it received Melancthon's type of doctrine, together with that of Luther, and differed only in its cultus and discipline.

But Calvin himself laid the foundation for a new confessional difference in his doctrine of *absolute predestination.* He held that, as no man was able by faith to receive the grace of Christ, nor even to persevere when he had received it, but is indebted for both to the operation of the Holy Ghost, we must conclude in reference to those who remain in unbelief, either that God withheld the grace of the Holy Ghost from them, or that he granted it only for a time, and accordingly predestinated them to unbelief and destruction. Calvin came to this false view, in part, by insisting upon man's natural incapacity for good, and the subjection of his will, which he also improperly expanded in a state of grace, and partly again, by his apprehension of particular Scripture passages, as for instance, Rom. 9. Zwingle, indeed, and Luther also, taught the doctrine of absolute predestination, but in a different way. In a sermon which Zwingle preached at the Conference of Marburg, upon providence, the theme of which was given him by the Elector Philip, he, without preparation, and evidently without any decided views beforehand, wavered between deterministic and dualistic views, without being called to account by Luther, who was a hearer upon the occasion. It is simply a fact *that the doctrine is no where prominent in Zwingle's Reformation writings, much less is it the principle of his system.* Luther was in controversy with Erasmus upon the freedom of the will, and expressed himself in more decided terms upon absolute predestination than ever Calvin did; but he *only made use of it in scientific discussion,* and attached to it

no importance in his Reformation writings. Calvin, on the contrary, worked it up in his system, insisted upon it as orthodox doctrine in his ecclesiastical discussions, and bequeathed it formally to the Romanic Reformed Church as an *articulus fidei*. It also indirectly influenced his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. If the everlasting destiny and the inward development of man was predestinated from eternity, then, of course, the individual inward conflict, and with it the sacramental efficacy of the Lord's Supper was of less significancy, and this was precisely the case with the Calvinistic theory of the Lord's Supper, which afterwards justly gave offence to the Lutherans. Through Melancthon's influence the doctrine of absolute predestination was rejected by the Lutheran Church, and the more correct view that the predestination of God was regulated by his knowledge, from all eternity, of man's own free determinations, came to prevail. Thus the doctrine of predestination, from the time of Calvin, constituted a distinguishing feature between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

If the state of the Churches had remained as we have represented, i. e., if the Melancthonian doctrine of the Lord's Supper had continued to be tolerated in the Church of the Augsburg Confession, and had become the ruling view; and if the Romanic Reformed Church, together with the Zwinglian Church of East Switzerland, had differed from the Church of the Augsburg Confession only as to the erroneous theory of predestination, the Church of the Augsburg Confession would unquestionably have been right over against the Calvinistic Reformed Church. But the state of things was changed by the introduction into the Reformed Church of a third principal element. Western Germany, especially the Palatinate on the Rhine, and Hesse, was brought over to the cause of the Reformation, more by Melancthon's than by Luther's influence, and held his view of the Lord's Supper. As to cultus, she was far from Puritanic, and was throughout Lutheran. Of the doctrine of predestination, nothing had been said. But by the zealots of the Jena school, the whole Melancthonian, or as it was

called, the Philipistic school, and of course the Palatinate, and other small provincial Churches of Germany, were excluded from the Church of the Augsburg Confession, which segregated itself in the narrow sense of the Form of Concord as the *Lutheran* Church; and the Augsburg Confession, which had been drawn up by Melancthon, and which as *invariata*, included Luther's, as well as his own type of doctrine, received in the Form of Concord, an interpretation, according to which, to be a Lutheran, it was not enough to believe that Christ was present in the *transaction* of the Lord's Supper, and united his body and blood with the communicant; but it must be held that the body and blood of Christ were united with, and present in the bread and wine, and together with them were eaten with the mouth. The West German Churches, thus excluded from the Church of the Augsburg Confession, were afterwards joined by the Brandenburg Churches, and connected themselves as Melancthonian Reformed, or German Reformed, with the Calvinistic and Zwinglian Reformed, and in this way, the Reformed Church acquired its greatest strength, inasmuch as to her more intellectual acuteness, there was added the German depth of feeling. At first, the German Reformed Church held itself passive, as respects the influence of the Calvinistic (Romanic) Church already consolidated, and the doctrine of predestination gradually obtained foothold as belonging to Reformed orthodoxy. But after a while the calm, quiet, deep influence of the Church began to show its mighty power, and the view of predestination, which might in its consequences have been fatal to Reformed theology, was so modified and restricted by the Palatinate and Hessian divines, that it was at least harmless. Still more important was the influence exerted by the German Reformed Church in the practical depths of the Heidelberg Catechism. This Catechism, which is free from predestination, and moreover was prepared before the Palatinate Churches attached themselves to the Reformed Church, pursues in a pure Lutheran, Melancthonian way, an anthropological course, and with Luther, proceeds from

a *subjective sense* of the need of salvation. Whilst the scholastic theologians were insisting most strictly upon the doctrine of predestination in their compendiums, the Heidelberg Catechism was quietly working its way into the congregations, and into the practical church services. In it the *anthropological subjective idea* of the Reformed views of Christian doctrine, thus far wanting in the Reformed Church, was fully brought out as a delightful complement. But, it was not just as a book for Catechetical instruction, that the Heidelberg Catechism was of service in the congregation—nor yet as a confessional standard that it secured a significancy and circulation, such as no other confessional writing ever did in the Reformed Church; but it also, at the same time, exerted a mighty retroactive influence upon theological science. Along side of those peculiar, scholastic compendiums containing predestination views, there appeared also a whole row of theological commentaries upon the *Heidelberg Catechism*, of great significance, and in which may be seen some of the finest fruits of Reformed theology.

The three principal elements, or influences already mentioned, clearly account for the peculiarites of the Reformed system of Dogmatics. In the first place, it is owing to the mode, introduced into Switzerland by Zwingle, and perpetuated by Calvin, of apprehending the salvation of Christ more in its objective aspect, that the *systematic*, and with it, the *synthetic* treatment and disposition of Dogmatics came to prevail. Whilst the Lutheran divines (so far as they were no longer under the influence of Melancthon, or under the reflex influence of the Reformed Church itself, as was the case with Chemnitz and Leyden) pursued the *local* method, carefully elaborating particular doctrines, and then systematizing them, the Reformed theologians, on the other hand, *developed* their doctrine from the *system*, and followed in the system itself, almost without exception, the *synthetic*, or inferential method, i. e., they proceeded from God as the original cause, passed over to the revelation of God *ad intra*, the Trinity, then to his revelation *ad extra*, the coun-

sel of God, *decretum*, and so on to the fulfilment of the same in *creatio, redemptio, sanctificatio;* or when they did proceed from *anthropology*, they at least did not start with the *subjective experience of salvation*, but with the objective idea of the Church. With this are connected three other phenomena. *First*, it is owing to the systematizing method of the Reformed divines that the several dogmas are always treated differently, according to the plan of their different systems, in the use of different terms and in different categories (formally different) and receive a more *free, complete and comprehensive exposition* than is the case with Lutherans; with whom a distinct and peculiar type of doctrine is developed for each peculiar dogma. *Secondly*, the Reformed, as they derive their several dogmas, less from the subjective principle of the justification of the conscience by faith, than from the objective revelation of the grace and righteousness of God in Christ, are enabled and have occasion, to introduce the objective *historical* development of the salvation of the old covenant in their Dogmatics and in this way to give to them a more biblical, historical character. *Thirdly*, it is owing to this process of systematic deduction, that the Reformed divines made use of their material in a more *speculative* way, as appears already in this, that from the time of Peter Martyr, they were accustomed strictly to distinguish between the doctrines to be inferred from the facts of consciousness, the being of God and the need of salvation, and such as could only be known by divine revelation in a narrower sense, as the Trinity and the fact of redemption. In this distinction between *theologia naturalis* and *revelata*, or of *articuli mixti* and *puri*, was to be found the preparation and commencement of a correct *synthesis* between the need and the fact of salvation. The Reformed theologians sought to exhibit Christianity in its actual necessity, and it is evident that the Reformed Church and theologians, upon the whole, were more successful in keeping clear of Rationalism than the Lutherans.

The introduction of the doctrine of predestination into the Reformed Dogmatics—their shadowy side—is to be as-

cribed to Calvin. In this way the *synthetic* of the method was still more advanced. The theologians, especially of Switzerland and Holland, lòved to give prominence to the *Decretum Dei*, and to refer every doctrine relating to the historical development of salvation to it. Thus the significance of *history* is destroyed. It is reduced to a mathematical *facit* of the eternal factor, the *Decretum Dei*; and in itself is without meaning. It constitutes a *particular*, *scholastic* school, and derives the whole of Christianity from the divine decree. But this school is, by no means, to be identified with Reformed Dogmatics. Within the bosom of the Reformed Church itself, there arose three powerful influences to oppose it. The first proceeded from that *biblical, historical* character, peculiar to the Reformed Dogmatics, which would not permit itself to be silently thrust aside, but was exhibited in the energetic and efficient resistance of the followers of *Cocceius*, or the *Federalists*, over against the Scholastics—a resistance which fully appreciated the historical development of the *Foedus Dei*. The *speculative* character of the Reformed Dogmatics, at one time prevalent, and never to be obliterated, expressed in the opposition of the *Cartesians* to the Scholastics, was the second; and the third was the *German* Reformed Church.

The influence of the Heidelberg Catechism, i. e., of the Lutheran Melancthonian, anthropological—subjective stand-point, upon Reformed Dogmatics, originated with the Palatines, and was expressed in Commentaries upon the Catechism, less in the way of opposition, than of friendly complement. It has often been cast up to the Reformed Church in the tone of reproach, that for the good she has, for instance, her purification from the errors of the doctrine of predestination, and of the Lord's Supper flowing from it, she is indebted to the Lutheran. The Reformed Church, however, may with greater right take to herself the credit (humanly speaking) of maintaining those noble truths of Melancthon, which the Lutheran Church rejected. It is certainly more praiseworthy to accept any thing good, from an adversary, than to throw away that which we ourselves possess. In this we see the mild, pliant, tractable disposi-

tion of the Reformed Church, of its Theology, and Dogmatics, always inclined to union (an actual sincere union, not one decreed by the State); and without giving up her peculiarities, ever making advances towards the Lutheran Church.

This then, finally, is the result of the *combination* of *those three original elements*, the Zwinglian, Calvinistic and Melancthonian, that the Dogmatics of the Reformed Church are not confined to the limits of a single school; but comprehend the true wealth of various schools beyond her proper boundaries. We can, therefore, do the Reformed Church no worse service, than with *Schweitzer*, to affirm that the principle of one of these schools, the predestination-scholastic, is absolutely that of her Dogmatics, and then ignore that of all the rest; and in this way too, irrespective of the particular interest he had in view, introduce a deterministic-pantheism into the Reformed Dogmatics. That we may appreciate the influence of these several schools, we now revert to

THE PERIOD OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE REFORMATION.

The first Dogmatic written during the Reformation period was by Melancthon, and this must not be overlooked, inasmuch as Melancthon, as to his school, if not his person, belongs to the Reformed Church. As his work grew out of a practical church necessity, so its method was prescribed by the same emergency. In the *sententiis* of the mædieval scholastics, the material was so arranged into system, that many of the doctrines, which, during the Reformation, were considered all important, in controversy, are either not at all, or only incidentally alluded to, for instance, *de justificatione, de lege et evangelio, de ecclesia.* Each of these was now discussed in a separate chapter, or so called *locus.* Hence the name, "*Loci Communes, sive Hypotyposes.*" The first edition appeared at Wittenberg in 1521. The *loci* were arranged methodically after the plan of the Epistle to the Romans. This method, though apparently synthetic, i. e., proceeding from "God," was, nevertheless, anthropological and analytic. The doctrines

of the Trinity and of the person of Christ were not in the first edition.

Precisely the reverse, Zwingle, in his *Commentarius de vera et falsa religione*, 1525, proceeded from no practical-church want, but sought to represent the evangelical doctrine in its proper scientific light. Hence, in the true sense, his synthetic, intelligibly consequential method. He begins with an introductory section, *de vocabulo religionis*, defines religion as the reciprocally related relation between God and man, and commences in the first chapter *de Deo*, to show, not so much the nature of God, as formally to unfold the knowledge of God. He proves that the human understanding is just as little able to comprehend the nature of God, as an insect is to conceive the nature of man, and hence the necessity of a revelation. He next proceeds to show from Ex. 3: 14, that God is the *I am*, the *self-existent*, and that as such, he is the *good*, and accordingly the *living*, personal, wise, almighty; finally, he is the Holy One, and is love. All the revelations of God are, therefore, revelations of *grace* which must be received by *faith*. This leads him to the second chapter, *de homine*, in which, however, he does not place the original state of man, and his present fallen condition along side of each other, but considers man, as to his existing, concrete appearance, as absolutely sinful and *blind*. It is only in the third chapter, *de religione*, that he goes back to the *status integritatis*, and the actual fall, and shows that now no other religion than that of redemption and atonement is possible. In the fourth chapter, *de religione christiana*, he exhibits the fact of redemption, the work of Christ; in the fifth, *de evangelio*, the doctrine of the atonement; in the sixth, *de penitentia*, the doctrine of the appropriation of salvation; in the seventh, *de lege*, and the eighth, *de peccato*, the doctrine of sanctification, and the relation which the law sustains to it; in the ninth, *de peccato in spiritum sanctum*, the doctrine of unbelief as the chief sin, the only truly damning sin. This leads, in the tenth chapter, *de clavibus*, to the difference between the divine judicial authority and the human churchly office. In the eleventh,

he develops the doctrine *de ecclesia*, with which is connected that of the sacraments, and finally in the concluding chapters we have his controversy against praying to the Saints, Purgatory, the Anabaptists, and other forms of heresy. Each particular point is carefully elaborated in connexion with the whole and its several parts, and is sustained by appropriate Scripture texts. The plan is imposing, but towards the close it is deficient in order. In the controversial parts, the definitions are not comprehensive. Every thing moves in a continuous flow. We meet with a wealth of speculative ideas, but not a single well constructed dogma. The whole work is more suggestive than instructive.

Both sides, the Zwinglian systematic speculation and the smooth dogmatic reasoning of Melancthon are remarkably combined in Calvin's *Institutio christianae religionis*, a work which the Reformed Confessions properly regard with great satisfaction. Calvin places, at the ground of his system, the Trinity, i. e., the trinitarian *manifestations* of God, in creation, the work of Christ, and the appropriation of salvation; and inasmuch as he here separates the subjective, inward appropriation of salvation by the individual, from the Church, as the complex of the objective, external means of grace, he gains a fourth part, *de externis mediis, vel adminiculis, quibus Deus in Christi societatem invitat, et in ea retinet.** These four parts are subdivided into chapters, in each of which, the material from the Holy Scriptures and the *anal. fidei*, constitute the first part. We then have, either a special argument respecting disputed points, or a careful exhibition of some particular theory. This is followed for the most part by a section, *de usu*, i. e., concerning the religious application of the doctrine referred to, and finally a practical polemic against false doctrine.

Calvin generally is very strict in his definitions and distinctions, but they must still be sought in the flow of the general discourse, and it must be carefully observed wheth-

* Predestination is exhibited, not as *decretum Dei*, but quite anthropologically!—as *electio Dei* in the third part.

er they intend to express the idea in all its bearings, or have their form merely in particular propositions. It is owing to this that Calvin is frequently misunderstood. Besides, he is too active a spirit to be always bound by his own definitions. He often uses the same term in different or modified senses, and this sometimes leads to confusion. His greatness, for this reason, lies much less in his punctation of particular doctrines, than in the construction of his system. There is a great stride from the vacillating, indistinctness of Zwingle to Calvin's clearly defined particular Dogmas. Calvin always furnishes all the ideas necessary to the construction and comprehension of his Dogma. With Augustine, he belongs to those working spirits, whose wealth it will take many generations to exhaust. That which he organically produces, they must arrange and dispose of methodically.

Melancthon, Zwingle and Calvin, in a limited sense, are the original Dogmatics. To them, however, during the period of the gradual separation of the two Confessions, several other Dogmatic schools must be added, which, in a wider sense, must also be considered fundamental, inasmuch as the principal methods of discussion subsequently were very much influenced by them. We begin with that of German Switzerland. *Peter Martyr Vermilius*, an Italian, liberally educated in a convent in his own country, advanced to high office, and then banished, with others, on account of his evangelical faith, labored in Strasburg, with Bucer, Capito and Calvin as theologians—fled during the Augsburg Interim to England, and from thence, at the recommendation of Bullinger, was called to Zurich. He was engaged with an edition of *locis theologicis*, and was relieved from his labors by death. The French preacher in London, *Robert Massonius*, collected from his posthumous works, the material for his Dogmatics, published in England. A more complete edition was afterwards published in Zurich in 1580, by Antistes Gualter, under the title: *Petri Martyris Vermilii loci communes.* Peter Martyr, in many respects occupied the Zwinglian stand-point.

Bullinger, the friend and follower of Zwingle, as Antistes, a decided man, to whom the Church of Zurich is indebted for its organization, and who embraced and introduced the Calvinistic theory into his Church, wrote a *Compendium religionis Christianae*, &c. In Bullinger we have already the full type of the German *Swiss* school. Absolute predestination is not only not the principle of the theological doctrine, *de decreto*, but it is passed over in the soteriological part, and modified in the Lutheran sense. The object and contents of predestination is Christ. Of an election, or rather of a reprobation of individuals, there is not a word. The spirit of Bullinger's Dogmatic, like that of the Heidelberg Catechism, is anthropological—soteriological. Its form is compendious, strict, decided. He does not trouble himself with abstruse questions. What he undertakes to discuss, he treats with great acuteness and precision, and in such way, that in its systematic connexion with the whole, light is thrown upon every part.

To this German Swiss school belongs *Wolfgang Musculus Dusanus* from Lorraine. He was preacher in Augsburg, and was driven away during the interim. After the fall of the ultra Zwinglian party in Bern, in 1549, he was called to be Professor of Theology, and died in 1563. The appellation *venerandus senex*, given him by the Bernese, shows his standing. He wrote *loci communes theologici* (Basel, 1564, Bern, 1573) somewhat similar to Bullinger's Compendium, breathing the same anthropological spirit. *Benedict Aretius*, also a Bernese theologian was a man of a polemical spirit, as may be seen in his writings. *Stephen Szegedin*, a Hungarian, published in Basel, 1585: *Theologiae sincerae loci communes de Deo et homine*, &c., a commencement of scholastic discussion. *Polanus von Polensdorf*, professor in Basel, also published in 1609, a *Syntagma theologiae Christianae*, evasive of predestination, which, as a compendium, was for several decennaries, the basis of the lectures delivered at the University, until in 1626, Antistes *John Wollebius*, wrote his celebrated *Theologiae Compendium*. This last work, as to form, is simple and very short, but as to contents, most

excellent. Wollebius is decidedly one of the most *spirited* Dogmatics that ever lived, a real Peter Lombard, or *magister sententiarius*, for the Reformed Church. In twelve sheets duodecimo, he gives in short theses, an amount of deeply significant ideas, an inexhaustible fund of available material. The Reformed scholastics, in fact, in most points, wrote upon the foundation laid by Wollebius. He constituted the transition from the compendium form to scholasticism.

Allied to the Zuricher, the Basler and Bernese schools is the *German Reformed*, and most conspicuous are the Palatinate theologians. At their head stand the two compilers of the Heidelberg Catechism, Ursinus and Olevianus.

Zach. Ursinus was born in Breslau in 1534, was the pupil of Melancthon at Wittenberg, 1550–57, then went to Heidelberg, Strasburg and Basel. In Geneva he was the friend of Calvin, in Zurich of Bullinger, and then became Professor in Breslau. Involved, however, in the controversy on the Lord's Supper in 1562, he voluntarily relinquished his place, and soon afterwards was made Professor of Dogmatics in Heidelberg.

Caspar Olevianus was born at Triers in 1536. Embracing at an early age the evangelical doctrine of the atonement, he spent his youth at Frankfort, in the study of the law, and on reading Calvin's writings became acquainted with the Gospel. Induced by appalling misfortunes to become a theologian, he studied with Calvin, Beza, Bullinger and Peter Martyr, returned to Thiers, labored for the Reformation, and after many severe trials, became Professor of Theology at Heidelberg in 1561. During the first year of his residence there, in connexion with Ursinus, he wrote an *explicatio catechesis*, and in 1574 a Dogmatic monograph of great excellence, still extant in German. In the same year appeared the "Confession of the Theologians and Church officers at Heidelberg, of the one true God, the two natures in Christ, and the Holy Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ." In 1575, Olevianus wrote his work on the "Words of the Lord's Supper and their true meaning." Although these three works partake more

of the character of apologetic-polemic monographs, than of Compends of Dogmatics, they are still of great value for the history of Reformed Dogmatics and a proper appreciation of the spirit of the Palatinate school. We learn from them the Melancthonian, anthropological spirit of the Dogmatics, apprehending redemption from its subjective side, and become acquainted too with Calvinism in a limited sense, essentially complementary. But there proceeded also from this school, a particular Compend: *Syntagma theologiae*, by the Heidelberg Professor, *Keckerman*, breathing the same spirit in the form of comprehensive paragraphs. Keckerman was philologically and philosophically learned, and perfectly familiar with Aristotle; but in Dogmatics was simple with all his acuteness, and avoided abstruse questions. Akin to the Palatinate school was that of Hesse, prominently represented by their great theologian, the Marburg Professor, *Andreas Hyperius* (properly Andrew Gerhart of Ypern). A contemporary of Calvin, liberally educated, distinguished for his beautiful Latin, and still more so as a practical theologian, especially in Homiletics, he wrote his *Methodus theologiae*, &c., which he was not permitted to finish, but which in its imperfect state appeared after his death at Basel in 1568. He proceeded systematically, but in such way that the anthropological side at the same time decidedly preponderated. It was less the subjective appropriation of salvation, than—pure Reformed—the idea of the objective Church which constituted the basis of his plan. Hyperius evades predestination, and so does the whole Hessian school after him. As belonging to it, we must also mention *Henry Alsted*, with his *Theologia didactica*, Hanover, 1618, which constitutes already the conscious transition from the systematic compend form to the scholastic free construction of particular Dogmas. He was a member of the Synod of Dort, but was as free from predestinationism as was Hyperius himself. Among the Hessians was the Holland theologian, Henry von Diest, with his *Theologia biblica*, Deventer, 1643, as to material regulated pretty much by the Synod of Dort, but as to form, still that of simple compend.

At this period we see that two thirds of the Reformed Church were *entirely free* from the obliquity of absolute predestinationism, and that not more than one third, the Calvinistic, embraced it. To it belonged particularly *Theodore Beza*, a French refugee, distinguished as an *Exeget*, who was received by Calvin at Geneva. He wrote *Questionum et responsionum christianarum libellum* in the strict predestinarian sense. Geneva, 1580. To the same school we must also reckon Peter Ramus, who fell a martyr on the night of St. Bartholomew, the Geneva theologian, *Daniel Chamier* and *Bened. Pictetus* (Professor at Geneva). Akin to these, are the Lausanne professors, *Bucanus*, *Antoine la Fage*, professor in Geneva, and finally, the Scotch theologian, *John Scharpius*, professor in France, with his *Cursus theologica in quo controversiae omnes, de fidei dogmatibus inter nos et pontificios, pertractantur, et ad Bellarmini argumenta responditur*—Geneva, 1620.

ART. V.—THE NATURE OF PHILOSOPHY.

THE first impulse of the human reason is to believe; then it becomes an effort to know in the strength of its belief, or of its intuitive primary ideas; that is, to form a conception of its objects or to hold single things in the sphere of thought as they exist in reality. This incipient knowledge, however, does not by itself satisfy the deeper demands of the reason. It only prepares the way for a higher kind of knowledge. It serves to unfold the impulse of the reason to know according to a two-fold order of law; first, according to the laws which underlie and determine the essential nature and relations of being; and secondly, according to the laws which determine the activity of the reason or the laws of thinking. Thus we get the conception of Philosophy; which is the deepest and most comprehensive form of knowledge.

Philosophy as a form of knowledge implies a peculiar relation of subject and object, of that which knows and that which is known. The subject is the human reason, or that which thinks. The reason thinks, or is active, from a necessity of its nature, impelling it to approach, enquire into, and reproduce its object according to its intuitive ideas and its own laws. These intuitive ideas are the inner forms of objective existence which the reason in the process of normal development evolves out of itself. Its laws are each a necessity determining the manner of its activity; and are called the laws of thinking. It cannot think of any object but in conformity to these laws. Freely obeying the impulse to know, the reason finds the counterpart or prototype of its intuitive ideas in its objects, and reproduces them or gives them an existence in itself, the process of reproducing them, or of giving the object a place in the

subject, being determined by the laws of thinking. Philosophy derives its *form* accordingly from the ideas and laws of the human reason.

The *matter* of philosophy is the object of the reason reproduced according to the laws of thinking. As constituting the matter of philosophy the object of the reason is being; not a single thing, nor a class of things, nor even various classes of things in their reciprocal relations, but being as such, that is, being in its necessity and generality. For the reason does not only assume that there is an objective existence, but that this objective existence is an organic order of things resting on an absolute ground in virtue of which the organic order is what it is.

The *necessity* of being consists in this, that it is itself and can not be any thing but itself. Necessity is absolute or relative. An absolute necessity—*absolute*, from *ab* and *solvere*, to be loose or free from every thing but itself—is predicable of a being that, grounded in itself, is not determined nor conditioned by any thing but itself. Such necessity holds only in God. A relative necessity—*relative*, from *re* and *ferre* to bear or carry back to something else—is predicated of a being that is derived; the necessity of its nature and relations being determined by that from which it is derived. Such necessity holds in every created object. Philosophy has to do with being, both in its relative and its absolute necessity; but it always seeks to resolve the relative into the absolute, or to know the relative as determined by the absolute; for it is the tendency of the reason to reduce all its objects to their ultimate ground, and from this to deduce their nature, essential attributes and relations.

The *generality* of being is that which underlies and identifies all particular entities or phenomena in every objective sphere. In virtue of this, individuals are reducible to species, species to genera, genera to more comprehensive genera; or genera are reducible to classes, classes to orders, and orders to kingdoms or grand divisions. The objective is susceptible, however, of still further reduction. In every

objective subordinate sphere or grand division of being, the less general is successively reducible to the more general, until it resolves itself into that which is most general and comprehensive, and therefore common to all the individuals belonging to the given division. And all spheres or grand divisions of created being, whether rational or irrational, are in turn reducible to that which is deeper and broader than themselves—to that consequently which is common to and pervades all created objects. In virtue of a common principle which is thus discoverable in these innumerable objects, they constitute, when taken as a whole, a unit, or the universe, which in all its departments and single parts is the embodiment and expression of the wisdom, power and goodness of the Creator. These attributes are again reducible to the Divine Will; which, as it brought the universe into existence out of nothing, has left its impress no less upon the worm or a blade of grass than upon the noblest man or the most exalted angel. The process of generalization recedes thus from the lowest through ever widening circles until the reason is able to hold all circles of entities, whether organic or inorganic, material or immaterial, natural or moral, each in its cöordinate and subordinate relations to others, under one most comprehensive conception. Until the reason can comprehend each circle of entities, or sphere of being, in its relation to its principle and to all others; or until it can comprehend all spheres of being, each in its relation to the rest and to an absolute principle, which pervades them all in common, its deepest wants are not satisfied; for it is the tendency of the reason not only to reduce each object and sphere of being to its ultimate ground, but also, what is its correlative act, to discover the identity of all specific differences or to determine the unity in the greatest multiplicity.

Necessity and generality do not cohere but inhere in being. They are not separable attributes. The one is the correlate of the other. Necessity is general, and generality is necessary. Implying each other, they are but different aspects of a unity; and in their union may be said to constitute the *law* of being.

The matter of philosophy as including the necessity and generality of being, arises under a three-fold enquiry: what? why? how? corresponding to the three-fold fundamental activity of the reason: conception, judgment and reasoning.

1. What? or what is it? The understanding seeks to bound off each object from all others; and thus forms a definite conception of it. This conception *includes* all its essential, in distinction from its accidental attributes; and at the same time *excludes* the attributes which are essential to other objects. With a correct answer to this form of enquiry any particular investigation of philosophy begins. The reason must accurately and clearly distinguish the object of investigation from every other. Without such distinction any attempt at inductive or deductive reasoning involves thinking in confusion.

2. Why? or why is it? The reason enquires spontaneously: What is the principle or ground, and what is the end or design of the object? To have a definite conception of an object does not suffice. It strives to know the nature of things. To know the nature of a thing is to refer it to its proximate generality, or to know it as the individualization of some general law or principle. Any thing short of this is not satisfactory. The perception of an oak simply as an isolated object possessing solidity, size and form, is only conditional to an enquiry into the nature of the oak—into that which is more general than itself. For the general constitutes the nature of the particular. The nature of the oak is that of the tree; the nature of the tree that of the plant; and the nature of the plant that of an organism. Each is a modification of what is more general than itself. The reason forms, therefore, on the one hand, a conception of the single oak, and on the other, seeks to know it as a tree; then seeks to know the tree as a plant, and the plant as an organism; for only when it refers the individual to the species, and the species to the genus, does it see clearly why the essential attributes of the individual are what they are. It knows that which underlies the single object and determines it to be itself. This is its nature.

Thus to refer the individual to the particular, and the particular to the general is to judge. Judgment consists in distinguishing the particular from the general and holding both together as a whole. When the particular is the subject, the general is the predicate; and judgment is inductive; as, The lily is a flower. When the general is the subject, the particular is the predicate; and judgment is deductive. A regular series of inductive judgments is retrogressive; the reason looks at each conception successively in the light of one that is deeper and more general, thus running back until it forms a judgment whose predicate can not in turn be recognized as a particular and taken as the subject of another more general judgment. This predicate then becomes the ultimate and most satisfactory answer to the question, Why?

3. How? or how is it? An enquiry into the necessity of a thing is associated with another. The reason has an idea of mode of being, of manner of development, or of a way in which a thing comes to be what it is, and of a relation which one thing sustains to another, as well as of a ground principle from which it is unfolded. For simple existence implies a mode of existence, development a manner of development, and succession an order of succession. Both enter into the nature of a thing. And the demands of reason are not met until it has a knowledge of both as united in its object. Hence when philosophy enquires: Why? or what is the ground principle? What is the necessity of a thing? it enquires also: How? or what is its mode of existence or activity? What is its manner of development, or the order of succession? Or how does it come to be what it is? These two forms of enquiry are not identical; neither are they separable; but one implies the other. The matter of philosophy does not arise accordingly under three separate questions which are mechanically connected; but it arises under a three-fold form of *one* enquiry of the human reason, each form presupposing in order to a correct and complete answer the necessity of an answer also to the other two.

This last form of enquiry corresponds to and calls forth an act of reasoning. The reason draws a conclusion. In answer to, what? it acquires a definite conception of a given particular. In answer to, why? it discovers the necessity of the particular, or the general in which the particular is grounded. In answer to how? it discovers the manner in which the predicate of the general becomes the predicate of the particular. Just as the question, how? implies the question, why? and *vice versa*, so does an act of reasoning, or a conclusion, imply an act of judgment. The reason must distinguish the particular from the general before it can ascribe the same predicate to both. And an act of judgment completes itself in an act of reasoning. Comprehending the particular under the general, the reason seeks to ascribe the same predicate to both, that is, to identify their attributes: a result that is reached by the process of reasoning.

The result of this three-fold enquiry conducted according to the laws of thinking, is a scientific knowledge of the essential nature and relations of the object of reason. This is philosophy. The object may be the reason itself. Philosophy then becomes the science of the reason—a particular branch of philosophy; and as such, is required to determine what the reason is, why it knows, how it knows, and solve all the problems which arise under these general questions. Or the object may be the outer world, the visible creation as a whole, or any part of it, as the earth, the vegetable or animal kingdom, or any subordiate division. Philosophy then becomes the science of nature, of the earth, of plants or of animals, or Natural Science, Geology, Botany, Zoology, and so forth. But the object may also be the universe viewed as an organic totality, including the reason, the outer world as well as all possible orders and forms of existence. This is philosophy as such, or philosophy taken in its widest sense; and may be defined to be *the science of being*. As the Science of Being, philosophy is required to determine the necessity and generality of the universal order of things: the relation of each single thing to the

subordinate order of existence in which it inheres, the relation of one subordinate order to another and to all others, and the relation of all orders or systems of things to their common ground. Fundamental to the solution of these problems is the position of the human reason itself. What is the relative position of the human reason in the universal system of things? What is its relation to itself and to all knowable objects? With the solution of this problem, philosophy, in order to be legitimate, whether true or false, must begin. The solution becomes the principle that permeates and modifies every investigation, and determines the character of all its results.

Defining philosophy to be the Science of being, we have three elements accordingly which enter into its nature: 1. Its *form*, which is derived from the human reason. The reason knows, and can know only, according to its primary ideas, and laws of thought. Its knowledge of objective existence assumes shape and order therefore under its own moulding power. Hence philosophy is Science in the highest sense of the word. 2. Its contents or *matter*, which is derived from, and determined by, the nature of the object. Subject and object, or the reason and its objects are not identical, unless the object be the reason itself; but even here we must distinguish between the objective nature of the reason as a being and the laws of its activity according to which it becomes conscious of itself. The matter of philosophy is not, therefore, the ideas of the human reason, but being as it is in itself. 3. The legitimate *union* of form and matter. This depends upon a correspondence or reciprocity of subject and object, or of the laws of thinking and the laws of being. To know a thing according to the laws of thought is to know it also according to its own nature. Philosophy is, therefore, being as it is in itself, or the necessity and generality of being, existing under the form of the human reason.

Such is the nature of *true* philosophy; though, strictly speaking, there is no room for the distinction between true and false philosophy. For philosophy *is* true philosophy

in the nature of the case. If it be not true as to form and matter, it can not properly be called philosophy; it is only a system of vain speculation, or philosophy "falsely so called." Yet as there are many false systems of speculation which pretend to be true philosophy, it is necessary and proper to endeavor to draw the line of distinction between a true and a false system.

As philosophy is the product of thinking, and thinking is the activity of reason, it follows that a true system of philosophy hinges on the true position of the human reason. As the reason sustains a relation to itself, to the world and to God, and has in consequence a fixed relative position in the objective order of things, it must occupy a place corresponding to this three-fold relation in a true subjective system of thinking. To determine the true position of the human reason becomes, therefore, the fundamental problem in philosophy. This resolves itself into three primary questions: What is the first principle of philosophical thinking? What is a true conception of the human reason? And what is the relation of reason to the outer world, or of reason to its objects? A true system of philosophy presupposes a correct answer to this three-fold enquiry.

We will consider the first two questions together. The first principle of philosophy is not the human reason; for it is not the common centre or ultimate ground of the universal whole. Though a philosophical knowledge of the universe to the degree that it is attainable, is its own legitimate product, as the acorn is the product of the oak, yet, objectively considered, it is but a part of the universal whole; it is a subordinate order of created being; and must, therefore, to be true to itself and its relations, have a conception of itself corresponding to its objective subordinate relation to the absolute ground of all things. This absolute ground is God, the Creator alike of the outer world and of the human reason. God is, therefore, the first principle of philosophy, whom the human reason must know in order to a true scientific knowledge both of itself and of all other orders of being. For it can be laid down

as an axiom, that what is the ultimate ground of the objective order of things must constitute the first principle in a valid subjective system. Otherwise any system of philosophy is destitute of all truth—nothing but a web of abstract speculation woven by an arbitrary imagination, and producing more confusion than unthinking ignorance itself.

An answer to the first question, prepares the way for an answer to the second. As the author of the human reason is God, the reason must be referred to God as the ground from which it derives its nature. It can not be known from itself; no more than a tree can be known without a conception of the vegetable kingdom. A true idea of the reason depends accordingly upon a true idea of God. The nature of philosophy itself drives us to this conclusion. Philosophy proceeding according to the laws of thinking, always refers a species to its genus, an effect to its cause, a consequence to its ground, and determines a conception of the latter by that of the former. In reflecting on itself the reason must proceed according to the same laws. It is a particular order of created spirit. God is the infinite creative Spirit. On the same principle, therefore, that reason refers a particular to a general and a consequence to a ground, must it refer itself to God; and on the same principle that a conception of a vegetable is conditional to a conception of a tree, or a conception of a ground to that of its consequence, is a true idea of God, the Creator, conditional to a true idea of the human reason. To admit the principles of a sound Theism, and yet seek to evolve a true idea of reason from itself, and refuse to view it in the light of its absolute ground, is in effect to make *it*, instead of God, the common centre of all orders of being and thus violate the very laws of thinking, conformity to which all philosophy presupposes.

Taking a true idea of God as the first principle, and determining the idea of the reason and of its relative position by the idea of God, a true system of philosophy becomes possible. The ultimate ground of the reason and of the universe, is then the point of observation from which the

reason views itself, the outer world and God. Reason is held consciously in its normal subordinate relation to the first principle of philosophy. In other words, the position which God holds and the human reason holds in idea, corresponds to the position which God and the human reason hold respectively in reality. Reason may then go forth on its high mission, roaming through the illimitable regions of objective existence, and every where, to the extent that it can answer its enquiries, come into possession of the truth. The true philosopher—to take an apt illustration—is like the astronomer who, contrary to the apparent position of the earth, believes the sun to be the centre of the planetary system; the real centre of the objective order of nature becomes the point of departure in the science of nature, the earth being regarded but as a subordinate orb, upon which the light of the sun shines directly and its rays are reflected also from innumerable other worlds. Although his abode is upon the earth, yet as he takes the sun to be the principle of his system and knows the relative position of the earth, he can make correct observations upon the heavens from a subordinate sphere and construct a true system of astronomy. He knows the true relative position of the earth because he knows the central relation of the sun. Astronomy, or a true science of the heavens, then becomes possible.

A true system of philosophy depends, therefore, upon a correct Theology. The reason must know God before, properly speaking, it can know itself or the outer world philosophically. If it does not know God or has a false idea of God, it can not know itself truly, nor can it form a correct conception of its relative position. A false system of philosophy follows as a necessary consequence. Taking itself as the centre of its system of thinking, it stands in a false relation to God and to all other objects of thought. Its views are distorted. It looks at every thing under a false aspect. The system may proceed strictly according to the laws of thinking; it may be logical throughout; yet the final results will be false, because the point of observa-

tion is false. A false philosopher is like the man who believes the earth, the orb on which he lives, to be the centre of an order of worlds, because the sun, moon and stars apparently revolve around it. With this idea, as the principle of his system, he may make careful observations upon the heavens and conduct his calculations strictly according to the laws of Mathematics, yet all his deductions, his views of his own position, the position of the sun, the real centre of things, and his views of the relative position of every star, must be false. To say that the earth must be the point of observation and the centre of a rational system because it is the place of his actual abode, passes for nothing with every scientific naturalist. An observer can not know the relative position of the earth, just because he does not know nor acknowledge the central relation of the sun. The parallel holds good throughout. To say that because philosophy is the product of thinking, the reason must ignore the central relation of God and start with its own hypotheses of itself and its objects, thus making itself, a subordinate order of existence, the centre of its system of ratiocination, should also pass for nothing with every consistent scientific theist; for it involves the very absurdity with which the man is chargeable who presumes to make scientific observations upon the heavens on the assumption that the earth is the stationary centre of the universe.

But it is necessary to advance a step further. How shall we obtain a true idea of God? The question demands a solution; for it involves the *sine qua non* of philosophy. Nature or the outer world is indeed a revelation of God; but the history of man proves incontrovertibly, that, left to his own powers, he derives a false conception of the Supreme Being from his observations upon nature. Nature does not suffice. The human reason, or man himself, is a higher revelation than nature, but we have already shown how, on the principle of a theistic view of the universe, the nature of philosophy itself demands a reference of reason to its original ground; the reason can not even form a correct conception of reason but in the light of a true idea

of God; much less can it form a true idea of God, the Infinite Creator, from itself, that is, from its imperfect conception of a finite spirit, or from the reflections of its own uncertain, flickering light. In addition to this we must make due account of the presence of moral evil or sin, which has enfeebled, darkened and disordered the whole human constitution. However clear and consistent the intuitions of man were in his original and normal condition, they are now nothing more than the confused utterances of a being struggling in his weakness to extricate himself from painful contradiction, and reaching out unceasingly to lay hold of the absolute Good, but always grasping the shadow instead of the substance. That there *is* a God sounds continually from the profoundest depths of human rationality; but to the question: What is God? there comes forth no satisfactory response. The human reason was like a quiet, placid lake that reflects a beautiful and true image of the sun; but now lashed into foam by the winds and casting up mire and dirt from beneath, the reflections are indeed innumerable but all are distorted and delusive.

Hence we assume the necessity of a revelation different from and higher than that which nature and man afford—the necessity of a supernatural revelation in order to a true idea of God; not only the necessity, but without further argument we assume the fact also. There *is* a supernatural revelation, exhibiting the divine, the human, and the natural, each as it really is in itself, and all in their objective reciprocal relations to each other. That revelation is at hand in the person of Jesus Christ. The Christian Religion is a system of various facts constituting one harmonious whole; but the meaning of all from the creation down to the resurrection and the final consummation of all things culminates in Himself. Very God and very man in one person, He reveals a true idea of God—of His attributes and works; and a true idea of man—of his constitution, his fall, his wants, his capacities, and his relations to himself, to the world and to God. A correct conception

of creation—of the material and immaterial—depends on a true idea of God and His infinite attributes. Christ as God reveals God; God as the Creator; and in consequence also the relation of spirit to matter and of matter to spirit. Christ as man reveals man, as to body, soul and spirit; reveals him as he was, originally right, pure, and in possession of truth, capable of knowing as he was known; and reveals him as he is now, depraved and ignorant, yet salvable, that is, susceptible, through Him, of being restored to a position in which he can attain to true and boundless wisdom. In Him, as in a polished mirror, man may see man, may see himself, in all his normal objective relations. It is in Christ, therefore, that the true idea of God and of man appears to the eagle eye of reason. He becomes, accordingly, the first principle of all legitimate metaphysical enquiry. A correct Theology depends upon a sound Christology.

To sum up the results of the argument: A true system of philosophy must take the absolute ground of the objective universe as its principle. The origin of the universal whole is the true point of departure in a subjective system. As that absolute ground is God, reason must possess a true idea of God as essential to the validity of the final results of inductive or deductive ratiocination. A true idea of God is not derived from nature nor evolved out of man's being, but is brought to light alone in Jesus Christ, who is the organic union of God and man, and therefore, the most perfect revelation both of the human reason or of humanity, and of God, the absolute ground of all things. It follows that valid metaphysical enquiry depends upon a belief in and a knowledge of Christ; that is, if the human reason start with the idea of God which is revealed by and in Christ, it becomes possible, so far forth at least, to unfold a true philosophy. If this idea is ignored or rejected, the first essential condition is wanting, and the very possibility of a true philosophy is out of the question. No logically consistent metaphysician can take any position short of this who believes that Jesus Christ possesses sufficient

claims to be regarded as the Author of the only true Religion, as the Son of God, the Word made flesh. For as such He is not only the principle of theology and the only Redeemer of men, but He is the concrete resolution also of all possible problems in philosophy.

Not wishing to make this article longer than it has become already, we shall not enter upon the discussion of the question: What is the relation of the reason to the outer world or to its objects? the answer to which constitutes the third essential condition of a true system of thinking.

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VI.—HUGH MILLER.

My Schools and Schoolmasters: or The Story of my Education. By Hugh Miller. Author of "Old Red Sand Stone," &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1854.

Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland. By Hugh Miller. Author of "Footprints of the Creator," &c. Cincinnati: Wm. H. Moore & Co. 1851.

Every instance of signal achievement by native genius, unaided by any merely circumstantial helps, is an object of special interest to the world. Real power, indeed, always challenges regard, even though it develop itself amidst all the auspicious advantages of birth or position; and though assisted by all the established helps of society, it will, if not suicidal to itself, rarely fail to command the obeisance of mankind. We need not, whilst magnifying the triumphs of self-developed and self-taught intellect, necessarily underrate the importance of those established

methods of civilized society designed to aid systematically the development and culture of the general intellect,—the methods embodied in educational institutions. Depreciatory sneers at College Faculties, and University lectures, generally come either from shallow pretenders, or from men whose minds, though exhibiting unmistakable signs of a certain wild, incoherent power, are one-sided and imperfectly balanced. Because some college students are sumphs, and an occasional untaught shoemaker, tailor or pedlar astonishes the world by the sudden outburst of his genius, it is a very hasty and unwarrantable conclusion that, therefore, all college bred men are sumphs, and the true repository of the intellectual power of the race is among the uneducated classes. But there *is* something specially significant in the spontaneity of power and genius,—the uprising of the mind by the force of its own expansiveness, throwing off in its way the repressing burdens and obstacles of adverse circumstance, and breaking from its limbs the conventional trammels of society, like Sampson his withs, and standing forth at last in the recognized sublimity of its own conquests. Such spectacles proclaim alike the inherent capability, and the essential brotherhood of the race, and are prophetic of the still greater possible achievements and fraternizations of the future.

Besides, merely as a dramatic scene, a chapter in human life and experience, the uprising and expansion of an intellect of native power amidst the depressing difficulties of poverty, and toil, and social Pariahism, until it comes to claim and receive side by side with the equally gifted heir of fortune and nobility, the equal meed of recognition and homage, is a scene, if truthfully portrayed, of surpassing interest, and mayhap of pathos. It has come to have the triteness of a truism that "truth is stranger than fiction," but it is undoubtedly a most veritable and weighty fact. And the only reason why its full verity is not always seen and felt, is because the truth in all its strangeness, is not at all times easily obtained. Could we have the exact story, in all its essential parts, of the struggling development of

a gifted mind starting from an obscure social position, and have a perfect daguereotype of its soliloquies, its wonderings, its thinkings, its purposes, its resolves, its misgivings, its despondencies, its encouragements, its rebuffs, its struggles, its sufferings, its triumphs,—it would be a more irresistibly tentative tale than any which fiction may weave. And we hold that any man who has risen up through such a pathway to a position of power and fame, confers lasting obligation upon his generation by daguereotyping for it his inward and outward history:—a task to which there is often a very strong disinclination, and which must at best be very imperfectly accomplished, because a large part of the most valuable elements of it must have irrecoverably vanished long before the determination could be entertained to give them expression and permanence.

The instances of intellectual achievement from the starting-point of humble life are more noticeable in a country where there exists a strong body of hereditary aristocracy, to whom may have been practically conceded, to a large extent, a monopoly of talent as well as of wealth. It cannot have escaped the careful student of English literature how much more inseparable from its literary names is the idea of their birth-position, than in any other country having a different social constitution. He cannot think of Robert Burns, of James Hogg, of Allan Cunningham, of Motherwell, Bloomfield, or Tannahill, without connecting with the image of the man the thought of the social stratum from which he sprung, and the struggles of his early career. The Scottish people have given to the world some of its finest instances of self-developed genius and power. And perhaps their instances are more numerous than those of any other country of equal population; and this for two reasons, first, because the average intellectuality of the common people of Scotland is unusually high, and, second, because there are in the Scottish character elements of endurance and indomitable resolution and perseverance, which serve to raise out of obscurity many a man, who otherwise, though rich in nature's finer gifts, would sink overborne by

the difficulties of the ascent. These traits of Scottish character, give to some of the Scottish men who have achieved their own fame, a certain ruggedness and strength of feature, a sturdy and manly self-reliance, which appear in them the counterpart of the qualities which have made Scottish captains and soldiers the best in the world for a sudden and effective onslaught. And indeed the heroism in the one case is even a higher heroism than in the other.

To the number of those Scotchmen whose posthumous fame, gained by their own native strength and endurance, the world will delight to cherish, must now be added in sadness another name—HUGH MILLER. It is but a few months since the scientific, the religious, and the general reading worlds were equally startled by the news of his death,—for he had bound himself strongly to them all. We need not detail here the tragic circumstances of that death. Suffice it to say, that he died by his own hand, but a hand misguided by the wild throes of insanity. His brain had been over-worked. The same thirst for knowledge, the same assiduous application which carried him up to his high elevation, and which his strong physical and mental constitution long sustained, at length prostrated the fleshly media of his massive intellect; and, deluded by the spectres of his delirium he turned against himself the fatal instrument of death. We know not a sadder spectacle. And the reader of his Autobiography, fascinated as he will be at every point, will find hovering before him a dark, ominous cloud into which that strange life at length plunges, and which he cannot but regard as a most anomalous and rueful terminus. Like the pierced eagle balked in his flight, he falls helplessly from his giddy empyrean. But it is of small account how a man dies, so as he dies not in moral degradation and guilt,—and in this case we cannot for a moment attach the guilt of the suicide. His life is of greatly more importance; and it is upon this that history sets up the monument of Hugh Miller and its broad shadow covers all that lies behind it.

But what a warning have we here for the students and

thinkers of the age; and especially those whose lives have been diverted from manual occupations. We observed, when at college, that the stout muscular youth who came from the farm or the anvil and sat down assiduously to the pursuits of learning, neglectful of regular exercise and confident of their physical vigor, soonest grew pale, and dyspeptic, and languid, and perhaps broke down in the middle of the course. The transition from one course of habit in which the body is vigorously exercised, to another course of habit in which the mind is exclusively exercised is always perilous. And the imprudent zeal which, aiming to accomplish too much, overtaxes nature, has now sacrificed one of its lordliest victims. It is to be hoped it will have no such second.

Hugh Miller was decidedly and distinctively a Scot. By his father a Saxon, by his mother a Celt, he seems to have combined in himself many of the most admirable traits of both races, and being thrown in early youth, after the death of his father, entirely amongst his mother's Highland relatives, he caught, in a high degree, the spirit of intense, enthusiastic nationality which breathes in Highland tradition and song. This spirit, he tells us, was first aroused in him about his tenth year by reading a legendary life of Sir William Wallace, and "the consciousness of his country," remained tolerably strong in him ever after. In the strong individuality and hardy independence of his character he reminds us somewhat of Robert Burns and the Ettrich Shepherd, the representatives of a certain type of the self-made men of letters of Scotland. But his mind was better balanced, and more firmly set, even as his triumphs lie in a different sphere, and hence he escaped much of the suffering, inward and outward, which fell to the lot of the author of the Cotter's Saturday Night, or of Kilmeny.

At the time of his death he was generally regarded as one of the most remarkable men in Scotland, and by the Free Church he was regarded as its ablest champion. He was emphatically *the* "man of the people." Not, indeed, an aspiring demagogue, who is often so designated, and

who is a man of the people only so long and so far as he can make the people serve him, but he was a man of the people because he was one of themselves, and continued so to the last, thoroughly in sympathy with them, thoroughly familiar with the beatings of the popular heart, deeply read in the intricate anatomy of the condition and wants of the common mind, and ever ready to give expression to and espouse the cause of the people, whenever that cause demanded expression, in calm and sober earnest. He had a high idea, the result of his own observation and experience, of the capacity and earnestness of the popular mind, and hence, as Editor of the Edinburgh Witness, a semi-religious, semi-political organ of the Free Church of Scotland, which post he occupied for some seventeen years, prior to his death, he always addressed the people under the consciousness of this idea. "All the attempts", says he, "at originating a cheap literature that have failed, have been attempts pitched too low: the higher-toned efforts have usually succeeded. If the writer of these chapters has been in any degree successful in addressing himself as a journalist to the Presbyterian people of Scotland, it has always been, not by writing *down* to them, but by doing his best on all occasions to write *up* to them; and by addressing to them on all occasions as good sense and as solid information as he could possibly muster, he has at times succeeded in catching their ear, and perhaps, in some degree, in influencing their judgment." "Beyond all comparison, out of the Church Courts," says the Scotsman, another Free Church paper, in commenting upon his death, "Hugh Miller was the most popular champion the Church possessed. At the time of her triumphant exodus, when her ministers and members assembled in Cannonmills Hall, in the full flush of victory and freedom, the appearance of none of her defenders, amidst that vast and animated throng—where Chalmers, and Welsh, and Gordon, and Cunningham, and Candlish stood conspicuous—elicited plaudits louder and longer than when Hugh Miller was seen lifting his stalwart form and noble head amongst the people."

In this popular power alone, and the wisdom with which he wielded it, he is an object of admiration and study,—especially in view of the career by which he rose to it. The elements of his mental nature seem to have been adjusted with most consummate skill for the attainment of a wide and permanent influence. The perceptive and logical faculties seem to have been combined in him in the most admirable and efficient proportions for the securing of sure and abiding results. He has not the rapidity of the merely intuitive man, nor the dry dullness of the mere logician, but with strong and clear perceptions, and a steady cautious logic, each mutually giving and receiving aid,—his intuitions now furnishing data for his logic, his logic by and by grasping the heart or centre of affiliated or organic truth, and widening the field of his perceptions—he steers through the intricacies of a difficult question, like the sailor who has his compass well set and the helm grasped by a steady hand. To this general conformation, schooled under the most practical teachers, he owed the amazing accuracy and strength of his Saxon common sense,—to use a popular, though not philosophically accurate term. In him the national characteristic of the Scottish people seems to have obtained its intensest embodiment, and this perhaps more than anything else, brought him at once, so soon as known, into their confidence and affection. He is given to no follies, no vagaries, no impracticable dreams. He seems to detect at once the plausible errors on both sides of every question which he has given himself the trouble to investigate. His practical judgment has all the certainty of the most accurate touchstone. In addition to this the transparent honesty and truthfulness of his nature captivated and delighted his countrymen. No qualities of his character were more conspicuous than these. They saw in him not only an able man, but a truthful man, a sincere man, an earnest man, an honest man, a man devoid of guile, and they both loved and trusted him, no less than they were proud of him. His written style also was admirably adapted to popular effect. His language was a perfect vehicle

of his thought,—and indeed perhaps the same may be said of every man. It exhibited an ease, a richness, an accuracy of expression, a graphic power of portraiture, a trenchant vigor, which could only have been of native growth, and which could not fail to rivet the attention of a large circle of intelligent readers. As specimens of effective and powerful controversial writing, perhaps his articles in the Witness during the time of the ecclesiastical troubles in Scotland which resulted in the successful essablishment of the Free Church, are unequalled in the history of religious journalism.

But not only as a man of popular power, or as a self-made man in the walks of literary, or religious authorship, was Hugh Miller remarkable. His most permanent fame rests upon a scientific basis. Amongst the practical geologists and paleontologists of the age he took rank with the very first, and as a scientific controversialist he probably had no equal. In the domain of science he was an original explorer and discoverer,—a domain into which he appears to have been led by an instinct as irresistible as that which takes the duckling to the water. Long before he had seen a geological book, or a living geologist, he had made very considerable progress in the examination and classification of the geological and paleontological phenomena of his native district, and to the day of his death he continued to rise steadily in accomplishment and authority in the scientific world. The last agonizing throes of his over-worked mind were spent in producing a distinct work upon the theological bearing of the discoveries of Geology. But of him in this department more hereafter,—we have before us first the personal Hugh Miller.

He was born at Cromarty, a sea-port town of the north of Scotland, Oct. 10th, 1802. By his father's side he was descended from a long line of sea-faring men, remarkable for their great physical strength, their dauntless courage, and their skill in seamenship, and of whom in the earlier generations some had been bold and not overscrupulous buccaneers of the Spanish main. Of this roving race the sea was

the family burial ground. For more than a hundred years not a male of the name had been buried ashore. His father, his grandfather, his two grand uncles, one of whom sailed round the world with Anson, and others of his more distant relatives all sleep beneath the green waters; so that in some of his fugitive verses, written on ship-board he could exclaim,

> "Grave of my kindred, of my sire the grave,
> Perchance, where now he sleeps, a space for me
> Is marked by Fate beneath the deep green wave."

His father was but an infant when his grandfather was struck overboard, during a sudden gust, by the boom of his vessel in the Frith of Cromarty and never rose again. He was put on shipboard as a cabin boy, and there amid the hardship and rough usage of a sailor's life he grew up a broad-shouldered, deep-chested, strong-limbed man, so compact of bone and muscle that in a ship of the line, in which he afterwards sailed, there was not, among five hundred able-bodied seamen, a man who could lift so great a weight, or grapple with him on equal terms. In the action with the Dutch fleet off the Dogger-Bank, he had a station assigned him at his gun against two of the crew and during the action he actually outwrought them both. And when by dint of energy and thrift he came to possess a sloop of his own and to drive a thriving business in the coasting trade, and when with his sloop he perished in a storm when his son Hugh was five years old, the neighbors used to condole his sorrowing widow with the consolation that he was "one of the best sailors that ever sailed the Moray Frith." From this hardy and vigorous race Hugh Miller derived the physical frame which enabled him to raise breast high the "great lifting stone of the Dropping Cave," and to protect himself by the "noble art of self-defence," against insult and imposition during fifteen years of the rough life of a North Country mason, and trusting to which with mistaken confidence he performed for twenty years double intellectual labor, until he perished by a sadder death, than any of his sea-buried kindred.

By his mother he was descended from a characteristic and somewhat noted Highland family. Her great grandfather was Donald Roy of Nigg, a man whom tradition has invested with a somewhat fabulous character, as a seer and prophet, but who, from being a wild and reckless youth and the best broadsword-man in the district, became, after a season of fiery trial, a man of austere and simple piety,—a legacy which descended in his family for successive generations. Old Donald once appeared before his Presbytery, as they were about to settle, in obedience to the "powers that be," in an empty church, an obnoxious presentee upon the absent people, and told them with such solemn emphasis, that they stopt short appalled in their work, that "if they settled a man to the *walls* of that kirk, the blood of the parish of Nigg would be required at their hands,"—an incident which Dr. Hetherington and Dr. Merle D'Aubigne both record. From this side of the house did Hugh Miller derive, if the law of descent can be trusted here, his earnest religious spirit, and his zeal in the defense of the Church of his fathers.

In the sketch which he has given us of his ancestry, in his autobiographical volume, there is much that is truly picturesque, and, making all reasonable allowance for the partiality of affection, one cannot help feeling that here was a good vigorous stock from which one day or other something more than ordinary might be expected. And in the picture he gives us of his two maternal uncles, James and Alexander (or Sandy) Wright, under whose more especial influence and guidance his youth was spent, we recognize men of no common stamp. We are not disposed to undervalue these antecedents in the history of a remarkable man. Though neither genius nor dullness are always hereditary, yet there are laws of mental as well as physical transmission which cannot wholly be ignored. And to the budding genius there is a quickening inspiration in memory of an ancestry of nature's noblemen. One of young Miller's first efforts in verse was an affectionate tribute to the memory of his father, from which we quote a single stanza:

"Who guides that vessel's wanderings o'er the wave?
A patient, hardy man of thoughtful brow;
Serene and warm of heart and wisely brave,
And sagely skilled when burly breezes blow,
To press through angry waves the adventurous prow.
Age hath not quelled his strength, nor quenched desire
Of generous deed, nor chilled his bosom's glow;
Yet to a better world his hopes aspire.
Ah! this must sure be thee! All hail my honored sire!"

Of this autobiographical volume, the title of which stands at the head of this article, we may here say briefly, that it is one of the most charming books of the kind in the whole round of English literature. As there have been few Hugh Millers whose biographies were to be written, so there are few biographies like his. Written in his fifty second year, from data jotted down at an earlier period, it is an account of his whole life anterior to the period when public reputation evoked him from obscurity,—closing with his thirty-eighth year when he arrived in Edinburgh as editor of the Witness. It is written with all his peculiar skill of composition,—vividness of imagery, picturesqueness of description, accuracy of detail, suggestiveness of thought,—as well as healthiness of tone; and embodies an unusual amount of incident and anecdote. To the general reader it will perhaps be a little tedious in its scientific details, but this is no fault in the book itself, but was inseparable from the history of the man whose life it gives us. It is, moreover, written with a distinctive purpose. It is not primarily a history of his life, but a history of his education. It was designed more particularly for the workingmen of Scotland, that by the teaching of his example they might learn what it was possible for industry and perseverance to accomplish in the face of apparently untoward circumstances. Consequently it embodies not a few reflections upon the general subject of education, and educational institutions intended especially for the working classes; and in these reflections he generally stands upon independent and original ground. Of course a man for whom the ordinary schools did little or nothing cannot be expected to bestow upon them a great

amount of eulogy; and on the other hand, it is not to be expected that the popular mind generally will be very successful in learning in his schools.

Like all other children of the intelligent laboring classes of Scotland, to which his kindred belonged, young Hugh was early sent to school, first to a dame's school, and thence transferred tothe grammar school of the parish. But in the ordinary methods of study he made most discouraging progress. He was regarded as in many respects an incorrigible dunce, but wondrously given to story-telling and tricks. In the dame's school, however, he managed to reach "that grand acquirement of his life,—the art of holding converse with books;"—in the slow acquirement of which art he toiled on wearisomely, in utter ignorance of whither it tended, until suddenly his mind awoke to the comprehension of the story of Joseph, and he made thus the astonishing discovery that the art of reading was the art of finding stories in books! From that happy day his trouble in learning to read was over, and he soon became an insatiable and omnivorous reader, devouring all kinds and qualities of books which he could get hold of, from Jack the Giant Killer, to Pope's Odyssey, and Iliad, and the British Essayists from Addison to Mackenzie. In the interval of school hours and terms he was delving along the sea shore, roaming the hills, scaling the crags, exploring the caves of the Cromarty Frith, drinking in delight from every scene of beauty which opened itself to his eye among the hills, and continually bringing home curious specimens, mineralogical, botanical, and conchological, much to the astonishment and delight of uncles James and Sandy. He was rapidly pursuing his studies in the school of surrounding locality and circumstance, with small aid from the village pedagogue, and laying deep and broad the foundation of those habits and acquirements which have since given him his place among celebrated Scotchmen. His amusements were not like those of other boys. He kept away from cock-fights and all cruel and vulgar sports. If he read a description of an ancient tower or castle, he set about con-

structing a miniature one like it. If he read of a siege, he immediately built and fortified a miniature city, and then sapped it, and blew it up, or took it by storm. If he read of a vessel different in construction from any that came into the port of Cromarty, he made one to answer the description. His battles, however, were not all imaginary. As years and strength increased the blood of the buccaneers began to show itself. Though not a vicious boy he was no believer in non-resistance, and he got into sundry quarrels and scrapes, ending, with the end of his school-boy days, in an attempt to flog the schoolmaster, for an unjust attempt at punishment, in which he was unsuccessful and got severely flogged himself—to revenge which he wrote a pasquinade in verse upon the pedagogue.

Having thus severed his connection with the ordinary methods of education in his native town, the grave question of a future career presented itself before him, and his friends. To the eye of a superior intelligence discerning in the sailor's son by far the most gifted boy in Cromarty, the decision of this question would have been regarded with anxious solicitude. But the sequel proved that for the accomplishment of ultimate results, in a life career, human sagacity is often at fault in estimating the initial stages. The lad had made two or three visits to his kindred in the Highlands, and having found there a cousin George, whose calling was that of a stone-mason, and who had considerable taste for literature and the natural sciences, which he found abundant opportunity to indulge during the long winters when his hammers and chisels must necessarily be laid aside, he became greatly enamored of the trade of a mason. It would take him constantly among the wildest and most romantic scenery of his native isle, it would perpetually supply him with rocks and minerals, it would give him large leisure for general reading. He would be a mason. Uncles James and Sandy were sorely disappointed. They had anticipated for him a college life, towards which they freely offered their scanty means. But he demurred. For law or medicine he had no taste or fitness, for the min-

istry he had no *call.* They yielded;—"better be a poor mason," said the great-grand sons of Donald Roy, "better be anything honest, than an *uncalled* minister." He got himself a suit of strong moleskin clothes, and a pair of heavy hob-nailed shoes, and in his eighteenth year, commenced work, as an apprentice to the husband of a maternal aunt, in the Cromarty quarries.

Has the world any regrets to sigh forth over genius and power thus consigned to obscurity? Is not Pegasus hopelessly harnessed to the plow? Ah no! We regard the fifteen years of Hugh Miller's mason life as the sublimest of his earthly career. Nor did he himself, when raised to a higher social position, look back upon them with aught but manly pride. "Noble, upright, self-relying Toil!" we find him saying. "Who that knows thy solid worth and value, would be ashamed of thy hard hands, and thy soiled vestments, and thy obscure tasks,—thy humble cottage, and hard couch, and homely fare! Save for thee and thy lessons, man in society would every where sink into a sad compound of the fiend and the wild beast; and this fallen world be as certainly a moral as a natural wilderness." In entering this hard, but instructive school, Hugh Miller still kept before him the fondly cherished dream of a higher vocation. He "dared to believe that literature, and, mayhap, natural science, were, after all, his proper vocations, and he resolved that much of his leisure time should be given to careful observation, and the study of the best English authors." "Labor shall not wield over me," said he to himself, "a rod entirely black, but a rod like one of Jacob's peeled wands, chequered white and black alternately."

But let no one affect to suppose that Hugh Miller's mason life was that merely of a scientific amateur who consented to companion for a while with untaught and vulgar men, and to work a little now and then, that he might have opportunities for making scientific observations, and collecting scientific facts. It was to him, for the time being, a most serious reality. During his apprenticeship he

often lay down at night with wandering pains in his joints, and peeled and blistered hands, from too hard work for his immature frame. And during his journeyman life, which had for him all the seriousness of the only source of his daily bread, he worked under all the hard conditions peculiar to the life of the mason in the north of Scotland, housing in barracks and bothys with large squads of workmen, taking his turn in cooking porridge and baking oat-meal, working in ditches and dykes until the blood oozed through every finger end, and feeling all the burning indignation which glows in the breast of the honest laborer when he finds himself slighted and looked down upon by those self-constituted aristocrats, who, with far less brain, happen to be covered with the accident of a better coat. And yet nobly, patiently, contentedly, and with stalwart arm did he work, always giving his employer "the cast of the baulk," i. e., more than just measure, and never wanting an honest shilling in his pocket.

It is obvious, however, that between him and his fellow-workmen there existed very little sympathy of feeling. There were in every "squad," one or two congenial spirits, with whom there could be mutual appreciation, and he succeeded in meeting quite a number of these in the ranks of the laboring classes, but with the majority of his companions in labor he seems to have had but little intercourse, and to have been regarded by them with undisguised dislike. He seems to have been to most of them a puzzle; to have stood apart a silent, thinking man, always reading strange books, when they were carousing, and picking up queer things among the stones, which they thought of no manner of use, and yet quite too broad of chest, and too determined of aspect to be made safely the butt of ridicule. But yet the pictures of real friendship, and hearty affection which sprung up between him and those of his fellows with whom such things *were* possible, and the sketches of remarkable characters whom he met among laboring men, are among the most delightful features of the volume from which these details are drawn.

We observe in this mason-life one of the obvious peculiarities of his mind. He was always a dull scholar at first. So long as he worked from the outside, as it were, of any art or science, endeavoring to master its details separately, he got on badly enough, but so soon as he reached and apprehended its fundamental ideas, and worked outward, as it were, from its centre, he made astonishing progress. Two or three months of his apprenticeship were spent in awkwardly attempting to imitate the movements of his instructor, much to the trying of "Uncle David's" patience, when suddenly he caught up the knack, and one morning astonished the said "Uncle David," by setting himself to compete with him, and by hewing nearly two feet of pavement to his one,—after which his aunt was duly told that her "stupid nephew" was to turn out "a grand workman after all." The same general process was repeated whenever he had to learn any new feature of his art, or to attempt any kind of work, mouldings or tracery, to which he was before unaccustomed. But he succeeded in becoming a workman of more than ordinary skill, and when introduced to a new "squad," he always found himself, after the first few weeks, entrusted with the higher and finer kinds of work.

But it is to the side views given us of his engagements and pursuits during this laborious life, that the chief interest attaches. He assiduously kept up his habits of observation and reading. Wherever his work called him he was careful to note accurately the geological features of the district, and to collect and bear home all the new specimens of fossils he could find; and his busy mind, all alone among the hills, ignorant that any human being had done so before, adds speculation to speculation upon the wondrous possibilities, probabilities and certainties, which these things suggest, running away back through the Pre-Adamite ages. And he never fails to pick up in his way curious and valuable books, and manages to read them in circumstances in which one should think no mortal man could have kept heart in the pursuit of knowledge. Take

a brief specimen of the "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties." "Candle light is a luxury in which no one ever thinks of indulging in a barrack: and in a barrack such as ours at this time, riddled with gaps and breaches, and filled with all manner of cold draughts, it was not every night in which a candle would have burnt. And as our fuel, which consisted of sorely decayed wood—the roofing of a dilapidated outhouse, which we were pulling down—formed but a dull fire, it was with difficulty I could read by its light. By spreading out my book, however, within a foot or so of the embers, I was enabled, though sometimes at the expense of a headache, to prosecute a new tract of reading which had just opened to me."

Year after year did he carry on this pursuit of literature and science amidst this life of toil, to such purpose, that at length his wonderful acquirements dragged him forth from his obscurity. And when he came to Edinburgh and began the publication of his Geological observations, it was found that the Cromarty stone-mason could teach Agassiz and Buckland much they never knew before, and in the field of general literature could vanquish the most cultivated savans of the modern Athens. We know nothing more curious and interesting in the whole range of biography than the process of the development of the mind of this man, by the unaided force of its own spontanity, as modestly detailed by his own pen. He is besides a great antiquary and enthusiastic patriot. Wherever he goes he visits old castles, and ruins, and battle-fields, and graveyards, and collects legends as zealously as he does fossils,—stores up in his wonderful memory tales of ancient valor, and traditions of ancient glory, heard from the lips of old men who had been in the bloody field of Culloden, or grandames to whom they had been sung in the cradle in the wild strains and speech of the Gael. A collection of these legends he gave to the world as one of his first public literary efforts, in the volume which is named second at the head of this article.

And the side views which he gives us of the Scottish

common people, and the portraits of remarkable characters which he met, are exceedingly interesting. Amongst his east coast fishermen, and sailors, Highland farmers, north country masons, south country masons, and Lothian colliers, we cannot but feel at least that we are among a remarkable people. And with his gipsy outlaws, and maniacs, and eccentrics, we have before us, drawn to the life, some strange specimens of Scottish and other humanity. And his *individuals* are admirable portraits. There is old John Fraser, shrewd and sarcastic, with the most thoroughly mathematical head he ever knew, a prince of the mallet, who could do with ease the work of three ordinary men; there is Charles, the hero of the south-country squad, a noble nature wrecked into a blackguard; there is William Ross, his bosom friend, a pale, sickly painter, but a born child of genius; there is "the immortal Peter McCraw," the tax-gatherer of Leith; there is the nervous, unhappy, gray-haired mason's laborer, between whom and the earldom of Crawford intervened only the absence of a needed marriage certificate, and to whom the workmen would call from the walls twenty times a day, "John, Yearl O'Crawford bring us anither hod o lime;" and there is "Uncle David" so insensible to danger that when his overloaded boat was sinking in the waves of the Frith, himself submerged to the throat, called out, "Od, Andro, man, just rax out your han' an tak in my snuff-box." And this by no means completes the list. We cannot refrain from appropriating his bird's eye view of a brother of John Fraser.

"David Fraser I never saw; but as a hewer he was said considerably to excel even his brother John. On hearing that it had been remarked among a party of Edinburgh masons, that, though regarded as the first of Glasgow stonecutters, he would find in the eastern capital at least his equals, he attired himself most uncouthly in a long-tailed coat of tartan, and, looking to the life the untamed, untaught, conceited little Celt, he presentrd himself on Monday morning, armed with a letter of introduction from a Glasgow builder, before the foreman of an Edinburgh squad of ma-

sons engaged upon one of the finer buildings at that time in the course of erection. The letter specified neither his qualifications nor his name: it had been written merely to secure for him the necessary employment, and the necessary employment it did secure. The better workmen of the party were engaged, on his arrival, in hewing columns, each of which was deemed sufficient work for a week; and David was asked, somewhat incredulously, by the foreman, "if he could hew?" "O yes, *he thought* he could hew." "Could he hew such columns as these?" "O yes, *he thought* he could hew columns such as these." A mass of stone, in which a possible column lay hid, was accordingly placed before David, not under cover of the shed, which was already occupied by workmen, but, agreeably to David's own request, directly in front of it, where he might be seen by all, and where he straightway commenced a most extraordinary course of antics. Buttoning his long tartan coat fast around him, he would first look along the stone from the one end, anon from the other, and then examine it in front and rear; or, quitting it altogether for the time, he would take up his stand beside the other workmen, and, after looking at them with great attention, return and give it a few taps with the mallet, in a style evidently imitative of theirs, but monstrously a caricature. The shed all that day resounded with roars of laughter; and the only thoroughly grave man on the ground was he who occasioned the mirth of all the others. Next morning David again buttoned his coat; but he got on much better this day than the former: he was less awkward and less idle, though not less observant than before; and he succeeded ere evening in tracing, in workman-like fashion, a few draughts along the future column. He was evidently greatly improving. On the morning of Wednesday he threw off his coat; and it was seen that, though by no means in a hurry, he was seriously at work. There were no more jokes or laughter; and it was whispered in the evening that the strange Highlander had made astonishing progress during the day. By the middle of Thursday he had made up for his two days'

trifling, and was abreast of the other workmen; before night he was far ahead of them; and ere the evening of Friday, when they had still a full day's work on each of their columns, David's was completed in a style that defied criticism; and, his tartan coat again buttoned around him, he sat resting himself beside it. The foreman went out, and greeted him. "Well," he said, "you have beaten us all: you certainly *can* hew!" "Yes," said David; "I *thought* I could hew columns. Did the other men take much more than a week to learn?" "Come, come, *David Fraser*," replied the foreman; "we all guess who you are: you have had your joke out; and now, I suppose, we must give you your week's wages, and let you away." "Yes," said David; "work waits for me in Glasgow; but I just thought it might be well to know how you hewed on this east side of the country." "

After working six or eight years as an ordinary stone hewer, working mostly in dusty sheds, and inhaling the small particles driven off by his chisel, Hugh Miller began to feel the approaches of that disease, affection of the lungs, which he tells us cuts short the average life of the Scottish stone hewer to about forty five years. He prudently suspended labor and returned to Cromarty to recruit. After a season of rest his vigorous constitution threw off the disease, but meantime during his convalesence, he gradually fell into a change of employment. Deeming it more remunerative and less prejudicial to health, he applied himself to the work of furnishing and lettering grave stones, and the making of such fancy articles as stone dial plates, in which he speedily found sufficient occupation. Soon after this change of employment, which was less fatiguing and afforded more leisure, he made his first advances upon the notice of the public as a literary man. He commenced by publishing letters and verses in the local journals, which did not fail to attract the notice of discerning eyes; and shortly afterwards ventured upon a small volume of poems, sent forth as "written in the leisure hours of a Journeyman Mason." This at once drew all eyes upon him. It

was criticised in all directions, by the public prints, and in all manners, but, with few exceptions, consigned by the critics to oblivion as devoid of merit. One of the most notable of these exceptions was a critique by Dr. James Browne, of Edinburgh, Editor of the Encyclopedia Brittanica, which avowed that "the pieces contained in the humble volume bore the stamp of no ordinary genius, and were bespangled with the gems of genuine poetry." It is very true Hugh Miller will never be known to the world as a poet; but in proof that he had true poetic genius, we may cite one of his pieces, addressed to his little sister when apprehending a fatal termination to his disease, and which, had it appeared in the pages of Burns, would have been thought equal to his best.

TO JEANIE.

Sister Jeanie, haste, we'll go
To where the white-starr'd gowans grow,
Wi' the puddock-flower o' gowden hue,
The snaw-drap white and the bonny vi'let blue.

Sister Jeanie, haste, we'll go
To where the blossom'd lilacs grow,—
To where the pine-tree, dark an' high,
Is pointing its tap at the cludless sky.

Jeanie, mony a merry lay
Is sung in the young-leav'd woods to-day;
Flits on light wing the dragon-flee,
An' hums on the flowrie the big red-bee.

Down the burnie wirks its way
Aneath the bending birken spray,
An' whimples roun' the green moss stane,
An' mourns, I kenna why, wi' a ceaseless mane.

Jeanie, come: thy days o' play
Wi' autumn tide shall pass away;
Sune shall these scenes, in darkness cast,
Be ravaged wild by the wild winter blast.

Though to thee a spring shall rise,
An' scenes as fair salute thine eyes;
An' though, through many a cludless day,
My winsome Jean shall be heartsome and gay

He wha grasps thy little hand
Nae langer at thy side shall stand,
Nor o'er the flower-besprinkled brae
Lead thee the lowa'est an' the bonniest way.

Dost thou see yon yard sae green,
Spreckl'd wi' mony a mossy stane?
A few short weeks o' pain shall fly,
An' asleep in that *bed* shall thy puir brither lie.

Then thy mither's tears awhile
May chide thy joy an' damp thy smile;
But sune ilk grief shall wear awa',
And I'll be forgotten by ane an' by a'.

Dinna think the thought is sad;
Life vex'd me aft, but this mak's glad;
Whan cauld my heart, and clos'd my ee',
Bonny shall the dreams o' my slumbers be.

It was indeed as a poet, prior to the publication of his volume, that he first attracted public attention in his native place. As such the ladies and literati of Cromarty began to lionize him. Hour by hour would they,—amongst them his pastor the Rev. Alexander Stewart, whom he pronounces to have been, with the exception of Chalmers, the sublimest of Scottish preachers—come and sit beside him in the church yard whilst engaged in his humble occupation of lettering grave stones. By and by men of eminence from abroad, when visiting Cromarty, began to inquire for the stone mason, and rarely failed to manifest a special interest in him. Then invitations came dropping in upon him from noble ladies requesting his presence at their mansions, and on two or three occasions, after declining similar invitations not a few, he ventured to accept for a week this generous hospitality, and on each occasion felt compelled by his manhood to decline the acceptance of a purse which was pressed upon him. He preferred to retain the noble consciousness of never having spent a shilling for which he had not labored. Nor did these flattering attentions of the great at all disturb his equanimity in his humble employment. Unlike Burns, he was not spoiled by the hospitalities which, whilst given in genuine kindness, ought not to be relied on as a sole support. "There is no more

fatal error," he concluded, "into which a working man of literary turn can fall, than the mistake of deeming himself too good for his humble employments; and yet it is a mistake as common as it is fatal. I had already seen several poor wrecked mechanics, who, believing themselves to be poets, and regarding the manual occupation by which alone they could live in independence, as beneath them, had become in consequence little better than medicants; too good to work for their bread, but not too good virtually to beg it; and looking upon them as beacons of warning, I determined that, by God's help, I should give their error a wide offing, and never associate the idea of meanness with an honest calling, or deem myself too good to be independent." And so after appropriately expressing his sense of obligation to Miss Dunbar of Boath, and turning his steps from her stately mansion, he buckled on his mason's apron and sat down to commemorate, in suitable inscriptions, the virtues of the good deceased people of Cromarty. At this period also he steadily declined all entreaties to change his occupation for one more distinctively literary. Though conscious that he was accumulating a storehouse of literary attainment and scientific fact which might one day justify him in stepping upon a different platform, he was not in haste to draw upon that growing fund. "And so I determined that, instead of casting myself on an exhausting literary occupation, in which I would have to draw incessantly on the stock of fact and reflection, which I had already accumulated, I should continue for at least several years more to purchase independence by my labors as a mason, and employ my leisure hours in adding to my fund, gleaned from original observation and in walks not previously trodden,"—a resolve as admirable as it is unusual in the circumstances.

Now a bachelor, turned of thirty, and heretofore stifly obdurate to all the charms of the gentler sex, he at length becomes inveigled in a prospective matrimonial alliance with a young lady of intelligence and refinement, and occupying a social position considerably above his own,—his

account of which inveiglement is a very handsome episode. Feeling that the rough life of a mason would be unsuitable for *her* companion in life, he casts about seriously for some congenial change, and thinks favorably of emigrating to the backwoods of America, where he supposed his stalwart arm might do good service in felling large trees and cultivating rich prairie. But this again would be unsuitable for *her*. In the midst of these cogitations he is unexpectedly, and without solicitation, offered the post of accountant in a bank, about being established at Cromarty, which he accepts, and for several years applies himself, not without result, to both the practical and theoretical in banking —still carrying on his side studies in the department of literature and natural science. Here indeed the careful reader will note the commencement of that mental overwork which ultimately wrecked his strong nature. Heretofore it had been nightly mental labor added to daily physical labor, but now it was daily mental labor, of a very exhausting kind, with nightly study superadded; and we find him complaining of fits of lassitude, and inability to relish his favorite pursuits. But his strong will, and native ardor in these pursuits, kept the powers of his nature to their utmost tension, and the world only knew the work of ruin which was stealthily progressing, when it was too late to do ought but lament over it.

Meantime his interest in ecclesiastical affairs had been gradually strengthening. He was a thorough Church of Scotland man, and as she was now engaged, under the pressure of somewhat of a revival of her old evangelical and self-asserting spirit, in that memorable struggle with the law courts upon the question of what was technically called "Intrusion," or the right of the civil power to require the settlement of a minister against the wishes of the people over whom he was placed, and being a thoroughgoing non-intrusion man, his anxiety became deeper and more intense as he saw decision after decision going against the Church; first that of the Court of Session, in March, 1838, and next that of the House of Lords, in May, 1839;

and saw, as he supposed, the Church of his fathers fast sinking into the hide-bound position of a State-ruled ecclesiasticism. The Highland blood of Donald Roy was all alive within him, and "for at least one night," he tells us, "after reading the speech of Lord Brougham, and the decision of the House of Lords in the Auchterarder case, I slept none." Tossing wakefully throughout that long night he formed the determination to write, and rough-sketched the plan of, a letter to Lord Brougham, setting forth the grievances which he and his fellow members of the Church who felt like him, were called upon to sustain under the decision to which his Lordship's speech had contributed. Next morning he set to work; and snatching every hour he could save from his banking occupations, he was able in about a week to dispatch to a friend in Edinburgh the manuscript copy of his pamphlet. His friend showed it to his pastor, Dr. Candlish, who, with others, not only decided upon its immediate publication, but discovered in its author a remarkable man who might do signal service, in another sphere, to the non-intrusion cause. Here is the man, said they, for the editorship of our new organ, the Edinburgh Witness! A letter was dispatched post haste to Cromarty requesting the writer to lose no time in coming to Edinburgh. There, without much loss of time he appeared, and in solemn conclave of the Non-Intrusionist leaders he was duly installed in his new chair,—and to the general manner in which he discharged its duties, we have previously referred.

His "Letter to Lord Brougham" created quite a sensation. It ran through four successive editions of a thousand copies each. It was hailed with delight by the most intelligent portion of the Scottish people. It was regarded by Lord Melbourne and others as the production under a *nomme de guerre* of one of the Non-Intrusion leaders of Edinburgh. It was praised by Daniel O'Connell, though not sympathizing with its ecclesiastical views, for its "racy English," and it was averred by Mr. Gladstone to show a mastery of pure, elegant and masterly English, such as even a trained

Oxford scholar might have envied. As soon as its authorship was known Hugh Miller's reputation was made, in the new sphere in which he was placed, and in that sphere he never allowed that reputation to sink.

In addition to his editorial and scientific labors, he found time to write a considerable volume, the result of a vacation tour, entitled "First Impressions of England and its People," which we may readily believe, as we are told, contains not a few characteristic, original and humorous observations upon the habits, traits and doings of the denizens of the southern section of the British isle. He has also more recently published a critique upon Macaulay's depreciative view of the Scottish Highlands and of Scottish Presbyterianism. This critique we have not seen, but without pronouncing upon the merits of the case, we may say that such critical work could have found no more competent hand.

Little is said directly in the volume before us on the religious history of its author,—almost nothing on his experience in the sphere of religious feeling. On this subject he seems to have much of the Scotch reserve. His religious character seems to have been a gradual growth, an organic development of seed very early sown, and passing over by almost imperceptible stages to full consciousness. He seems to have been ruled at all times by a high-toned conscientiousness, which carried him above all the grosser temptations to vice; and he possessed a strong hereditary attachment to the Church of his fathers, which always led him to take sides with religious people when assailed by the scoffing or the vicious. From the point when his religious impressions began to assume a more positive form, we quote his own words:

"And yet my religion was a strangely incongruous thing. It took the form, in my mind, of a mass of indigested theology, with here and there a prominent point developed out of due proportion, from the circumstance that I had thought upon it for myself; and while entangled, if I may so speak, amid the recesses and under cover of the general

chaotic mass, there harbored no inconsiderable amount of superstition, there rested over it the clouds of a dreary scepticism. I have sometimes, in looking back on the doubts and questionings of this period, thought, and perhaps even spoken, of myself as an infidel. But an infidel I assuredly was not: my belief was at least as real as my incredulity, and had, I am inclined to think, a much deeper seat in my mind. But wavering between the two extremes, —now a believer, and anon a sceptic,—the belief usually exhibiting itself as a strongly-based instinct,—the scepticism as the result of some intellectual process,—I lived on for years in a sort of uneasy see-saw condition, without any middle between the two extremes, on which I could at once reason and believe.

That middle ground I now succeeded in finding. It is at once delicate and dangerous to speak of one's own spiritual condition, or of the emotional sentiments on which one's conclusions regarding it are often so doubtfully founded. Egotism in the religious form is perhaps more tolerated than in any other; but it is not on that account less perilous to the egotist himself. There need be, however, less delicacy in speaking of one's beliefs than of one's feelings; and I trust I need not hesitate to say, that I was led to see at this time, through the instrumentality of my friend, that my theologic system had previously wanted a central object, to which the heart, as certainly as the intellect, could attach itself; and that the true centre of an efficient *Christianity* is, as the name ought of itself to indicate, "the Word made flesh." Around this central sun of the Christian system,—appreciated, however, not as a *doctrine* which is a mere abstraction, but as a Divine Person,—so truly man, that the affections of the human heart can lay hold upon Him, and so truly God, that the mind, through faith, can at all times and in all places be brought into direct contact with Him,—all that is truly religious takes its place in a subsidiary and subordinate relation. I say subsidiary and subordinate. The Divine Man is the great attractive centre,—the sole gravitating point of a system which owes to

Him all its coherency, and which would be but a chaos were He away. It seems to be the existence of the human nature in this central and paramount object that imparts to Christianity, in its subjective character, its peculiar power of influencing and controlling the human mind. There may be men who, through a peculiar idiosyncrasy of constitution, are capable of loving, after a sort, a mere abstract God, unseen and inconceivable; though, as shown by the air of sickly sentimentality borne by almost all that has been said and written on the subject, the feeling, in its true form, must be a very rare and exceptional one. In all my experience of men, I never knew a genuine instance of it. The love of an abstract God seems to be as little natural to the ordinary human constitution as the love of an abstract sun or planet. And so it will be found, that in all the religions that have taken strong hold of the mind of man, the element of a vigorous humanity has mingled, in the character of its gods, with the theistic element."

* * * * * *

"In the false or corrupted religions, the two indispensable elements of Divinity and Humanity appear as if blended together by a mere mechanical process; and it is their natural tendency to separate, through a sort of subsidence on the part of the human element from the theistic one, as if from some lack of the necessary affinities. In Christianity, on the other hand, when existing in its integrity as the religion of the New Testament, the union of the two elements is complete: it partakes of the nature, not of a mechanical, but of a chemical mixture; and its great central doctrine,—the true Humanity and true Divinity of the Adorable Saviour,—is a truth equally receivable by at once the humblest and the loftiest intellects. Poor dying children possessed of but a few simple ideas, and men of the most robust intellects, such as the Chalmerses, Fosters, and Halls of the Christian Church, find themselves equally able to rest their salvation on the *man* "Christ, who is over all, *God* blessed forever." Of this fundamental truth of the two natures, that condensed enunciation of the gospel

which forms the watchword of our faith, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved," is a direct and palpable embodiment; and Christianity is but a mere name without it."

In the close of his volume we have a delightful bird's-eye view of Chalmers. While yet in the bank at Cromarty, Chalmers visited the place, and the modest accountant was nearly taken off his seat by hearing the great preacher rehearse an incident from one of the accountant's own fugitive publications, and which his "*deep mouth*" clothed with a tenfold interest and eloquence. He adds:

"I had been introduced to the Doctor in Edinburgh a few weeks before; but on this occasion I saw rather more of him. He examined with curious interest my collection of geological specimens, which already contained not a few valuable fossils that could be seen nowhere else; and I had the pleasure of spending the greater part of a day in visiting in his company, by boat, some of the more striking scenes of the Cromarty Sutors. I had long looked up to Chalmers as, on the whole, the man of largest mind which the Church of Scotland had ever produced; not more intense or practical than Knox, but broader of faculty; nor yet fitted by nature or accomplishment to make himself a more enduring name in literature than Robertson, but greatly nobler in sentiment, and of a larger grasp of general intellect. With any of our other Scottish ministers it might be invidious to compare him; seeing that some of the ablest of them are, like Henderson, little more than mere historic portraits drawn by their contemporaries, but whose true intellectual measure cannot, from the lack of the necessary materials on which to form a judgment, be now taken anew; and that many of the others employed fine faculties in work, literary and ministerial, which, though important in its consequences, was scarce less ephemeral in its character than even the labors of the newspaper editor. The mind of Chalmers was emphatically a many-sided one. Few men ever came into friendly contact with him, who did not find in it, if they had really any-

thing good in them, moral or intellectual, a side that suited themselves; and I had been long struck by that union which his intellect exhibited of a comprehensive philosophy with a true poetic faculty, very exquisite in quality, though dissociated from what Wordsworth terms the "accomplishment of verse." I had not a little pleasure in contemplating him on this occasion as the *poet* Chalmers. The day was calm and clear; but there was a considerable swell rolling in from the German Ocean, on which our little vessel rose and fell, and which sent the surf high against the rocks. The sunshine played amid the broken crags atop, and amid the foliage of an overhanging wood; or caught, half-way down, some projecting tuft of ivy; but the faces of the steeper precipices were brown in the shade; and where the waves roared in deep caves beneath, all was dark and chill. There were several members of the party who attempted engaging the Doctor in conversation; but he was in no conversational mood. It would seem as if the words addressed to his ear failed at first to catch his attention, and that, with a painful courtesy, he had to gather up their meaning from the remaining echoes, and to reply to them doubtfully and monosyllabically, at the least expense of mind. His face wore, meanwhile, an air of dreamy enjoyment. He was busy, evidently, among the crags and bosky hollows, and would have enjoyed himself more had he been alone. In the middle of one noble precipice, that reared its tall pine-crested brow more than a hundred yards overhead, there was a bush-covered shelf of considerable size, but wholly inaccessible; for the rock dropped sheer into it from above, and then sank perpendicularly from its outer edge to the beach below; and the insulated shelf, in its green unapproachable solitude, had evidently caught his eye. *It* was the scene, I said,—taking the direction of his eye as the antecedent for the *it*,—it was the scene, says tradition, of a sad tragedy during the times of the persecution of Charles. A renegade chaplain, rather weak than wicked, threw himself, in a state of wild despair, over the precipice above; and his body, intercepted in its fall by that

shelf, lay buried among the bushes for years after, until it had bleached into a dry and whitened skeleton. Even as late as the last age, the shelf continued to retain the name of the "Chaplain's Lair." I found that my communication, chiming in with his train of cogitation at the time, caught both his ear and mind; and his reply, though brief, was expressive of the gratification which its snatch of incident had conveyed. As our skiff sped on a few oar-lengths more, we disturbed a flock of sea-gulls, that had been sporting in the sunshine over a shoal of sillochs; and a few of them winged their way to a jutting crag that rose immediately beside the shelf. I saw Chalmers' eye gleam as it followed them. "Would you not like, Sir," he said, addressing himself to my minister, who sat beside him,—"Would you not like to be a sea-gull? I think I would. Sea-gulls are free of the three elements,—earth, air, and water. These birds were sailing but half a minute since without boat, at once angling and dining, and now they are already rusticating in the Chaplain's Lair. I think I could enjoy being a sea-gull." I saw the Doctor once afterwards in a similar mood. When on a visit to him in Burntisland, in the following year, I marked, on approaching the shore by boat, a solitary figure stationed on the sward-crested trap-rock which juts into the sea immediately below the town; and after the time spent in landing and walking round to the spot, there was the solitary figure still, standing motionless as when first seen. It was Chalmers,—the same expression of dreamy enjoyment impressed on his features as I had witnessed in the little skiff, and with his eyes turned on the sea and the opposite land. It was a lovely morning. A faint breeze had just begun to wrinkle in detached belts and patches the mirror-like blackness of the previous calm, in which the broad Frith had lain sleeping since day-break; and the sunlight danced on the new-raised wavelets; while a thin long wreath of blue mist, which seemed coiling its tail like a snake round the distant Inchkeith, was slowly raising the folds of its dragon-like neck and head from off the Scottish capital, dim in

the distance, and unveiling fortalice, and tower, and spire, and the noble curtain of blue hills behind. And there was Chalmers, evidently enjoying the exquisiteness of the scene, as only by the true poet scenery can be enjoyed. Those striking metaphors which so abound in his writings, and which so often, without apparent effort, lay the material world before the reader, show how thoroughly he must have drunk in the beauties of nature; the images retained in his mind became, like words to the ordinary man, the signs by which he thought, and, as such, formed an important element in the power of his thinking. I have seen his Astronomical Discourses disparagingly dealt with by a slim and meagre critic, as if they had been but the chapters of a mere treatise on astronomy,—a thing which, of course, any ordinary man could write,—mayhap even the critic himself. The Astronomical Discourses, on the other hand, no one could have written save Chalmers. Nominally a series of sermons, they in reality represent, and in the present century form perhaps the only worthy representatives of, that school of philosophic poetry to which, in ancient literature, the work of Lucretius belonged, and of which, in the literature of our own country, the "Seasons" of Thomson, and Akenside's "Pleasures of the Imagination," furnish adequate examples. He would, I suspect, be no discriminating critic who would deal with the "Seasons" as if they formed merely the journal of a naturalist, or by the poem of Akenside as if it were simply a metaphysical treatise."

When this article was commenced it was expected that the last work upon which Hugh Miller was engaged and which he had just completed before his death,—the "*Testimony of the Rocks*"—would have issued from the press in this country before the article must necessarily be closed; and in that case we expected to detail more minutely the results of his scientific labors, and especially to define his position upon the theological bearings of Geology, to which we deemed this last work indispensable, it being understood that it is particularly devoted to the consideration

of these tendencies of the science. This work, however, has not appeared at the present writing. Hence we have avoided anything more than mere references to his scientific labors, and have not placed any of his geological works at the head of this paper, hoping to resume the conideration of these at a future time. Here we have merely attempted an outline sketch of Hugh Miller as an original and remarkable *man*,—an object which, be he poet, painter, preacher, geologist, plowman, king, or what not, is always worthy of thoughtful study.

J. C.

Chambersburg, Pa.

ART. VII.—THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE AT BERLIN.

IT is generally known that the King of Prussia has extended a special invitation to the British branch of the Evangelical Alliance, first by letter, and then through one of his chaplains, the Rev. Dr. Krummacher, who visited Scotland for the purpose in the summer of 1856, to hold their next general meeting at Berlin. We have now just been informed by the Secretary of the Committee of Arrangements in that city, and have been requested to make known in America, that the next meeting of the Alliance, the first ever held on German soil, will commence on the 10th of September of the current year and be continued for six successive days, and that all the friends of the unity and general interests of Evangelical Protestantism are heartily invited to attend.

The programme, as far as it has been settled, is this: On the evening preceding the first session, a prayer meeting

will be held in the German, French, and English languages.

The opening sermon will be preached by the Rev. Dr. F. W. Krummacher, the well known author of Elijah the Tishbite and other popular works.

The first three days will be devoted to the exchange of greetings and the discussion of the following appropriate and interesting topics:

1. Unity and difference among the children of God. Introduced by Dr. Liebner, President of the Superior Consistory and Court preacher at Dresden, and the Rev. Mr. Wünsche, Moravian minister at Berlin.

2. The causes and remedies of the comparative want of spiritual life in the congregations. Speakers: Dr. Hundeshagen of Heidelberg, and Professor Krafft of Bonn.

3. The general priesthood of believers. Speakers: Dr. Nitzsch of Berlin, Dr. Mallet of Bremen, and Rev. Mr. König of Mayence.

4. The duty of evangelical Christians in view of the aggressive operations of modern Romanism. Speakers: Dr. Schenkel of Heidelberg, and Prof. Heppe of Marburg.

The fourth day is to be occupied by reading and discussing reports on the state and wants of the missionary work among Heathens and Jews in all parts of the world.

The two remaining days are reserved for reports of eye witnesses selected by the Central Committee, on the religious and ecclesiastical condition of the various countries of Christendom, especially of Germany, France, Holland, England and America.

The meeting will close with the celebration of the holy communion by all the members and friends of the Alliance in the different languages there represented. Dr. Gobat, the present incumbent of the Anglo-Prussian missionary bishopric of Jerusalem, (a Swiss by birth) has already consented to administer on the occasion, if circumstances will at all permit him to leave the Holy Land at the time. During the meeting the principal pulpits of Berlin will be occupied by distinguished foreign speakers of different languages.

This extract of the programme, as well as many other indications, justify the expectation that the approaching meeting of the Evangelical Alliance of Berlin will be the most important and interesting which has been held since its organization in 1845. It is to be hoped, that American Christianity may be well represented on this free general conference of Evangelical Protestantism and make a salutary impression upon the land of the Reformation.

March 11, 1857. P. S.

VIII.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

GERMAN THEOLOGY AND LITERATURE.

Germany: its Universities, Theology, and Religion. With Sketches of Neander, Tholuck, Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Twesten, Nitzsch, Müller, Ullmann, Rothe, Dorner, Lange, Ebrard, Hundeshagen, Wichern, and other distinguished German Divines of the Age. By Philip Schaff, D. D. Philadelphia. Lindsay & Blakiston. 1857. pp. 418. $1.25.

A few months ago there appeared in the "New York Observer" a series of articles on German Theology, almost exclusively derived from a thoroughly rationalistic work of Schwarz, formerly of Halle, now of Gotha, where the anonymous writer held up to the horror of orthodox readers such men as Baur, Strauss, and Feuerbach, as the genuine representatives of German Theology. This is, to say the least, fully as unjust as if some American would exhibit Channing, Parker, and Emerson, as the true types of American Theology and Christianity, or our election riots and the late Kansas troubles as the only legitimate fruits of American republicanism.

But the fact, that such a paper as the one mentioned, finds it necessary to devote several columns to Teutonic criticism and metaphysics, shows that the subject can be no longer ignored with the silence of ignorance or contempt. Whatever be the errors and defects of the literature, and especially the theology of modern Germany, it is impossible to deny that in its original form, as well as in multiplying translations, imitations, and

more independent works, it has become an irresistible power both for good and evil in Great Britain and the United States. You can hardly take up a single number of any of our leading literary Reviews without being brought into friendly or hostile contact with German works, German learning, and German ideas. It is by no means the Churches of German descent only, who are influenced from that direction, and that more now than ever before; but the leading Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and even Baptist, and Methodist divines feel an equal, if not a greater, interest in the theological and religious movements of the land of the Reformation.

The reason of this must be found partly in the profound learning, the laborious research, the critical penetration, and the vigorous thought of the modern evangelical theology of that country; but especially also in the fact that, as to its main current, it is truly catholic in spirit and tendency, and not sectional and denominational in any bigotted sense of the term. It is not subservient to the interests of a particular party or sect, but honestly and vigorously labors to promote the knowledge of truth for truth's sake, and the general interests of Christ's kingdom. Its mission is to Protestantism at large, and hence it will affect more or less the theological thinking and writing of other Protestant Churches, until it shall be superseded by a new epoch in the onward march of the sacred science. America will no doubt produce, in due time, a classical theology of its own, as well as Holland and England did in the seventeenth, Germany in the nineteenth centuries; and from the extensive preparations now going on among various denominations, we may infer almost with certainty, that this theology will not be a continuation simply of the theology of England and Scotland, but the result of the combined action and reaction of the Anglo-Saxon and German mind as applied to the peculiar wants and condition of American Christianity and society.

With all this, we are far from denying, on the contrary we strongly assert, that Germany might learn fully as much from the practical Christianity of Great Britain and the United States, as these may be benefitted by a judicious and discriminating use of German learning and speculation. We say by a judicious and discriminating use. For we would fully subscribe to what the late Archdeacon Hare wrote in the Preface to his *Mission of the Comforter*: "That there is an enormous mass of evil, of shallow presumption, of ostentatious folly, of wild extravagance, in the German theology of the last half century, I have no disposition to deny." "Nevertheless," he continues, "they who know what has really been done in Germany since the publication of Kant's great work, must also know that in Germany the mighty intellectual war of Christendom has been

waged, and is now going on. If the host of evil has become subtiler and more audacious, the army of the faith has also become much stronger; and able champions of the truth are continually raised up, who defend the truth, not by shutting their eyes to its difficulties, and hooting at its adversaries, but by calmly refuting those adversaries, and solving the difficulties, with the help of weapons derived from a higher philology and philosophy."

The growing interest which is felt in the literary institutions, the intellectual life, and especially the more recent theological and religious movements of the land of the Reformation, seems to call for a work which should place them in their proper light against both ignorant and malevolent censure, and indiscriminate praise; trace their origin, history, connections and bearings; and thus serve as a faithful and reliable guide to the American student through the luxuriant forest and intricate labyrinth of Teutonic systems and speculations.

This is the principal object of the book which will appear under the title given above, before this notice will reach the reader. It is the only one of the kind which has as yet been presented to the English and American public. For Kahnis' History of German Protestantism, recently translated for Clark's Foreign Library, has a different object in view, and is constructed on an altogether different plan.

Whether the author of this book has done justice to his subject and met the wants of those American students who feel a more than superficial interest in it, he must leave to the public to decide. Nor would this Review be the proper organ for the discussion of the merits or demerits of a production from the pen of one of its editors. We, therefore, simply add the remark, that the book is dedicated to the "Alumni of Franklin and Marshall College, and the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg, in remembrance of twelve years of pleasant and agreeable intercourse during the most interesting period in the history of their Literary and Theological Alma Mater."

P. S.

OLSHAUSEN'S COMMENTARY.

Biblical Commentary on the New Testament by Dr. Hermann Olshausen. Translated from the German for Clark's Foreign and Theological Library. First American edition, revised after the fourth German edition, by *A. C. Kendrick*, D. D. Vol. I. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 115 Nassau St. 1856. Vol. II. 1857.

The late Dr. Hermann Olshausen stands, together with Tholuck, Lücke, and Hengstenberg, in the very first rank among the modern reformers of exegetical theology. His Commentary on the New Testament, though interrupted by his premature death, is destined to exert, for many ages to come, a si

lent, but deep and salutary influence far beyond the limits of the German tongue. Like Neander's Church History, it has already become, we may say, a standard work in English literature, and enjoys perhaps a wider circulation in Great Britain and the United States, than in the land of its birth. The Edinburg translation which forms a part of Clark's Foreign Theological Library, met with such general and steadily-growing favor, that an American house (Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., New York,) ventured upon a new issue under the editorial care of Dr. A. C. Kendrick, Professor of Greek in the Baptist University of Rochester. Dr. Kendrick revised the translation, embodied Ebrard's improvements from the last original edition, with occasional notes of his own where he thought it necessary to dissent from the author, enriched the first volume by adding Olshausen's valuable tract on the Genuineness of the Writings of the New Testament (translated by D. Fosdick) as an appropriate introduction to the Commentary, and intends to translate also the concluding volumes of Ebrard and Wiesinger. The first two volumes which have thus far appeared, were received with high commendation by our most respectable theological organs, and we hope that both the editor and publishers may be amply encouraged to carry the arduous undertaking to successful completion.

If I am asked by American students, what German Commentary I would recommend them most, I generally point to Olshausen, unless they should specify their wishes as to the peculiar kind of exegesis, and the books of the Bible. For while they may find more brevity and condensation in De Wette's and Meyer's Exegetical Handbooks, a fuller and more satisfactory philological and historical apparatus in Tholuck on the Sermon on the Mount, Lücke on John, Bleek on the Hebrews, Harless on the Ephesians, Stier on the Discourses of Jesus, and many other works ; yet take all in all, Olshausen will best answer the wants of the general Biblical student and serve the purposes both of edification and instruction. He is unsurpassed in the rich, mellow, spiritual tone of comment, and although he is sometimes a little fanciful in tracing symbols and analogies, his very mysticism will do good, and introduce a new element into our theology which is too much under the control of logic and the cold understanding.

The peculiar merit and charm of Olshausen's work consists in what we may call organic reproduction of the ideas of the sacred writers, and in the explanation of Scripture by Scripture, viewed as a dynamic unity, or as one vitally organized structure where the various parts perform their appropriate functions and mutually sustain, interpenetrate and illustrate each other. He regarded it, as he says in the Preface, as his chief object to bring out the inward unity of the whole New Testa-

ment and of the Scriptures generally, and to introduce the reader to the unity and spirit of the sacred books. In this he has been eminently successful, more so than any modern Commentators, German or English. He has an intuitive power of seizing, as if by a sacred sympathy with the mind of the inspired writer, the true vein of his thought. His work is pervaded by a devout spirit and warm glow of a profoundly pious heart. He introduces the reader into the sanctuary of revelation, and makes him exclaim, Here is holy ground, here is the very gate of heaven.

P. S.

A PRESBYTERIAN LITURGY.

A Book of Public Prayer, compiled from the authorized Formularies of Worship of the Presbyterian Church, as prepared by the Reformers Calvin, Knox, Bucer, and others. With supplementary Forms. New York: Published by Charles Scribner, 377 and 379 Broadway. 1857. pp. 360.

Every student of Church History knows that the Christian Church from time immemorial approved and made use of forms of prayer, the principal of which was given by Christ himself; that all the Protestant Churches of the Reformation prepared liturgies for public worship, most of which are in use to this day on the Continent of Europe, and in the Anglican communion; that the *exclusive* system of extemporaneous prayer in the house of God was not heard of till the latter part of the seventeenth century, and that it is to this day confined to a comparatively small portion of Christendom, in Great Britain and the United States. And yet in spite of these facts many a Puritan and Presbyterian clergyman of this country abhors the very idea of a form of prayer as contrary to the nature of devotion and the spirit of the Gospel, and as necessarily tending to dead formalism, without reflecting that this extreme individualism implies a serious censure of all the Reformers and of the classical age of the Protestant Churches. More recently, however, a change has taken place in the minds at least of some prominent divines of various Calvinistic denominations. We cannot speak as yet of a liturgical *movement* in the Congregational or Presbyterian bodies. But we have reason to believe that there is a considerable and growing number of their ministers and laymen, who would greatly prefer at least the optional or occasional use of a good liturgy to the present exclusive system of free prayer which resolves itself, after all, at last, into an endless variety of individual liturgies, and is fully as liable to abuse as the opposite extreme. But where shall we find a collection of forms of prayer which would be likely to satisfy Presbyterian and Puritan congregations?

The above work, from the author of "Eutaxia, or the Presbyterian Liturgies" (1855), a son of the Rev. Dr. Baird, and

minister of the Old School Presbyterian Church, is intended to meet this want, where it may exist. It is gotten up by Mr. Scribner in superior style and most excellent taste. The forms of public devotion here offered are selected mostly from approved liturgies of the Reformed Churches in the sixteenth century, prepared by Martin Bucer, John Calvin, and John Knox. The author entertains no idea of seeking "for this or any other Form of Worship an adoption by ecclesiastical courts, that would impose it upon the Churches for compulsory observance." He bespeaks for them simply a "free consultation and voluntary use." We sincerely wish that they may fully subserve this purpose, and assist at the same time, in forming a liturgical taste which will go far beyond what is here offered and desired.

For, with all proper regard for these Calvinistic prayers, we must think that their tone and style is upon the whole too didactic to answer the proper idea of a liturgy, and this may be one of the reasons why they have been changed so often, or gone out of use altogether, while the "Common Prayer Book" of the Anglican Communion has maintained itself to this day and exerts its happy influence wherever the English language is spoken. The object of prayer is not to expound doctrine and to oppose error, but to pour out the desires and the gratitude of our hearts in the language of devotion, such as we find in the Psalms of David and in the liturgies of the primitive Church.

Secondly, a simply optional or discretionary liturgy will never answer the true idea of public worship. A liturgy, like the catechism, the constitution, and the hymn book, should have the sanction of ecclesiastical authority, and be the law of the Church which adopts it, so long as it is found to answer its purpose. It is in this way only that that order, dignity and unity of worship can be maintained and promoted, which is one of the chief objects in the adoption and use of a good liturgy. We do not advocate by any means the *exclusive* use of stated forms of prayer, as the high Church Episcopalians. On the contrary, we would leave ample room and liberty, not only in the private, but also in the public devotions, for the exercise of the gift of extemporaneous prayer under the fresh influences of the Holy Spirit and the inspiration of the occasion. It is perfectly practicable to unite both the objective, stationary, and the subjective, free element in every full and regular service. Why should not, for instance, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Te Deum, the Gloria in excelsis, or other sublime forms which are truly catholic in their origin and character and which convey the piety of ages, be heard every Sunday morning, in connection with a free prayer conceived in similar spirit and with special reference to the subject of the sermon.

Thirdly, every sound Liturgy must be based upon the recog-

nition of the Christian year in its essential features, and provide prayers for the leading festivals, such as Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, which commemorate annually the great deeds of God for the salvation of man. In this respect the author of the book before us seems to be altogether Puritanic in the modern sense, and falls far behind his authorities, even Knox and Calvin, not to speak of his favorite, Bucer. He never even mentions the Church year, while all Reformed Liturgies of the sixteenth century contain services for the celebration of the birth, the passion, the resurrection of the Saviour, and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. This is the more surprising as Mr. Baird gives, at the end of the volume, all the Collects of the Episcopal Liturgy, which every body knows are mostly translated from the old Latin Collects and intended for the successive Sundays of the ecclesiastical year. Out of this connection, and separated from the corresponding Scripture lessons, they have no meaning whatever, unless we choose to call a heap of stones a building, or a mass of flesh without bones, a human body.

We might object to many other features in this volume, as the false use of the sectional and denominational term *Presbyterian*, and on the title page and in the introduction, instead of the far more appropriate, original and general appellation "Reformed;" also the heretical note to the Apostles' Creed, on page 41, which resolves Christ's descent into Hades into a mere tautological "continued in the state of the dead," in direct violation of the scriptural and historical meaning of the article.

But we would rather speak kindly of the pious and amiable author and recommend his book to the favorable notice of all those readers who feel an interest in the all important subject of public worship. It is not such a liturgy yet, by any means, as the wants of the Reformed Church seem to demand, but it is one of the helps, which are necessary to prepare the way for it, and which, in the mean time, may answer all the special objects which the author had principally in view, according to the Preface.

P. S.

THE MEMORIAL PAPERS.

Memorial Papers. The Memorial: with circular and questions of the Episcopal Commission; report of the commission; contributions of the commissioners; and communications from Episcopal and non-Episcopal divines. With an Introduction by Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D. D., one of the Commission. Philadelphia. Butler & Co. 1857. pp. 444.

While some Presbyterian, Congregational and other non-Episcopal ministers are becoming liturgical in their tastes and tendencies, a considerable number of Episcopalians meet them half way, by an attempt to graft upon their liturgical system the

advantages of free prayer and discretionary services. The object of the Memorialists was not to give up the fixed order and worship which is the characteristic and time-honored feature of the Episcopal communion, but simply so to relax its exclusive rigor, as to allow a sufficient amount of freedom to the clergy to adapt the Church of their choice, hitherto confined to a particular class of society, to the local wants and to the great mass of a people which, like ours, is made up of all nations and tongues, and which will never bend to any system of stiff and pedantic exclusiveness. When we asked an Episcopal clergyman, after the adjournment of the last Triennial Convention, at Philadelphia, what had become of the Memorial question, he replied: "It just ended where it ought to end, in a fudge." But we are happy to find that it has been able to produce a book like the present, which is considerably more than a fudge. The Memorialists have started the most important, and eminently practical questions which ever agitated the Episcopal Church of this country, or which can claim her present attention. They have made a charitable approach to other Protestant denominations, and petitioned their bishops to appoint a standing commission on Church unity, which was granted. We cannot believe that such a movement, proceeding from some of the most able and devoted ministers of the Episcopal Church and honestly undertaken for the purpose of promoting her best interests, should be in vain, although it may not, for some time to come, lead to any tangible results. The Memorial Papers contain also communications of Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, German Reformed, and Methodist divines, who were requested to express their views on the Memorial question. We read the report of the Episcopal Commission, the contributions of Drs. Potter, Burgess, Bowman, Mühlenberg, etc., with considerable interest. Altogether we think that the Memorial Papers contain quite an important and honorable chapter of the inner history of American Episcopacy, and will command the respectful attention of other Christian denominations.

P. S.

LEE ON INSPIRATION.

THE INSPIRATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, its nature and proof. Eight Discourses, preached before the University of Dublin. By *William Lee*, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1857. pp. 478.

"The Word became flesh." This is true not only of the personal, but also of the written Word of God. The Bible is a strictly divine, and yet a strictly human book from beginning to end. The eternal truth of God which can never pass away, has assumed here the form and nature of human thought and

speech. As in the doctrine of Christ's person there are two extreme heresies, Gnosticism, which denies the humanity, and Ebionism, which denies the divinity of the Saviour; so there are two corresponding errors in the doctrine of the Scriptures, the hyperorthodox or magic theory, which resolves the inspiration into a miraculous dictation of the Holy Ghost, and reduces the sacred writers to blind and passive instruments, and the rationalistic error, which sees in the Bible only its human form, without perceiving the glory of the only begotten of the Father which shines through the veil of the flesh full of grace and truth. The true theory then, should avoid equally these two extremes, and endeavor to do full justice to the real divinity and the real humanity of the Bible, and thus to reconcile the plain results of science and criticism with the faith of the Church in all ages.

This seems to be the object of Mr. Lee's work, as far as we have been able to examine it. The author is a learned and pious Episcopalian, and may be classed with the same school of which Professor Trench and the late Archdeacon Hare are the most distinguished representatives. We do not like his mode of treatment in Lectures or Sermons, to which extensive notes and a large Appendix are added. It is liable to the same objections, although in a far less degree, as the method pursued by Hare in his "Mission of the Comforter." But as to the contents, the book before us is unquestionably a very elaborate and scholarly performance and abounds in patristic and modern German learning. In the preface he expresses his greatest obligations to Olshausen, Hävernick, Sack, Beck, Rudelbach, and other German divines, who have treated the same subject either expressly, or incidentally. Of English works he notices especially Coleridge's "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit," and Morell's "Philosophy of Religion," but seriously objects to both, and labors "to reconcile the unquestionable stamp of humanity impressed upon every page of the Bible with that undoubting belief in its perfection and infallibility, which is the Christian's most precious inheritance." The book is worthy of an extended review. We may, perhaps, return to the subject in a future number of this periodical.

P. S.

THE

MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

JULY, 1857.

ART. I.—IMPRESSIONS OF ENGLAND.

First Impressions of England and its People. By *Hugh Miller*. Edinburgh and Boston. 1851.

De l'Avenir Politique de l'Angleterre. Par le *Comte de Montalembert*. Translated from the French. London. 1855.

English Traits. By *R. U. Emerson*. Boston. 1856.

AN American can hardly approach the shores of old England without a deep pulsation of heart. As he walks through her cities and villages; as he hears the familiar sounds of his native tongue, more musical to him than "Tuscan softness or Castilian majesty"; as he converses at the fire-side, and listens to a speech in the court house, or to a sermon from the messenger of God, he feels the charm of sweet associations of home and kindred. His first love and duty belong to his mother, the Anglo-Saxon republic of the West. But this should not prevent him from paying due homage to that venerable and still vigorous grandmother, who gave birth to the Pilgrim Fathers of the Bay State, and the cavaliers of the Old Dominion. Our country is made up, indeed, of all the nations of Europe, and seems destined, on that account, to produce a nationality still more comprehensive and cosmopolitan than even that of Great Britain. But the stem of the American people is the noblest shoot of the royal oak of England, and it will never deny the Anglo-Saxon type, though it should ultimately far outgrow the parent tree.

It is true, there is a great deal of prejudice, envy and jealousy between the two nations, arising from, and nourished by, the oppressions which drove many of our first ancestors from their native home, and followed them even to their adopted country; the declaration and the war of independence, which broke forever the bond of governmental union; the war of 1812, and the burning of our capitol by the British; the annual annihilations of George III. by our fourth of July orators; the large infusion of Irish antipathy and bigotry in our population; the illiberal, haughty and contemptuous tone of many English tourists; and the vain boasting and filibustering spirit of Young America. It vents itself from time to time, not only in English and American newspapers and books of travel, but finds its way occasionally even into the dignified halls of Parliament, and Congress. But this jealousy is owing to the very affinity of the two nations, and the natural rivalry of two ambitious governments, each striving for the supremacy of the seas; just as the diplomatic friendship of America and Russia arises from the great distance and the improbability of a collision of their widely distinct interests. No amount of political prejudice can destroy the fact of the essential identity of language, laws, customs and religion, which makes itself felt even in the midst of strife; and the warlike propensities and barbarous love of conquest, must yield, we trust, more and more to the nobler rivalry in the arts of peace, and the pursuit of the common mission of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Lord Clarendon has, after all, expressed the deeper sentiment of all classes of intelligent Englishmen, when he declared, in an official dispatch on the recent enlistment-difficulty, "There are no two countries which are bound by stronger ties and by higher considerations, than the United States and Great Britain, to maintain unbroken the relations of perfect cordiality and friendship." On the other hand, at this very time, when the two governments were snarling at each other, the genuine American feeling towards England found the truest and noblest exponent in

the person of the late Dr. Kane, who in the blended interests of humanity and science, started a second time, in search of Sir John Franklin, to the eternal winter of the Artic regions, there to fight, "Titan-like, with unchecked nature, with bewildered ice and maddening cold, in a long blind winter and brief blinding summer," and who brought back the fatal disease, but also the immortal record of his heroic adventures and an unmelting crown of icy diamonds, conceded to him as cheerfully and gratefully by England as by his own countrymen.*

As Great Britain may point with the pride of a mother to the United States as her full grown daughter, who rules the destinies of the Western world: so the Americans need not be ashamed of their descent from that remarkable island which gave birth to a Shakspeare and Milton, a Bacon and Newton, a Baxter and Leighton, a Burke and Canning, a Nelson and Wellington, a Howard and Wilberforce; and should rejoice to be the chief heirs of that race which stands at the head of modern nations and carries along with its commerce, the blessings of Christian civilization and constitutional freedom to the ends of the earth.

The present power and greatness of Albion is one of the wonders of the age. That an island, naturally fertile, rich and well fortified, but comparatively small, beaten by the tempest, shrouded in eternal vapors and deemed once beyond the reach of civilization, should attain to the highest eminence in wealth, science and arts, and become the queen of the seas and the ruler over more than eight millions of square miles and two hundred millions of people, stretch-

* The U. S. Consul at Portsmouth, at the recent delivery of the "Resolute," has in a humorous way given a good lesson to the martial fire-eaters of both countries by paraphrasing the well known hymn of children:

Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
For God hath made them so;
Let Turks and Russians growl and fight,
For 'tis their nature too.
But Anglo-Saxons should not let
Their angry passions rise;
Their great big hands were never made
To tear each others eyes.

ing out its arms from Europe to Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, encircling the globe, and planting the seeds of new empires in the ancient East and the youthful West, in the icy North and the burning South: this is a phenomenon to which the annals of history hardly furnish a parallel. Neither Tyre and Sidon with their extensive commerce and wealth; nor Carthage, the land of Hannibal and rival of Rome; nor Rome herself in the height of her glory when her imperial sceptre extended from the banks of the Euphrates to the columns of Hercules, and from the plains of the Nile to the hills of the Rhine; neither Spain in her proudest days when "the sun never set upon her dominions;" nor France under the first empire, when the half of Europe paid reluctant homage to the modern Cæsar; nor even Russia with her almost boundless territorial possessions stretching over more than half the circuit of the globe, presents a spectacle so sublime and commanding as the power of England, especially if we consider the fact that it rests not in brute force, but mainly in the intellectual and moral superiority of her people, and the solid worth of her institutions. Innumerable vessels start annually from her ports to return in due time with the treasures of every nation and clime. Fifty thousand of her sons alone control one hundred and fifty millions of Hindoos. Her cannons burst the walls of China and bring one third of the human race in contact with the Christian world. Her industry and commerce supply the markets of both hemispheres. Her literature, institutions and example act with growing power among the civilized nations in favor of liberty, virtue and religion. Her missionaries, Bibles and Tracts go forth to all heathen lands and prepare the way for the last and greatest triumphs of the Gospel of peace.

Nor is there any just ground for the expectation that the English nation has already passed the zenith of her greatness. In 1854 I heard Prince Metternich give it as his deliberate opinion that England would soon pass through a radical social revolution, as France did in 1789. But the

fact that it steered unshaken through the continental crisis of 1830 and 1848, justifies a very different view from the one entertained by the veteran statesman of Austria. England understands the art to avoid a revolution by orderly constitutional reform. It reveres the past, and yet keeps pace with the progress of the age. Its people could gain nothing by a violent convulsion which they cannot gain more surely and better by parliamentary legislation. A foreigner is apt to be misled by the tone of the English press, especially during elections and at critical periods, when every abuse is dragged to the light and most mercilessly exposed. The Englishman, and the American too, reserves to himself the privilege of grumbling and finding fault with his government and institutions which he would allow to no outsider. But the very boldness and fearless independence of the British and American press betray a feeling of ease and security as to the foundations of society. People who live in impregnable fortresses can afford occasionally to throw stones at each other.

To give a faithful description of the English nation and its institutions, is felt to be more difficult at each successive visit. We can readily understand why Baron Burlow, formerly Prussian embassador at London, after three years residence in England, thought it impossible to write a book about it, which he intended to write after a residence of three weeks, but which he felt to become more difficult the longer he observed the country. For England is not like an artificial garden of Versailles or St. Cloud, laid out in symmetrical order, straight promenades, regular alleys, adorned by playing fountains, well trimmed trees and rounded hedges, which you can measure with a glance of the eye; but like one of nature's landscapes, presenting, in gradual succession and irregular beauty, charming lawns and impenetrable thickets, fresh meadows and rocky hills, majestic oaks and entangled shrubbery, romantic lakes and abominable quagmires,—but abounding wherever you look, in spontaneous vigorous life.

A general idea of the outside of the country can now be

obtained in a few days. For England is a complete net of rail-roads, whose solidity and safety contrasts strangely with our own. Less accidents happen there in one year than with us in one month, or perhaps one week. A return to the Board of Trade, as quoted by Mr. Lowe in the House of Commons, shows that in 1854 the number of persons carried by rail-road on the British isles was one hundred and fourteen millions, of persons killed twelve, and injured three hundred and thirty one; in 1855 there were carried one hundred and eighteen millions, killed ten, injured 311; in 1856 carried one hundred and twenty five millions, killed eight, and injured 282.

If you wish to see modern Britain with its commerce and manufactures, its noise and bustle, its energy and enterprise, its avarice and generosity, its din and smoke, its wealth and squalor, its splendor and misery, you must go to such cities as Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield and Hull. If you prefer to go back to the England of Shakspeare and the days of chivalry and romance, you will find it still in living beauty on the walls and in the cathedrals of Chester and York, on the meadows and in the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, in the castles of Windsor and Warwick, the ruins of Kennilworth and Melrose. And if you desire to see the stirring life of the present moving on the graveyard and among the monuments of the past, you can satisfy your heart's content in Edinburg and Glasgow, and especially in London, with its Westminster Abbey, and St. Paul's, its Tower, and New Houses of Parliament, its Museum and Bank, its Guildhall and Tunnel, its Buckingham palace and Billingsgate market, its crowded streets and airy parks, its luxury and wretchedness, its virtue and vice, and

> "That mighty mass of brick, and smoke and shipping,
> Dirty, and dusky, but as wide as eye
> Can reach, with here and there a sail just skipping
> In sight, then lost amidst the forestry
> Of masts; a wilderness of steeples peeping
> On tiptoe through their sea-coral canopy."

What a monster city is this London! Yea, I should rather

say an empire stretching some six miles in every direction from Temple Bar or Charing Cross, and gathering within these limits more inhabitants, (now approaching fast to three millions) more wealth, trade, intellectual and moral power, more happiness and misery than many principalities and kingdoms. It is the metropolis of commerce, the great beating heart whose pulsations are felt and obeyed in the East and West Indies, in Canada and Australasia, in Brazil and China.

But we do not intend, of course, to enter into a geographical and archaeological description of that remarkable island, which realizes on a grand scale Homer's description of the shield of Achilles:

> "Now, the broad shield complete, the artist crowned
> With his last hand, and poured the ocean round,
> In living silver seemed the waves to roll,
> And beat the buckler's verge, and crown the whole."

Our object is rather to exhibit, in general outlines, the religious, social, and political character of the English nation as it underlies and explains its present commanding position and world-wide influence.

The eloquent French Count Montalembert, in his interesting work on the "Political Future of England" draws a parallel between Spain and England such as they were in the sixteenth and such as they are in the eighteenth century. Spain, once the first Christian nation, he says, is now "nothing! All is gone. Institutions, politics, riches, credit, influence, army, navy, commerce, industry, science, literature—all simultaneously vanished"; while England, during the same period, has "advanced from greatness to greatness and disputes with France the first place in the affairs of the world." The Roman Catholic Count calls it blasphemy to trace the greatness of England to its Protestantism, and the decline of Spain to its Romanism, and accounts for the striking contrast simply by the political liberty of the former, and the political despotism of the latter. We accept the facts as substantially true, but we reject the conclusions as supremely unphilosophi-

cal and superficial. A similar parallel might be drawn between Scotland and Italy, Holland and Portugal, the Northern and the Southern portions of Ireland, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, and between the United States and the Central and South American Republics, and in each case we would be forced to go back to religion as the deepest cause of the rise and fall, the prosperity and adversity of nations. For it is as true now as in the days of David and Solomon, that "Righteousness exalteth a nation, and sin is a reproach to any people." Political freedom is no doubt one of the greatest blessings, as despotism is one of the greatest curses of a nation. But if we ask what enabled England to maintain and extend her liberty, and what keeps up and nourishes despotism in Spain, as well as in Rome, Naples, Portugal, Austria, and nearly every Papal country on the globe, the natural and only possible answer is to be found in what Montalembert, blinded by his religious prejudices, calls blasphemy. We readily admit that the Catholic Church was the mother of European civilization and national progress from the downfall of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the sixteenth century. But since that time the process of development has been mainly carried on by the Protestant type of Christianity. It is a fact, which no amount of sophistry can set aside, that the decline of Spain and Italy, as well as the rise of Holland and England date from the rejection of the Reformation by the former, and its embrace by the latter. This coincidence is not accidental, but reveals the close and natural connection of Protestantism with civil freedom, national prosperity, and social progress. England is the strongest bulwark of Protestantism, against which the proud waves of Rome cannot prevail.

The English were an earnest and religious people from the days of the venerable Bede and Alfred the Great, and it would be unjust to deny the great merits of Catholicism which converted them to Christianity and developed their energies during the long course of the Middle Ages. But

it is certain that the Reformation acted as a most powerful stimulus upon English piety and gave it its present shape and form.

And here we must specify first the rich diffusion of the Word of God among all classes of society in England and Scotland. There the Bible is interwoven with the inmost life and history of the nation. There it has become as familiar as household words, and enjoys a reverence and popularity as in no other country under the sun, the United States alone perhaps excepted. Much of this is due to the admirable translation, one of the best, if not the very best, ever made, and one, too, which is baptized in the blood and sacrifiees of many martyrs. I cannot refrain from quoting here a remarkable eulogy recently pronounced upon it by an enemy, the learned Dr. Newman, the intellectual father of Tractarianism, who saw fit in a strange delusion to exchange the Anglican for the Roman Catholic communion. "Who will not say that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country? It lives on the ear, like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. . . The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft and gentle, and pure and penitent and good, speaks to him forever out of his English Bible. . . . It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. In the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant with one spark of religiousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible." (See Dublin Review, June, 1853.)

Another element of strength and national prosperity to

England and Scotland, is the strict observance of Sunday, which obtained there since the seventeenth century, and which America likewise inherited as an invaluable legacy. The continent of Europe, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, has nothing like it. Every body knows that there the Lord's day is most shockingly profaned and turned into a day of secular amusement and sinful dissipation. Say what you please, the English and American Sabbath is a powerful support of public virtue and piety, a heavenly rest amidst the unrest of earth, a weekly foretaste of the Saints' everlasting rest, a constant exercise of self-collection and self-control, and hence a pillar also of rational freedom and popular government.

Closely connected with this is the ennobling, purifying and sanctifying power of the pulpit, which is nowhere greater than in the British islands, and exceeds the combined influence of human learning, eloquence and art. The Bible, the Sunday and the Pulpit go hand in hand and depend upon each other. Let us hear also on this topic an English authority. The "London Quarterly Review," in a recent article on the Pulpit and its influence, makes the following just remarks which are equally applicable to our own country: "We suppose that it is scarcely possible to overrate the public and social interests which depend upon the sacred institute of preaching. So long as the people of these islands continue to be distinguished by their strict observance of the Sabbath day, so long will the educational influence of the pulpit remain paramount in Britain. Whether we consider the momentous character of the truths which are there asserted and enforced; the number of persons and variety of classes who, by any motive, are brought within their hearing; the regularity, and frequency, and power with which they are proclaimed; or the intimate manner in which the truths themselves are calculated to affect the convictions and the lives of men, we shall find in each consideration a far more than sufficient reason for cherishing a deep concern in the right direction of this great moral power. It is much, and yet it

is little, to say, that all the teaching of the schools and universities of our country exerts no influence upon the chief elements of society at all comparable to the influence of the Christian ministry. The very basis both of national and individual character has long been formed, as it will long continue to be, by those weekly religious services which no wise man is lofty enough to despise, and no child too simple to profit by; and though the instruction is for the most part purely Scriptural and moral, yet perhaps a larger amount of knowledge, intellectual enjoyment, and other elements of sound education, are imparted to a vast proportion of the community by these means than by all the other means put together. . . . The pulpit is the great barrier which mainly resists the influence of an active irreligious press. While no mean proportion of our literature is sanctified to the highest purposes of human life, it cannot be denied that a still more influential portion is imbued with a worldly and unchristian spirit. It is the pulpit which most effectually keeps the press in check, which leavens the whole mass of public opinion, which gives to virtue the order of divine authority, and to morality the sanction of a holy law. How many of the blessings of this great empire are due to the religious principles which—in greater or less degree—restrain, direct, and prompt its individual energies, will never be known till the great day of God; but if it be asked, by what means these religious principles have been rooted and extended in the nation, there is but one answer to be given—this is instrumentally due to the popular and habitual observance of the Christian Sabbath, to the practice of public worship, and the 'foolishness of preaching.' "

If we attribute the greatness of England mainly to the Protestant religion, and more particularly to the influence of the Bible, the Sabbath and the pulpit, we must, of course, not confine ourselves to the two ecclesiastical establishments, the Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, but make due account of all the various branches of Dissent, especially the

Independents, the Methodists, and the Presbyterian secession bodies, of which the Free Church is the most recent, but the most active and influential. It is a strange fact that the English Reformation, though far less noble and spiritual in its origin, than the Continental, especially if we look to that royal despot, whose sinful passion for the mother of Elizabeth was its first *external* occasion, has yet had a deeper and more lasting effect upon the people, than the corresponding movement in Germany, Switzerland, or France. It is in England and Scotland alone, and in their offspring, the United States, where Protestantism has fully developed itself, not only as a religious and theological, but also as a social and political principle, and that under a truly national form.

To account for this fact we must keep in mind that the English Reformation was by no means completed in the sixteenth century, but was carried on by the Puritan revolution in the seventeenth, the Methodist revival in the eighteenth, and the Evangelical movement in the nineteenth centuries, each of which left its deep and lasting marks also upon the established Church, roused it from its slumber, purged it of many abuses, and proved thus of the greatest benefit to it. The great struggles of the various forms of Dissent with the ruling power, especially during the seventeenth century, called out all the mental and moral energies of the nation and resulted in the gradual abolition of the penal laws in matters of conscience, and the triumph of those great principles of religious and political freedom, by which it is so highly favored above all the nations of the old world.

Great Britain still maintains, it is true, two ecclesiastical establishments, Episcopacy in England, and Presbyterianism in Scotland, and forms thus the transition from the Continent of Europe where dissent is allowed only to a limited extent and by special concessions of the Government, and between the United States where the church is entirely separated from the civil power, and where all religious denominations are placed on a basis of perfect equality before the law. As the English are noted for the tena-

city with which they adhere to long established customs and even old family abuses, it is not likely that the union of Church and State will be entirely broken up, at least not for a long time to come. It is well enough that such a time-honored connection should only gradually be loosened as the wants of the age seem to demand. Radical measures always produce a reaction and do more harm in the end than good. Washington Irving humorously says: "To keep up his chapel, has cost John Bull much money; but he is staunch in his religion, and piqued in his zeal, from the circumstance that many dissenting chapels have been erected in his vicinity, and several of his neighbors, with whom he has had quarrels, are strong papists."

But in point of fact the Dissenters in England and Scotland, according to the Census Report published at London in 1854, are numerically stronger now, than the two established Churches, which hardly keep pace with the growing religious wants of the population, especially among the laboring classes of society. They enjoy at present unrestricted freedom of worship, and for their loss of the temporal support of government they may feel amply compensated by their independence of State control and interference to which both the Church of England and the Kirk of Scotland are subject. Moreover the tendency of the age is evidently to weaken still more the bond of union between the temporal and spiritual power, and it may not be long perhaps till even Jews will be admitted to Parliament, whose doors, since the abolition of the Test Act, have been thrown open already to Roman Catholics and Unitarians. By this mixed character of the legislative council in which the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown virtually resides, the union of Church and State becomes more and more a glaring inconsistency. The same government which was once purely Episcopalian, now finds it necessary not only to support Romanism in Ireland by the Maynooth grant, but even Buddhism and Mohammedanism in India. The supreme council of India actually paid £2,500 annually for the idolatry of Juggernaut till quite recently when they

discharged all the claims by settling upon it a permanent endowment sufficient to produce $7,500 a year. The entire separation of such a hypocritical connection would perhaps be better for the spiritual benefit of the Church of England. For she would still remain the central framework of Protestantism in Great Britain and her dependencies, but acquire, at the same time, the right of self-government and independence of action; she could then develop all her internal resources, and by speaking more in love than by authority, and presenting herself as the messenger of God more than as the agent of the State, she would engage to a larger extent the affection of the people. We would hear no more of fox hunting lord-bishops, of non-residence, plurality of benefices, and other crying evils, which were most complained of in the days of her unlimited power; and the ranks of indifferent clergymen of the "high and dry," and of the "low and slow" order, would be filled with laborious, self-denying, devoted servants of Christ. The present condition of the dissenting bodies of England and Scotland, the Episcopal communion of Scotland, as all the Churches of this country, as well as the history of the first three centuries, sufficiently prove that Christianity can get along on the voluntary principle without the temporal support of the civil government.

Yet, we should not forget, on the other hand, the many advantages of the State-Church system, and the large amount of good which a government like the English can do for the advancement of Christianity in the distant colonies over which it is providentially called to rule. In this respect the importance and duty of that mighty nation can hardly be overrated. The English are emphatically the missionary nation of the present age, and no Christian who has the triumph of his holy religion at heart, can wish their downfall, as long as they protect the messengers of the Cross in all their colonies. We Americans should never ungratefully forget that the Northern part of this great country has been gained to the Kingdom of Christ mainly through the early settlers who brought from Eng-

land and Scotland the Christian faith as their dearest treasure to the bleak hills of New England, and the banks of the Potomac. A similar process is now going on in all the immense dependencies of that people. We may justly censure the grasping disposition of the British government and its selfish commercial policy to which every other interest is made to bend. But we should not overlook, on that account, the missionary zeal and activity of the British Churches who keep step with the conquests of the government and labor to make them subservient to the progress of Christian civilization. They contribute more means annually for the spread of the Bible and the Gospel in foreign lands than probably the whole Continent of Europe, Catholic and Protestant combined. Even during the recent Russian war the activity in that direction has rather increased than decreased, and will continue to do so, we trust, for many years to come. Wherever the English rule extends, and wherever the English language is spoken, there the Gospel is preached, the Bible read, the school established, religious and civil liberty planted. One of the most striking features of modern history is the rapid rise of colonies and the springing up of new empires in America, Africa, East India, and the South Sea Islands, under the guiding star of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the Protestant religion. The propagation of Christianity and civilization under its evangelical form is mainly entrusted by Providence to Great Britain and the United States, and this is the highest motive that should prompt them ever to live on terms of sincere friendship and honorable rivalry of peaceful progress.

We next proceed to an analysis of the intellectual and moral character of the English.

To understand this properly, we must take into consideration first the insular isolation, as one of the chief physical causes of their national traits and present position. For while it afforded them opportunities of ready commerce with all the shores of the civilized world, and of accumulating an enormous mass of wealth, it protected

them at the same time from foreign invasion, and was most favorable to the development of home-life and that power of self-government which qualifies them both for the rational enjoyment of liberty at home, and the control of the vast empires abroad.

In the next place we must remember that the English are a mixed race, to which the Romanized Briton, the Anglo-Saxon or German, the Dane, and the Frenchified Norman contributed their share. These elements were not so antagonistic as to refuse an intermarriage, or by intermarriage to deteriorate and degenerate, as is the case with the mixture of the Spaniard, the Indian and the Negro in the South American countries; yet they were different enough to produce a new race that should combine the peculiar energies of all. After long remaining hostile to each other, they coalesced, since the twelfth or thirteenth century, under the influence of Christianity, first Catholic and then Protestant, into an organic unity; the Saxon forming the material foundation, and the Norman the vitalizing soul. To this mixture of different, yet cognate nationalities, must be attributed the peculiar strength and expansiveness of the English character. For

> "Where gentleness with force we find,
> The tender with the stern combined,
> The harmony is sweet and strong."

The English excel not so much in showy, as in solid qualities. Their worth lies more in the deep than on the surface. They are not so well calculated to gain your affections, as to command your admiration. Their apparent or real haughtiness, coldness and taciturnity are apt to repel at first, and their eccentricities and splenetic habits, especially when travelling abroad, may provoke a smile. But they gain upon acquaintance, and their manliness, and sincerity, their truthfulness and reliability, their sense of rectitude, and love of plain dealing and fair play, their benevolence and generosity, their intellectual and moral substantiality will secure ultimately your lasting esteem. The English mind is neither as idealistic, contemplative, and

patiently inquisitive as the German, nor as quick, versatile and brilliant as the French; but surpasses them both in that strong sterling good sense which enables it to understand the concrete realities of life, to deal with things as they are, and not as they might be, to engage in any kind of business and to turn everything to proper account.

With this is connected a directness of purpose, a straight-forward single-mindedness, and a power of cool observation which implies real curiosity, but an entire absence of wonder. This trait makes the *nil admirari* a maxim of good breeding, and forbids the Englishman to be charmed with music, to laugh at comedy, to weep at tragedy and to show strong symptoms of joy or grief in the sudden reverses of prosperity and adversity. He smiles at ecstacy and enthusiasm as a species of weakness. But for this very reason he has also a keen sense of whatever is ridiculous.

Quiet, deep, good natured humor is as characteristic of "merry" England, as sprightly, dashing, sparkling wit and *ésprit* is at home in the gay society and light literature of France. Humor is more an attribute of the heart and rests on an earnest sense of the vanities and follies of man, "that pendulum betwixt a smile and tear;" wit is an effulgence of the imagination and flows from a keen perception of the strange contradictions and remote analogies of things, and the conviction that man—to use an expression of Pascal—is at once "the guardian of truth, and a mere huddle of uncertainty, the glory, and the scandal of the universe." Wit aims only at others, while humor spares not itself. Washington Irving in his Sketch Book, remarks: "It is characteristic of the peculiar humor of the English and of their love for what is blunt, comic, and familiar, that they have embodied their national oddities in the figure of a sturdy, corpulent old fellow, with a three-cornered hat, red waistcoat, leather breeches, and stout oaken cudgel. Thus they have taken a singular delight in exhibiting their most private foibles in a laughable point of view, and have been so successful in delineations, that

there is scarcely a being in actual existence more absolutely present to the public mind, than that eccentric personage, John Bull."

In a practical point of view, the English have no superior among the nations of the earth, in calm self-possession, dignified reserve, courage and patient endurance. In them the iron strength of the ancient Romans, and the stern severity of Stoicism are revived, but under a nobler and purer form. Massive strength and solidity characterizes all their works, the docks of Liverpool, and the fortress of Gibraltar, their rail-roads and steam-boats, their splendidly bound books and domestic comforts.

British energy is not impulsive, fiery, aggressive as the French, but sober, calculating, tenacious and unyielding. The French can found colonies, but they cannot retain them; they could conquer the half of Europe, but they had their city twice taken at last, and the perseverance of Wellington defeated the genius of Napoleon. The French fight for glory, the English from a sense of duty, and—for pay. Francis I. comforted his troops after the defeat at Pavia with the words: "All is lost, save honor." Cromwell advised his steel-clad Ironsides at Dunbar: "Trust in God, and keep your powder dry." Napoleon always appealed to the ambition of his soldiers and told them before the battle of the pyramids, "Forty ages look down upon you;" while Nelson, just before the victory of Trafalgar, simply reminded his crew, that "England expects every man to do his duty."

In the recent Crimean war, the French have gained the lion's share of military glory, and the boasting of the English about their wonderful Armada has been rather put to shame. This they felt themselves. After the first campaign the London "Punch" in his usual good humor, under the caption: "A distinction without a difference," passed the judgment: "Admiral Napier was expected to do something in the Baltic, and he did not; Admiral Dundas was expected to do nothing in the Black Sea, and he did." But it must be remembered, that the English

seldom succeed in the beginning of a war, (think of the disasters of the Peninsular war under Moore,) but are roused as it progresses, and would in all probability have come out to much greater advantage from a third campaign; that the shrewd Russians never gave them a chance for a sea fight; that on land their forces were much inferior in number to those of their Allies; that they suffered immensely from incredible mismanagement in the commissariate; and that they had not the benefit of the admirable military school of Algiers. In spite of these disadvantages they fully sustained their high reputation for admirable discipline, indomitable bravery and perseverance, especially in the terrible battle of Inkermann, and the useless and imprudent, but brilliant charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, where a few hundred horsemen, in obedience to a misunderstood order, rushed into "the jaws of death and into the mouth of hell," piercing the Russian battery of guns and a phalanx of Cavalry of five thousand men, one British sword being pitted against a dozen swords, muskets, pistols, rifles and cannons of the enemy, so that the wonder is, not that so many of the small British force were killed, but that any returned to tell of the fight and to furnish the genius of Tennyson the material for his immortal poem.

Yet, after all, the heroic self-denial of Florence Nightingale in the hospitals of Scutari and Sebastopol reflects more real and lasting credit upon England than her bloody victories. What a painful fact, that out of the eighty-eight millions of pounds sterling expended by her government during the fiscal year of 1856, more than seventy-four millions were paid for the interest of former wars, and for the support of the present means of defence! It is a poor comfort that she owes her enormous debt, now exceeding eight hundred millions, to her own subjects. The greatest and noblest triumphs of that nation lie in the arts of peace, and the crowning triumph of British civilization would be the abolition of war itself, with its untold barbarities and sufferings.

But there is little prospect for the speedy attainment of

such an end. If Voltaire remarked of the French that they are half tiger and half monkey, it may be said with as much truth that the English are half lion and half bull. The latter trait shows itself in their love for coarse amusements, such as horse-racing, boxing, cock-fighting, dog-fighting, and in their overbearing conduct to foreign nations. The sad experience of the Crimean disasters has wrought no change. For since then John Bull kept up a great roaring in the Bay of Naples to frighten King Bomba out of his cruelties, and before the walls of Canton to teach the Celestials some respect for the terrestrials. In these two cases the thunder of cannon may be perhaps the most efficient means for the moment, but it is certainly not the one most worthy of a civilized and Christian nation.

It would be unjust, not to mention one redeeming feature, viz: the absence of revenge and the sympathy for the weak against the strong which generally characterizes the Englishman. Even in the pugilistic combat he shakes hands with the antagonist before he begins, and scorns to strike him when he is fairly on the ground. If only John Bull would trouble himself less about other peoples affairs, pay his enormous debt to the last farthing, though he should accompany every guinea with a growl, train his unruly children, especially in Ireland, and attend to his business at home, he would save himself a great deal of unmerited reproach. For after all, "with all his odd humors and obstinate prejudices, John is a sterling-hearted old blade. He may not be so wonderfully fine a fellow as he thinks himself, but he is at least twice as good as his neighbors represent him. His virtues are all his own; all plain, home-bred, and unaffected. His very faults smack of the raciness of his good qualities. His extravagance savors of his generosity; his quarrelsomeness of his courage; his credulity of his open faith; his vanity of his pride; and his bluntness of his sincerity. They are all the redundancies of a rich and liberal character. He is like his own oak; rough without, but sound and solid within; whose bark abounds with excrescences in proportion to the growth

and grandeur of the timber; and whose branches make a fearful groaning and murmuring in the least storm, from their very magnitude and luxuriance."

In the social life of England one of the strongest pillars of her happiness and prosperity is the domesticity which contrasts so strikingly with the lounging, open-air existence of Southern nations. The Englishman does not live with half a dozen families in one building like the French and the Germans; but even in large cities he has a house of his own, and prides in it as an inassailable castle and inviolable sanctuary, where he feels as safe and independent as the Queen at Windsor or Buckingham palace. He delights in his home, fills it with the most substantial comforts, and spends his sweetest hours in the bosom of his family. He knows how to convert the rudest habitation and the most unpromising spot of land into a little paradise

> "Where bliss domestic finds a dwelling place;
> Domestic bliss, that, like a harmless dove,
> Can centre in a little quiet nest
> All that desire would fly for through the earth;
> * * * * * * *
> That, like a flower deep hid in rocky cleft,
> Smiles, though 'tis looking only at the sky."

He holds the conjugal tie peculiarly sacred. Nothing can be better regulated than an English household. Dignity and mutual regard, order and decency rule there supreme. The wife nowhere on the Continent occupies so high and dignified a position. Parental authority is nowhere more respected. The order of servants in the higher classes of England is far superior to anything we know in the United States.

The Englishman delights in the exercise of hospitality on the most liberal scale and will treat you as one of his family, provided you are properly introduced to him. This formality is absolutely necessary, owing to the peculiar reserve of his character and the sacredness of his home. Without it he is apt to take no notice of you whatever. He treats his own countryman no better when he meets

him abroad. It is said that an Englishman let his brother Englishman drown before his eyes in one of the lakes of Switzerland without an attempt to save him, because he was not introduced. Se non è vero è ben trovato. To enjoy English hospitality to its full extent, you must follow him to his country seat, where he lays aside the restraints, the hurry, the selfishness of business and city life, and yet surrounds himself with all the conveniences and elegances of polite society, gives full scope to his natural feelings, provides all the means of literary, rural, and social enjoyment to his guest, without putting the least constraint upon him, but leaving every one to his own inclination. Much of that union of strength and elegance, of robustness of frame and tenderness of complexion by which the English gentleman excels, must be attributed to his love for rural life and the invigorating recreations in open air.

English society is thoroughly aristocratic, but with a steady tendency towards an orderly and sensible democracy. The French Revolution, like a flood, swept away the nobility on the Continent, or reduced it to a mere nominal existence. In England it remained unshaken and is as flourishing as ever. Hence the singular fact that there is more equality in France, while there is more liberty, both religious and civil, in England. The former country abolished the law of primogeniture and acknowledges in theory no privileged classes; but it has no habeas corpus act, that strong bulwark of personal freedom in Great Britain and America.

The aristocracy of England is a truly national growth and popular institution. It is not an exclusive and tyrannical power ignoring and disdaining the masses; but it is interwoven with the people by ten thousand ties. It recruits its strength continually from the best elements of the lower classes, and passes into them by a regular gradation from the lords and bishops to the landed gentry and clergy, and from them to the merchants and mechanics; while the aspiring and successful of the lower classes are ever passing into the gentry and occasionally into the no-

bility. The aristocracy furnishes not only the conservative Tories, but also the progressive Whigs, and human rights and liberties find as warm and vigorous champions in the House of Lords as in the House of Commons.

Upon the whole the nobility is the flower of the English nation. As they surpass in physical beauty of the purest and most refined order every similar class of society on the Continent, so also in general education, public spirit, liberal principles and princely generosity. That their immense wealth should lead to many temptations and vices, must be expected. The history of Lord Byron, the Memoirs of Lady Blessington, and the private life of George IV. and William IV.—not to go back to the royal John Bull, Henry VIII.—reveal a large amount of moral corruption among them, but not near as deep and general as that which characterized the French nobility before the Revolution. And after all, there is no class of society which does not furnish the same proof of the awful depravity of human nature. The present royal family of England is esteemed as a model of domestic virtue and happiness, and no one can calculate the power of good example set by an excellent wife and mother, whom Providence has placed on the throne of the largest empire on earth.

But a far more serious objection to the aristocratic institutions of England is the physical and moral degradation of the peasantry, as well as the mining and laboring population which support the higher classes and, like the millions of sand grains at the base of the pyramids, are kept in their place only by the immense weight of the superincumbent structure, however much the whirlwind may scatter them about. It would be unjust indeed to make the nobility alone responsible for the wretchedness of the lower strata of society. Many of the nobles are among the most benevolent and charitable of men. I will only allude to a cotemporary, Lord Shaftesbury, who visits the dens of thieves and holes of misery, who builds model houses for day-laborers, who looks after the interests of the chimney sweeps, in Parliament, and is ever busy in inventing and

carrying out new schemes for the improvement of the sufferings of his fellow-men. Such Christian charity accomplishes infinitely more real good than all the novels of Dickens and that pseudo-philanthropic literature which makes the lower classes interesting at the expense of the higher, which winks at the selfishness of human nature in the one case and exaggerates it in the other, and thus kindles that frightful antagonism between the rich and the poor, which must vent itself at last, if not checked by wholesome reforms, in a fearful social convulsion. The aristocracy proper, then, is clearly not the only cause of the social evils. The manufacturers, the merchants and the moneyed classes generally, are fully as much to blame for them.

For, do we not see already the indications of similar evils in our own country, in spite of its youth, its immense extent, and republican institutions? Does not the inextinguishable thirst for riches, the disgraceful and degrading worship of the golden calf, corrupt our public sentiment and threaten to infect the very life-blood of our community? We will not speak at all of the miserable condition of the unfortunate African race both in the free and in the slave States. But confining ourselves to the white population, it may well be doubted whether even London and Paris exhibit more startling contrasts of wealth and poverty—a fashionable world more extravagant and artificial, hollow and heartless, and a pauperism and crime more sickening and revolting, than New York and New Orleans.

But whatever be the causes, it is a fact that English society presents the greatest contrasts, especially in the mining districts, and the larger cities, such as Edinburgh, old and new, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester and London. In close proximity to Dawning street, Westminster Abbey, and the new houses of Parliament which the late emperor Nicholas appropriately called "a dream in stones," or behind the magnificent dwellings and stores of Regents Crescent and Circus, there are lanes and closes in which ignorance, vice and misery of the most revolting kind dwell together in horrid confusion.

The greatest domestic difficulty, social and political, of Great Britain is Ireland. It is fully as grievous and perplexing as that which arises from the institution of slavery in our own country. It is the curse of the despotism of race over race, and Church over Church, sanctioned by centuries of legal possession, and for this reason almost beyond the possibility of cure, except by a degree of individual generosity, or governmental sacrifice which would far surpass the indemnification required for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies. In the Roman Catholic or Southern districts of Ireland the amount of pauperism and degradation is incredible. Even in the city of Dublin, where there are so many asylums and charitable institutions, trains of ragged, whining beggars will besiege and entreat you for a morsel of bread. As the nobility and gentry own nearly all the land, the farmers have been reduced to a condition which in point of fact is nothing else than a white-washed system of slavery. Many of them live in low, narrow hovels under one roof with the chickens and pigs, from youth to old age. You may travel through whole counties without finding a farmer who can call one foot of ground his own, outside of the grave-yard, while the proprietor of the immense estate lives unconcerned in princely splendor at London or on the Continent. Add to this, that the poor Irish Catholics are compelled, since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to support an ecclesiastical establishment which, however good in itself, and however well adapted for England, was introduced among the neighbors by the force of arms, and which they regard not only—to use the expression of Hallam—as "a government without subjects, a college of shepherds without sheep," but as heretical and pernicious, and you have the chief causes of the miseries of the Celtic population in Ireland.

The dark picture is, however, not without some rays of hope. The first difficulty alluded to is now gradually diminishing in consequence of an act of Parliament, called the Encumbered Estates Bill, which, since its passage some six or seven years ago, has caused quite a salutary revolu-

tion in the agricultural and social condition of Ireland and greatly decreased the number of paupers and criminals. It takes a large amount of sadly abused property from the possession of spendthrift landlords and confers it by sale upon a worthy and industrious class of people.

As to the religious cause of the Irish difficulty, an abolition of the Aglican Establishment, as far as Ireland is concerned, would diminish the animosity and do away with reasonable complaints more effectually than the Maynooth grant, which, however just and politic, is inconsistent as far as the government professes a particular religion antagonistic to the Roman. But even the entire severance of Church and State in Ireland would be no radical cure of the evil, just as the abolition of slavery in our Union with the full compensation to the masters for the loss of property out of the national treasury, would still leave open the question of the moral elevation of the negro to a rational enjoyment of freedom in a land which will forever be under the control of the white race. It would seem, that a satisfactory and permanent solution of the Irish problem under its religious aspect, would require either a conversion of the Catholics to the Protestant faith and industry, which has made some progress at least, within the last few years, or their gradual emigration, which is said to have already diminished the number of the Celtic inhabitants to the amount of about two millions, and made room for the immigration of Anglo-Saxons and Protestants from Scotland and England.

Having now briefly considered the deeper strata of society, we are prepared to assign to political liberty its proper place as the third cause of the power and prosperity of England, instead of making it the first and only cause, as Montalembert seems to do. Political liberty is as much the result, as the guardian of the religious and moral character of the nation. It rests on the basis of self-government and respect for authority. Without this, it would long since have run into licentiousness and anarchy and thus proved a failure, like the French Revolutions and the Con-

tinental outbreaks of 1848. England has certainly succeeded far better than any other country of the old world, Switzerland not excepted, in attaining the great end of civil government by reconciling the claims of authority and freedom and thus securing perfect safety of life and property on the one hand, and the uncrippled development of the national and individual resources and energies on the other. Love of freedom and respect for law, manly independence and sincere loyalty, conservatism without stagnation, and progressivism without revolution, are deep rooted traits in the Anglo-Saxon race. It is just this union of apparently opposite tendencies which enables them to steer between the extremes of despotism and anarchy, of absolute monarchy and absolute democracy or rather mobocracy. In this union lies the true genius and security of rational freedom and constitutional liberty which has been transmitted to the American people from the first settlements in Virginia and Massachusetts, in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Individual and local self-government keeps England and the United States from the dangers of centralization, which destroyed true liberty in France even when it bore the name of a republic. For a centralized republic is only another form of despotism.

The guardian of the British liberties is the Constitution, that unseen, yet real power which the Queen and Parliament are as much bound to obey as the humblest citizen, and which is the protection and safety of all. This constitution is not the work of the moment, like those with which Sièyes stocked the pigeon-holes of his bureau, to suit the varying phases of the French Revolution, but it is the natural growth of ages. It is not an instrument simply on paper and an abstract theory of human rights, but a living power in the heart of the people and a practical system in which its true genius is embodied. Such a constitution to which many centuries have contributed their share of wisdom and experience, must necessarily involve anomalies which perplex the theorist and refuse to bend to the strict rules of logic. It is a compromise of principles

with a considerable admixture of no principle at all. But it has also the power of vitality, expanding and adapting itself to the diversified wants of society, keeping pace with the progress of the nation, and yet remaining the same in substance and spirit.

The leading principles of the constitution which underlie the laws and institutions of England, commencing with the origin of the nationality itself and running through the various stages of its historical development, are especially the following: Supreme authority of law; obedience to it until it is lawfully repealed; limitation of the royal power by a national parliament, partly hereditary, partly elective; representation of the various classes of the nation in the legislative council; trial by jury; no centralization of power except as far as is necessary to give unity to the government; no taxation without representation; no punishment without a lawful trial; the Habeas Corpus Act, or the guarantee against arbitrary imprisonment.

These principles are mainly embodied in three great charters which Lord Chatham called the "Bible of the English Constitution," namely the Magna Charta from the year 1215, the Petition of Right from the year 1628, and the Bill of Rights from the year 1689. In each of them the nation at a solemn crisis declared its rights against the arbitrary encroachments of the royal power, and acknowledged its obligations.

In the middle ages, nearly all the monarchies of Western Europe were restricted by fundamental laws and representative assemblies, by the clergy and the nobility. The German emperor was an elective prince and depended to a considerable extent upon the Diet. Spain was more free under Ferdinand and Isabella and under Charles V., than England under Henry VII. or Henry VIII. In France the States-general alone could constitutionally impose taxes. Even Denmark and Sweden had similar constitutions. But the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries swept most of these constitutions away and introduced royal despotism on the Continent. This was especially the case in France,

where Louis XIV. imposed upon the Parliament a patient silence of sixty years and called himself the State (L' état c'est moi). A similar attempt was made in England under the Stuarts. But the Long Parliament, the Puritan convulsion, and the orderly Revolution of 1688 saved, strengthened and enlarged the constitution and the liberties of the country.

In that most eventful period of English history, which covers the greater part of the seventeenth century, Protestantism developed itself consistently as a principle of civil and religious freedom, while on the Continent it has been able to produce only a limited degree of toleration. Even Switzerland, though a republic, recognizes properly only two Churches, the Reformed and the Roman Catholic. The freedom of the Church was indeed one of the fundamental articles of the Magna Charta. But it was understood at that time in a hierarchical sense, and was confined to the Romish faith. Since the Reformation, the conception of Christianity has been enlarged, and religious and civil liberty have gone hand in hand in the Anglo-Saxon race under the controlling genius of Protestantism, grow ing deeper and stronger with every successive generation and mutually supporting and strengthening each other. This is what constitutes the great advance of England and the United States over all the nations of the earth. In both respects the American constitution again goes, in principle, a step beyond the English, especially in regard to the freedom of religion, which is here left to develop all the energies of Christianity without the interference and encroachments of the secular power.

Yet, after all, the most perfect constitution and the largest amount of liberty could as little guarantee the welfare and prosperity of a nation, without a healthy public sentiment, as a tree may be expected to grow without the continual nourishment of the soil and the supply of air, rain and sunshine. Liberty must go hand in hand with education, education with virtue, virtue with religion. Christianity, as we said in the beginning, is, after all, the deepest

cause of the greatness of England. Blot it out, and her glory is departed, her civilization and refinement would rapidly degenerate, and her liberties perish. True Christianity, the Christianity of the everlasting Gospel is the guardian angel of Great Britain and America, and the only hope of the world.

Mercersburg, Pa., May, 1857. P. S.

Art. II.—CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE.

Architecture has been well defined, "an act of devotion symbolically uttered." If to this be added, "through forms and arrangement of rocks and stones resulting in the temple," the definition will be complete, including the whole of Architecture, from the rude cromlech to the great cathedral, and excluding all that ought to be excluded, all stuctures of wood, iron, clay, brick, in a word of any material different from rock, or that which may be cut with the chisel, and of course excluding all buildings except the temple. Domestic architecture, so called, is a thing not known in the world before the times of the Roman empire. If the palace-temple of Egypt were such indeed, it was so to the same degree in which the Gothic Minster is a dwelling-house because the sexton lives in one of its cloisters. In like manner is it of the essence of our definition to deny positively, even as it were a very article in the matter, that any building made of other material than stone can belong to Architecture. Buildings of wood, iron, plaster, are no more to be included under the term, than figures moulded in wax or glass are to be included under Sculpture. We have here chosen an aesthetic parallel. The true reason, however, why none but the rock

or stone building, and no building but the temple, or the church, is properly architectural, lies deeper, and is embraced in the statement that the first building erected by man, or nations, the last building, the great building—in a word, *the* building erected by man, is the altar, and it grew out of the inevitable nature of the case that it should be of stone.

Not because the rock would resist the action of fire, not because the log-temple would not answer every economic purpose of a temple, but simply because it was not possible, in the circumstances of the case, that men, out of trees or timber, should make an altar. The first altar—all celtic architecture, we mean, is manifestly of the earth, earthy—the tree was far too nigh to the Heaven he had abandoned for the man to begin with it. It must be something inorganic—something not genial—something hard and remote, without passion or fruit. Men could, afterwards, as they did, build their altar within the forest, but men, that is men who were sinners, worshipped through rocks and stones, long before they could dare to worship through organic nature, which at so many points is in sympathy with the true man; whereas he had denied his own law, and the growing tree was a reproach to him, he dashed into that which was no law, but holds as a brooding presence, an impersonal power. The first thing sinners laid hold of after the deluge, was the boulders which the deluge had left, and the quarries which the deluge had made. From the heights of Paradise man fell, even as into the abysmal caverns of the places underneath the earth, and thence drew his architecture. It was the rock, the most pertinent impersonation of the abnormal and abhorrent condition of his own heart. Whoever has been in the midst of the cavernous earth, or stood alone at the foot of some vast frowning rock, and has given but a moment's thought to the work wrought in the heart of the natural man by sin, will be at no loss to perceive how natural it was that out of the midst of earth's bowels it should bring forth both the material and the elements, wherewith to

build up its guilt-begotten image, its altar, its temple, to its god. But even so it is, that while this temple is a form of demon-worship, it is also through the same, and it is even from the quarry itself, that the man is to work his way upward again; as if sent to the very roots of the earth which he had caused to be cursed, and from its deep foundation of rock to work out his own and the earth's regeneration.

We have, thus far, only been saying that man was made an artistic, or poetic, religious being—that he fell into sin, and that coming to his bad consciousness in the pit of his degradation, he rose up to build, carrying with him the elements of nature into which he fell—most fearfully symbolized in the brooding spirit of the rock, and the darkness of the cave. There may be religious beings who do not build—such are the angels who have kept their first estate—they need no forms, they project none—they are a form to themselves. If there be temples in Heaven, they are temples with a resurrection body. But every fallen being must go on to build—he must project in visible form the image of his heart, as a propitiatory image for the god of his imagination. It is an irresistible quality of sin which constrains the transgressor to erect some image of his guilt, to enjoy at its feet the sympathy of loss and misery. At this point there is a sense in which we may say that the earth's face and the ocean's surface, all the forms, structures and products of civilization, as the work of the natural man, are architectural; for architecture, that is to say, the highest reach of man's works, is but the broadest illustration of that great law and appointment that under grace, the race of mankind is to be delivered from sin, and at last sanctified, through the labor of the flesh—through the subduing of the earth.

Thus we are reminded again, how the effects of the fall are overruled, in an unspeakable wonder of mercy, so as to help man back to perfectness. A fallen being must go on to build, but except under a purpose of mercy and restoration on the part of his Maker, must go on to build

to no purpose—even as Milton has well depicted the works of those lost angels in that lowest of worlds, where every work must come to nought. Man fell, not into so low a depth—not into the very midst of chaos, full of positive riot, as well as shapelessness and unreality. He would have so fallen, as the inevitable result of the violation of the great law of his being, had not peculiar mercy interfered. He fell into inorganic nature—he fell into the earth, not below the earth. Thus, had he kept his law, he would through the Spirit have kept his whole being, would have drawn his body nigh to God. Having denied the Spirit, he fell under the dominion of the body, and that body was made of earth. He made himself one with the lower creature. And now we behold him first building as in the caves of Ellera, then in Druid pillars and circles, then in Egyptian pyramids, obelisks and pylones, and at last, and in a regular, though, long-progressing order, in the perfect beauty of the natural man as revealed in the Doric temple.

Is it possible, we wonder, that the pure and good Spirit could have had anything to do with works reeking in the airs of the earth-spirit, and demon-worship, such as those that still haunt the plains of the Nile? Yes, it is possible and it is certain. We know not how, but we do know that the good Spirit, for Christ's sake, did not forsake the man into whose nostrils He had breathed. The history of natural Architecture, that is of the Architecture of every nation except the Jewish, whose Architecture was the Ceremonial Law, is a history of the progress of the world's preparation, in some way, under the good Spirit, for the Incarnation of the Son. We may get nearer to the conception of the truth as thus corroborated in the facts of the world's great works, by the aid of the thought already intimated. The disciplinary process of the race began with the command, "Subdue the earth." In order to this, the man—the natural man—the typical man of the nations as yet without the covenant—was sent to the foundations of nature—was sent where his perverted heart took him—sent

to the nearest opposite—to the spirit within him which he had denied, that could be, this side the state of the lost. Now, at this point we recollect, that if man had kept the Spirit he would have kept the whole creature, at whose apex he stood, with him; that when he fell he dragged the creature with him; and that when his redemption is perfected, he will raise the creature with him. When he shall have subdued the earth, out of which his body was made, then will come the resurrection body, and then will the "earnest expectation" be realized in the "new heavens and the new earth." What more forcible, nay what more painfully forcible an illustration of the fact of the curse on the earth, and the law of the appointment to man—through suffering, through agonies, through labor, through manifold pains of flesh and spirit, reach the goal—than a Stonehenge circle, or an Egyptian Pyramid? They are altars, altars to demons, altars that have devoured like a Moloch, raised in pain, covered with blood, built in the midst of sighs, and groans, and howlings—which yet the men that built them were happy in rendering. There is not one of them, but the ghosts of thousands and thousands of our fellow-men lay thick thereon as the air that envelops them. And was all this for nought? Had there been no purpose of mercy for man, it were; but otherwise, a work has been done which, in the perverseness of sin, was needful for the subduing of the earth. It was a work completed for the natural man, in Greece, disseminated by Rome, inherited by us. We cannot tell how the good Spirit overruled this work, but we know the fact, we are reaping the benefit, and we feel our safety in the inheritance when we rightly remember our Creed—"He descended into Hades."

The Cathedral, that is the great artistic exponent of the Catholic Church, could not (speaking after the manner of men) have been, without that work of the nations. That Cathedral is seen to include and absorb, under the progress and law of its aesthetic evolution, every line of every preceding architecture, not excepting that of the false prophet, made into one through and over all. The Architecture

(the Ceremonial Law) of the chosen nation even, could not be, it seems, without the work of Egypt. And even thus is it, that the nations, while building their demon-temples, were commencing and doing their part in the great work of subduing the earth. They fixed the spirit of the rock, the cave,—the brooding genius of earth's foundations,—in the terrible and overpowering forms of pagan architecture, which we, with the better faith, have taken hold of and conquered, through the Spirit. The Grecian temple is the natural man conquering the demon of earth by mental power and ideal beauty; the Cathedral is the Egyptian temple laid hold of by a far more daring hand. It could not have been done, had not the great work of the Greek been done; could not, had not the physical daring of the Roman come in. But such being the case, the Crusader went into the Nile-temple, holding the cross in one hand, and with the other commanding out and sending to the Cathedral, every element of the heathen work he saw fit and forceful. He took captive the pyramid, he took captive the towns, he took captive the darkness—he conquered all through the Spirit—and the Cathedral stands the grandest of all visible witness, that the work of the world has been for a contribution to that Church, which has now, in turn, become the mother of all nations.

And this is the reason we hold it of the essence of Architecture, considered most ultimately, that it shall consist of the rock; the work of which it is the great ethnical witness, necessarily, as we have seen, and according to the Divine appointment also, beginning at the foundation of the creature in the rock. Had this work commenced with the tree, a product of the soil, possessing a genial law, the most important stage would have been left out, it being the earth that is to be subdued; vegetable forms come in, at the proper time, to give beauty and sympathy, when the man was ready. Still, however, the first appropriation of growing nature will be of that known to geology, the first tree known to architecture will be the trees and foliage impressed in the sand-stone strata. Even so far as to the

roots of the mountains do we deem it from the truth, that the heathen temple ever in its origin had knowledge of the log-cabin.

Whether this reasoning be correct or not, here is the fact, that all architecture has begun with the rock, the earth-mound, the monolith, and so proceeded to the cut stone, to the sculptural column; and in ornamentation from inorganic forms to foliate enrichment. Every family of the building Art has had its Celtic period; and all Celtic style, even to its details, has had its period of struggle in the inorganic nature. The architecture of the perfect natural man, the Greek, begins at an archaic point above all others; its ornamentative reveals the inorganic world only in the forms of the chrystal, and its "abstract" is of vegetable nature arrested at a point where nature *would* have produced flowers in stone, had the rock gone on to do so. The Greek Honeysuckle is a mental flower, wrought out by those whose mission it was to bring the rock to the confines of the glad and human day-light world of growing nature. And what the Honeysuckle is, such is the Grecian temple, even such as the marble rock would have grown into had it been endowed with organic law, the law of mental beauty. The Pentelic quarry would have cropped out in the Parthenon. But even the Gothic itself, which is the architecture of the "*natura naturans*," takes its beginning in the "*natura naturata*," just as the Ceremonial Law had a certain beginning in the pyramid. The Lambardic, Norman, Romanesque, or by whatever other name the Gothic base may be called, reveals, in its mouldings, the forms of the chrystal and the shell, before it goes, with the Psalmist, into the fields to bring in the flowers, in Christian fidelity and love.

Thus far, then, we find in the Architecture of the pagan nations plainly revealed the singular mercy of the Christian dispensation, which permits and causes that the work done by fallen man, shall be work done to purpose; not the work of a self-wrought chaos, not the work of the lost; but an appointed world-work, which has brought up the gran-

ite ribs of earth and death, to pave with all in groans and tears and blood, the way for Him who came to save the world. The obelisk and the minaret, the colonnade and the Roman Bridge, are pointing and bridging the way for the nations to come to their healing, the Church. The fallen race of man, being constrained by their fall, to build, to build mightily, to build in their wickedness, even as Babel was built; building from the deep places of the earth, and striving to reach the heavens thus, even as all merely natural civilization builds—this man is, through the unutterable mystery of the purpose of Redemption, permitted even thus and so to build himself up towards a new perfectness, and to draw that nature, which is his instrument, with him. No abiding work of the nations, then, can have been in vain. The Church, departing for the land of promise, was required to demand of the heathen people the loan which was afterwards found in the materials of the true Tabernacle; and so, to this day, does the Church borrow of the man. In the Cathedral, by the Pentecostal Spirit, do we most religiously inherit those gifts of overruling grace and mercy, which we have properly received through the media of Babylon and India, of Egypt and Greece and Rome, and directly through the great Christian people of the Middle Ages, which is the sanctified nation, the Church.

Examining now more closely the theology of the Egyptian temple—for the temple, let us remember, is but the greatest and most authentic image of the heathen man's faith, far more (and worse) than the Creed to the Christian, since it is the actual embodiment of the dark spirit of his mythology—and we find his conception of the Deity represented altogether in the two elements of physical size and mystic darkness. The idol of the temple is in an adytum as dark as a cave, dark as only Egyptian darkness is dark. This adytum is the final cause of the building; placed at the remotest point from the vestibule, forming the interior of the apex, as it were, of the obelisk laid on the ground; for it is a noticeable fact that the ground-plan, and side-elevation of every Egyptian temple shows that the

building is included within the lines of an immense obelisk laid upon the earth. This dark adytum has then its approach through vast avenues composed of the colossal Sphinx,—that riddle of the rock, that revolting embodiment of the genius of the granite, taking on a living form which is neither human nor divine, but essentially pantheistic. There is no more forcible or potent impersonation of that fearful being, or power rather, which is the "thrice-untold darkness of the nature-worshipper's god," and of all pantheism, than the Egyptian Sphinx. It is a personification of the mere physical intellect; a conception which would be relieved, to the Christian mind, by the addition of a heart, though it might be that of a fiend. Dagon or Moloch or the bloody god of the Druid circle, is a far less chilling conception than is that of those stolid, ruthless, passionless abortions of the carnal mind, those basilisk embodiments of the unknown power that broods at earth's roots and in the abnormal airs of earth's caves,—in a word, those daimon-endowed figures of geometry, which line the way to fascinate and devour, without biting, the man that approaches the temple of the Nile.

It must have been, in effect, as a night-mare, under which the victim not only could not give forth a sign, but in which he must consent to feel that it behooves him not even to make the attempt. At the end of this avenue he is met by the obelisks and the colossal guards of the temple—then is drawn under a gate-way which seems to have disemboweled a quarry, then through pillars, columns and osirides, which in their vast proportions and mystic forms, do but take up the sepulchral whisper of the Sphinx, a whisper that would break into ten thousand thunders if the man were competent so to dare it—next through quadrangles filled with the sculptured typhon, and Isis, in her mock mildness, more dreadful still—beneath roofs that could crush a nation, and more and still deeper drawn into the darkness all so endowed, he reaches at last the climax, or the bathos, of this huge wonder, in the sacred adytum. This vast temple of the Nile is one tremendous monolith,

laid down by the Pharaoh-nation as the Egypt-nation's god. It is also still farther not unlike the solid obelisk, inasmuch as its interior is all the more solidified by the astounding exorbitancy of its characteristic Art. This is the penetralia of this first world-temple, made to be the darkness which may be felt, and in which "moveth the spirit amid worlds not realized," but, as we can predict already, most surely to come to pass.

We conceive the analysis so important to Comparative Architecture, that we must run the risk of becoming tedious by repeating that the Egyptian temple is the inorganic nature, in its own case the granite, the foundation rock, reconstructed in the sciential mind, the understanding, the lowest of the mental nature, under the abnormal law of sin. It is, as it were, that nature put to what, but for its ulterior and overruled working in the great Economy, would have been an unstable "set" of the laws of forces, and hence, liable, as has been said, to crash back into chaos at a touch. It is of the earth, earthy. Its geometric forms are not without beauty, but it is the beauty of geometry, not of the heart. Its embryonic foliage grew where fishes without eyes or blood grow—in the stifling gloom of the cavern. There is little about it with which the Christian man can sympathize—he can feel the physical glory of its fatiguing vastness, and verily we can feel the dreadfulness of its demon power and spirit. The Grand Hall of Karnac, which has collected the entire beauty of Egyptian Art, must ever pale the spirit and curdle the veins of every being that has a heart. No man should enter it without the sign of the Cross. The one great element of the power of Egyptian Art is that of its preposterous vastness, both actually and artistically represented, in size, proportion, darkness, and dread—all operating to the oppressing of the understanding. Of course unity cannot be predicated of it. It is a mere unicity, a simply monstrous isolation, and hence mistifying, as mere number without unity always is. So far as it is applicable to modern purposes, it should be confined to prisons, and to the houses where Rationalism

draws its votaries to their gatherings. It is utterly without the Spirit, without intuition, a lifeless and bloodless solidification of no mystery, but of a mere logical mistification.

Nevertheless it did its work, it did an indispensable rudimentary work, it helped to prepare the way. The Christian child's idea of power is associated first with physical greatness, and results in the mysticism of the ungeneralizing understanding; and then as the faculty of unity in the reason is developed the child begins to ascend to the conception of mental and spiritual power; and so from a mere arithmetical notion of vastness and multitude, which is mysticism, it rises through the Spirit, which by the new man gives the highest generalization and the most universal unity possible to any creature thought; and so by faith comes at last to the intuition of the true mystery, which is, through the coming of the Lord, the highest experience of the created being. Hence this Art of Egypt, huge shadow that it is, becomes an infinitesimal atom to the Christian man, who has beheld in spirit, the unity of God and of all things, in the Person of the Incarnate Son. Hence it stands to Greek Art, in the natural world, under a somewhat analagous parallel as the Mosaic economy, the Sinaite revelation of the Deity stands to the revelation of God in Christ, through the Incarnation by the Spirit. Greek art is, in its own way, the incarnation of the Egyptian. It reduced the elements of size and darkness, and not only retained, but vastly magnified its power, by humanizing it. There is no demon about the Greek temple, it is all man, the perfect man of this world. It is a purely mental creation, not supernatural in any sense. Wherever the mere mind of man is, there a Grecian temple may be and will be beautiful. It is in no sense provincial or conventional, it is the absolutely perfect work of the natural mind. It is the climacteric flowering of the development of that wonderful race, whose commission it was to perfect the uninspired process, to finish the work of the nations, and to bring them in to the coming of the Lord. The Doric

temple stands to Christianity as the words of the Greek language stand to the revelation they contain.

Grecian Art is a proper unity, a real ideal *one*—not a gigantic singleness, a mephitic ice-berg split from the totality like the Egyptian; nor is it the far worse-glinted berg of the modern unitarianism, falsely so called, for since it is without the constitutive three, it plainly can possess no other one, than the primitive arithmetic possesses, which can only count by heaping. Such a miscalled one, is but a fragment, pretensive as in its nature it must always be; is but a "*this*, a *that*, a *here*, a *there*." Inasmuch, however, as the Grecian temple has not as yet attained to the spirit, it has not by any means, so high a unity as the Gothic. It is a multiplicity in unity, for such is the civil man; it is not a multitudinousness, a universe, in unity, like the Gothic, for such alone is the spiritual man. The human race could no more have represented itself in such architecture as the Gothic, without Christ and the Spirit, than they could have risen from sin to holiness of themselves. The Greek temple is the world, the mental world, accessible to the natural man, it is all that Plato was—the cathedral is the universe, known only to the spiritual man, and is what St. Paul was without his inspiration, what Augustine was, what a Kempis was. The Egyptian is mundane at the lowest, and geometrical at its highest point. It is the human representation of that earth which to the Egyptian was the abode and the form of that spirit, or power, not person, that brooded in the depths, endowed the rock-mountains, rested on the desert, and had its secret places in the atmosphere of the land of the Nile. It is the embodied silence of the first-born Pantheism.

The Greek temple represents a person, an individual. It is to the Egyptian what an angel is to a ghost, what a cherub is to a geni, what the real man is to the spectre-man of the Brocken. It is the work of a people who, through civil freedom, had come to the consciousness of the individual man. It is, therefore, the work of the State, not of

the hierarchy, and it is, therefore, human, as opposed to demoniacal—and, at the same time, of course, it is, therefore, altogether mental. It stands the witness that the man had conquered the earth-spirit, the nation hath the victory over the powers. Jupiter Ammon has become "ambrosial" Jove, the remote Isis has become the genial Minerva, the oppressive Sphinx has become the far-darting light of Apollo. The temple stands on the hill-top; no more burrowing into rocks, no more the earthly darkness, no more the crushing mass of mere physical Art—but a far higher power, a far nobler development, the beauty of the mind. If man had not sinned, and had gone on to build temples in Paradise, they would have used the Pentelic marbles, and built as that people built who were the last originators before the coming in of the new day for the race. The Parthenon of Athens is the unmistakeable sign that the work of the nations is done. When a people were found who could cast out the demon-gods of the old world, could place the human Jove on the seat of the Titans, and fill Olympus with deities like men—then we may be sure is the time approaching for the true coming, of which the Greek mythology is, indeed, a travesty, but it was a wonderful travesty, and it was, as far as the nations could go, in its own way, a type of the true. The Grecian people say, at every point of their development, that if there be an universal Father to men, He must declare Himself in the form of the man. The Grecian temple means the same. It represents the point of natural, or civil perfectness arrived at through a mental incarnation. The Grecian column differs not from the Grecian statue, vase, poem, or thought; it is a thing with which the civil mind of man in all ages must sympathize.

To trace, then, from the age of Pericles, the progress of our Art, we find that during those last four hundred years before the Christian era, a two-fold work was going on. The nations were becoming Judaized, and at the same time becoming Hellenized, and that through the same people, the Romans. The Roman people had its mission, to dis-

seminate what in the Greek had been concentrated and elaborated of the heathen world, and to consolidate the nations. As they originated nothing, so they originated no architecture. The Corinthian columns scattered every where throughout the world, while they show that the Roman conqueror has been there, show also that the Greek thinker had gone before him. The single thing originating with the Romans, in the way of Art, was the application of the circular arch to the building of bridges. It is significant of the people and their work, to make a high road for the nations to come at last to the true law, to the true unity. Populus Romanus is the Pontifex maximus of the race. This arch, it is true, became the Dome, as in the Pantheon, but it required another people, and other conditions, to transmute the dome into Art. The dome is the world, and nothing short of faith can overcome that dome in an aesthetic victory. The Roman nation has well left itself represented as in the literal circle, and bridge-like ceiling of the Pantheon, having its main architecture in stolen Greek columns. When the perfect mental incarnation of the horizontal Grecian, has come to be consubstantiated in the literal fragmatism of a building, whose plan is a flat circle, and whose sign is the bridge—an enclosure tangible at every point, and imprisoning on all sides, except one breathing hole in the top—we may be certain the man is degenerating, and that nothing now can save him from relapsing into the tomb of Atreus or the pyramid of Egypt, except a peculiar interposition from above. That which is above nature must come down to him, or the whole work of the world shall have been to no purpose. That which is supernatural *is* revealed. The Spirit *does* come down, and comes at the very time when the world declares, even at the climax of the four thousand years of forbearance, that it cannot get back to God—that the help of man is vain.

Down to the time of Constantine, the Christian temple, the Church, is to be found in the saints of the Most High. Its Architecture must be sought in its creeds, perhaps more

accessibly represented in men. Let a Christian artist sculpture a Jerome, or a Cyprian, an Athanasius or a Chrysostom, and we should have the spirit of what the architecture proper of the period would have been. But it is obvious to remark that a development so distinctively new as the Christian, could not commence in an artistic representation. Even the Jewish did not so commence—the Patriarchs preceding Moses. So also the civil nation does not begin with Art, for Art is a development out of the nation. The American people, with all its favorable antecedents, has not yet expressed itself in Art, unless our ships and steamboats are so to be considered. Much less could Catholic Christendom, in its early periods, have come to that degree of self-consciousness which begins to reveal itself in the forms of Art. Its place of worship was indifferently the cave, the catacomb, the upper-room, or the mountain-glen. Its place of worship was the world. But Christianity must, of all things, show what it judges of the world, what it feels concerning itself, what it hopes for as it respects the life to come. It has done so in the Cathedral; but the process has been a long one.

Latin Christianity went into the Basilica. It was essentially a Romanized Greek building, under the empire, the place of administration of law. Not by accident did the Roman Church enter there, for Rome is still the executive power in the world. This Basilica now forms the nave, or the whole west end of the perfect Cathedral. It is that part of the building which is for the gathering of the people, the congregation. Grecian Christianity went into the cruciform, dome-covered, St. Sophia of Byzantium. It reached forth its equal arms to all points of the compass, it invited all nations, but had not room sufficient for the congregation. Under the shadow of its vast dome we find the christianized descendant of the race that did the final thinking for the heathen world. That dome is not the Roman, nevertheless the Patriarch is indebted to Rome for it, even as Rome is indebted to the East for the forms and columns of the Basilica. It is an aerial dome in suspen-

sion, it is a dome and two semi-domes in plan, and it is pierced for the light of heaven to enter. It is the place where thought, meditation, reflection is done—it waits the Basilica, the executive, to distribute, to enforce, to consolidate its work. The Patriarch elaborated the Creed, the Pope gave it to the nations. To this time it had been the period of origins, the shaping era scarcely commenced till the age of Justinian.

We have distinctly, then, the Basilica, a Romanized Greek building, the chosen place of Western Christianity; and a Graeco-Roman building, the product of Eastern—these united, give the full Cathedral. There is, under Christianity, a commutual interfusion of the two peoples, which, under heathendom, wrought more apart, but had, under that dispensation, an analagous work to do in the way of the first preparation. We find these elements perfectly united in the ecclesiastical buildings of the early Middle Ages. The Cathedral of St. Marks at Venice, the Cathedral of Worms in Germany, the Duomo of Florence, are formed simply by adding the Basilica to the West arm of the St. Sophia of Byzantium, or the St. Vitalis of Ravenna,—thus giving the nave proper to the building. And this has continued without alteration, to be the great ground-plan of the Cathedral; the nave, with its side-aisles, and close-story, the transept, the dome developed into the tower, the choir and the chancel. We have by no means as yet, however, the full Christian Art.

It will be necessary to look at the details. The interior of the great buildings mentioned, is heavy and oppressive. There is a certain archaic spirit about it that reminds us of the elemental airs of the early heathen styles. The classic nations have become mingled with the Gothic—though the buildings are still in the hands of the classics. It is a transitionary period necessary for catholicity, but shows us of the natural man. Moreover, we find the identical zig-zag, and scroll mouldings, which mark the Egyptian, the Pelasgic, and indeed all Celtic architecture —the whole showing that the Christian nation also is in a ferment, in a great formative process.

It will be instructive, then, to compare this Norman, Lombardic, Byzantine, or Romanesque, with its Graeco-Roman prototype. Looking down the side of the nave of the Basilica, we find it composed of a series of classic columns with circular arches springing from their capitals, and above these arches the old horizontal cornice. That member, the cornice, is a characteristic member of classic art—it must give way, if art is to be liberated, that is, if it is to become aspiring, aerial, heavenly, as opposed to that which is definite, mental, and worldly. If there is to be a Christian Architecture, its lines must no longer rest horizontally upon the earth, nor must it be defined within any actual limits, certainly not bound by the circle, which is the palpable line of this world. Now we do actually find that the full Christian Art develops itself in the final triumph of the infinite line—that is to say, in a line based upon earth, which is one end of the infinite for man, and tending, without limits, upwards toward heaven.

The process begins with that very circular arch of the Romans, that arch which is their sign as the world-conquerors. The interior of St. Sophia, or of St. Vitalis, reveals already the work begun. In the Pantheon we have the solid dome, resting upon a strongly marked horizontal ordinance. In St. Sophia, the aerial dome, with the multiplied side-domes, arches, and piers, showing a decided triumph of the perpendicular tendency. In St. Vitalis, still more decided. In the succeeding growth of the Byzantine into the Norman, or Romanesque, the victory is complete—the entablature is gone—the cornice is bent into the archivolt mouldings, and there is nothing wanting but the abolition of the circular arch, vault, and dome, to cause the Cathedral of Worms to take on the full glory of the Cathedral of Cologne. The palpable commencement of this stage of the great growth, that is of turning the Romanesque into the Pointed, is due to the people of North Germany. It began with the elevation of the old lines of the Pediment into the high lines of the gable. The Portico of the convent of Lorsch shows, as in a picture, the

work done. Above the lower tier of Romanesque arches in that most instructive façade, we have an ordinance of lofty pointed gables, the elevation, as it were, of the zig-zag moulding into an integral portion of the upper mass. Here is already then a base, a frame-work, for that pointed arch which is to complete the development, and liberate the building from every limiting line.

But whence came the pointed arch? It came unquestionably from the Orient. It is the contribution of the false prophet to the Christian Church. It was indeed a great contribution when come to the hand and faith of the Christian; but the Moslem had already stolen the idea of it from the Church of the Eternal Wisdom, had elaborated its idea, as far as it was ever possible for him to do, sooner than the Goth could have done, and had produced in connection with it only the factitious brilliancy of his sentimental Arabesque. The Church was in need of it, and the Crusader brought it. If he did not gain the sepulchre, he gained that which became to the waiting Cathedral the occasion of its final perfection. Instantly and coinstantaneously over Christendom, arises the Pointed, the so called Gothic, the perfect Christian architecture. The building is still the cross, but no longer the cross resting upon earth, it is the cross, it is the Holy Catholic Church, rising and rising and ever rising towards heaven. In the triumph of the upright line lies its boundlessness. It is inexhaustible, illimitable, never-ceasing, like the procedure of the all-growing nature, which is the sign of that Spirit which garnisheth the heavens and reneweth the face of the earth. And this nature is its aesthetic parallel. No more of the earth, no more of the cave, or the rock, it goes side by side with the nature that grows, that is organic, that has life, that is genial and human, and that is to us an especial sacrament of the only life-giving Spirit, not to be apprehended apart from the Incarnation. Let us suppose it possible the Jewish nation had been commissioned to represent in stone the feast of Tabernacles, typical in the products of the field and forest, of the Incarnation through the life-giving Spir-

it, and it would have resulted in the Gothic building, with its heaven-tending lines, its indefinite boundaries, and its exquisite foliage ornamentation.

This perpendicularity is now the ruling law of the Art. Not only does the pointed arch lift up, and abolish the circular vault; but it multiplies into groinings and cross-ribs, so as to make a limit above, which yet is not a limit. It cannot open the roof to the air, and, therefore, it will enchasm and multiply and consecrate the air under the ceiling. The only caves about the Gothic are the caves of the groinings, turned into heavenly chambers, bounding the upward view only with an atmosphere of glory, with angelic cells that do but take up and prolong in choral echo the grand music of the whole temple. And thus at last, too, is the imprisoning dome abolished. We must here say again, that we hold it a settled fact of Architecture, that the circular arch has its function wholly in the bridge, the acqueduct, the civil and domestic building. It consists in a line that returns upon itself. It starts from the earth, and it returns into the earth. It can only become continuous in the arcade, and cannot there become a unity. It is not one, it is again a singleness, an unicity. Two lines leaning against each other, as in the gable, or the pointed arch, make together one, and that one is a resulting third, namely, the idea of relation between the two. It will always require three elements to produce a unity. Thus the Romanesque nave, taken by itself, was but a continuous repetition or heaping of a single thing;—the true Gothic nave is the growing reproduction, the real running into one another of distinct individualities, all collected into a general unity. Look at an isolated circular arch—and it is nothing. Look at an isolated pointed arch, and it has a decided character of itself. So, too, the circular dome, even that of St. Peters, we hold to have its effectiveness mainly as the Egyptian has,—it is the mere exaggeration of a single element, it is of the nature of the giant.

But how did the pointed arch modify the circular dome? First by pointing and greatly elevating it, as at Pisa, and

Florence. Though here again the frame-work had been prepared, as in the other instance of the gable. A single glance at the aerial domes of the Byzantic architects, will show a vast Christian improvement upon the world-dome of the Pantheon. It is lifted into air; it is multiplied, striving to gain a unity; it is enlightened. All this, however, is by no means sufficient; the actualness of the limiting line must give way, as was done by the groinings upon the nave ceiling; else, after all, it can only result in the dome of India, or of the Saracen. The upright line must conquer the circular, the spirit must rise through the dome to heaven. The palpable dome is accordingly transmuted into the central Tower—the enclosing and crushing horizon is concentrated in the zenith of the building, which is thus the never-finished norm and climax of the style. No greater mistake could be committed upon the Gothic building than that of bringing the central tower to anything like an actual finish, as in the spire or cupola. It forms the invisible flower of the whole style, the pledge and sacrament of its perfect worldly emancipation, and its true marriage with the skies. It was the last great work of the Christian nation, when faith was enabled to realize its final unity in the Heavenly Head, seen in the building by the bodily sense, seen through the building by the spiritual. The actual dome, thus taken captive by the spirit, *must* not be brought over again, till faith is turned into sight, till the Lord shall come to His temple on the regenerated earth, till the day when matter shall no longer be an obstacle to the body.

Once more looking along the side of the Pointed nave, we find not only that the entire horizontal order above the columns has disappeared, but the column itself is gone; it has become the deeply channelled pier, the clustered shaft, the continuous line; the rush of the perpendicular current has enveloped the style; it starts now from the pavement. And this rush is upward, it is not the element of any earth current, it is not galvanism or geometry, or intellect;—it is spirit. The stone is so cut and dug into and channelled,

that not merely the line and the plane are brought into requisition, as in all previous styles, but air, space, and shadow—it forms the representative element of the holy and awful mystery, of the Church. It is at this point we find the Gothic Interior endowed with a certain living spirit, apart from its sculptured ornamentative, which is essentially distinct from that of all other styles. The Egyptian has verily a living spirit about it. but it is a living death, a choking silence, a dreadful brooding. The Greek has its own life, but it is the life of this world. The Roman has power, but it is the power of the arena. The Gothic has a life which is new and wholly peculiar; it is the life of the Christian man, the life of the Church, the life of the Spirit. In the Cathedral at last the earthly Christian man is within an artistic embodiment, which taxes, fills and satisfies his artistic nature to its utmost capacity, and at the same time does so in a salutary way, because it does so through and for his spirit. In the Cathedral he may feel safely, worship safely, hope safely, and breathe peacefully. He is not in danger of having the truthful action of his heart distorted, as under the terms of the Egyptian, or of becoming enamored of this world's beauty, as before the Grecian, or of being drawn into the rush of animal enthusiasm as by the Arabesque or Roman. He is in the grandest, most beautiful, and most safe place, when in the Cathedral, that the world has yet produced, and for this reason, namely, because at last *he is under the shadow of the cross*,—we mean he is in a style where artistic finish is seen to coincide with its religious development in a finial, that is the final type for both. As the Cathedral starts with the cross in plan, so it finishes, so its art finishes in the Finial-Cross, and thus Art and Faith have at last become a representative *one*.

There is no such unity among the race's works, as the unity of the Cathedral. It is incomparably the highest, the broadest, the fullest of all. Now, again, we know that such a unity is possible only in connection with the world of the spirit, the supernatural. Here it is man's faculty, for

the infinite finds its expression—and this, of course, for the sinful man, can only be through revelation. And thus are we able to perceive how the Cathedral, that is Christian Art, has come to be the incomparable miracle that it is among the race's doings, and that every Cathedral constrains us to feel that it is. It is not long wonderful that man could build as the Egyptians did, or as the Greeks, but it is a never ceasing wonder how man could build as the Gothic builders did—until we come to recollect that it was not of man. Let the perpendicular line be given, that is, the line that once started takes on its own growth, even as the fields and forests show us, and the style must develop, it will of itself carry the builder's hand with it. Not so the Greek, in which the man must elaborate every step. But how came this perpendicular line to be started? What but the good Spirit could teach the sinful man to dare to urge the growth of his temple into heaven itself? Mentally, therefore, on the ground of the mere natural man, the Doric building is the greater work, even as Plato was a greater man than Clemens;—spiritually, and thus drawing the man, reason, intellect, imagination and all, as the instrument of a higher Power, the Cathedral is incomparably the greatest work of the ages,—even as the Church is the greatest of all. The Cathedral thus shows us what the Christian Faith has done for the natural and civil man. The transition from the forming period of Byzantine Art, to the flowering of the true Gothic, was almost instantaneous. Not only did the style become grander, but at the same time became most beautiful. We shall find the base of a Cathedral in the heavy forms of the Norman, with crude Celtic enrichments, and the exquisite lines of the Greek elements debased into actual grotesqueness, and, as it were, in a moment, shall see the order above the base, flowering into the most exquisitely beautiful forms of the Christian Pointed. The power was not of man, it was a Higher Power guiding the man. It was a Power, it was the Holy Spirit of God, leading the man of faith at once into the world of genial nature. But how then is it that

the perfect Cathedral still retains something of an Archaic element, as in its animal sculptures? The reason lies in all the difference between being compelled to do a certain thing, and daring to do so. The Gothic could appropriate the Egyptian Sphinx, should it choose so to do. Indeed the Cathedral has, distinctly, as we have seen, the architecture of the world within it, but then all is appropriated to the Christian spirit, all is one through the faith. Hence, precisely as that Faith can dare to use the bones of the man as the death-emblem, because it knows assuredly that the whole body, soul, and spirit shall rise again, or rather has risen again, so the Christian Church can turn that "abstract," which is the sign of death to the heathen, into an emblem of life and resurrection beauty.

It follows that the Gothic is not yet universal for the world, only for the Christian world. A Grecian building is not out of place in India; the Cathedral would be, because the Cathedral presupposes so much. The missionary church to such a people should rather be the Norman; unless indeed it be necessary for the people of India to become civilized in order to their being christianized, and then the missionary should carry with his schools, the columnar Art of Greece.

We have now, alas, to say, that almost as soon as the Pointed Art came to perfection, we find it beginning to degenerate. The process commenced in the depression of the arch-point—till at last, at the up-breaking which went before the Reformation, it had become only a debased modification of horizontal art. Thus the way was prepared for the great relapse into certain portions of the ethnical Art through which our review has carried us, a relapse which has its grossest, vilest monument and stigma in the so called Renaissance. The church of St. Peters, at Rome, forms its bad glory. That church is the Christian cross overlaid with the Art of the Pantheon. It is a heathenized Cathedral, a carnalized Christian faith. It is one of the most mortifying monuments of the Art. It is the sign that the spirit of this world has overcome the Church.

Let us take that dome of St. Peters. We might equally take that of St. Pauls of London; but the deed was first done at Rome. We have seen through what tentation, what suffering, what long workings the Christian nation at last freed its heart of the world-lines of that imprisoning mass. We found it coincident with a purely spiritual process, so much so that the pointed Cathedral breaking through, and at the same time carrying with it the circular world-line, as the earthly basis of reality, cannot be explained except upon the hypothesis of the Catholic Church at last finding its unity in the spiritual Man, who is the Lord from heaven. How then could Christianity, had it remained Catholic, have gone back to the beggarly elements of the Roman bridge, the Pantheon? We hold, to the sight, that palpable dome of St. Peters, as the transubstantiated degradation of the spiritual glory of the true Cathedral unity, which as it was a spiritual result, though not the less but more an incarnation, yet not for the present seen. It is an attempt to impinge upon the senses, what can only be exhibited to the spirit. We hold, therefore, that the Pope who built that dome, ought to have made his home in it. If the head is to be seen, he ought there to show himself. The vatican palace should be in the dome of the church. And we also hold, that if there be truth in man or in history, that dome must be resolved again—those sad and most backward steps must be retraced, the world-spirit must give way to the spirit of the true unity, access to which in the Cathedral can only be in connection with the re-opening of the dome—both so that the spirit of man can ascend, and the Lord, the Head, come down. The bishop of that church will have to take his seat with all under bishops in the chair, or else that dome, by the very sign and token of its abnormal aesthetic "set," stands in danger of falling back to its own place, which is this carnal world, as we have already found the Egyptian in a like danger of doing, in its own way, but which was in mercy prevented, even by means of its reformation—disintegration, and better reconstruction, in the hands of the higher nations.

That the unity of the true Catholic Cathedral is a spiritual unity, having its Head in heaven, is palpable to the very logic of the building. Take again the lines which compose the gable, or the pointed arch. They are two—but their sustaining union and relation, have produced a third thing. What is that thing? It is the resulting thought, the idea. How represented? represented in the actual lines, in the resulting composition, but represented to the mind. That third thing, which after all is the main thing, is something felt, known, a created reality—but not seen; if seen, the glory of the Cathedral is gone. If that glory resides in the invisible cross created by the style over the central Tower; it *is* gone in the attempt at the actual representation of the unity of the style in the solid dome. It destroyed itself in the process. In seeking to represent to the sight an idea, which only remains such for the reason, it fell under the power of the previous element of the logical singleness. To require a man to look up, for example, under the solid dome of St. Peters, and say he sees heaven, is to require an impossibility. One can see heaven through the central tower, because he is in the representative world of the Spirit, which is the true witness of the Incarnation, and by faith he looks and sees all that the true Church tells him to see. But to see heaven through the solid mass of a heathen dome, or rather to see it in that solid mass, is asking too much of man. It is not asking of faith, it is asking it of the overpowered understanding of the natural man, in a way not altogether unlike that in which the Sphinx requires him to be still. It is our opinion, that few men, of late, have gone from Protestant religion to the Roman, upon the ground of the reason or of the spirit, but upon the ground of the overmastered understanding. The logic of the Church of Rome is a fearful thing, and so also is this huge dome of St. Peters, which is the very substance of logic itself. Angelo, the man that made the Moses, was the wild, wilful man to do the work. Probably most men feel something when standing beneath it, and so also most men will feel something under the

architraves of Karnac; but the right Christian man would rather find himself under that arch whose legitimate artistic finish is the cross, (and not the statue) under that dome (central tower) through which the holy safe and spiritual incarnation of the style leads his spirit with all certainty, even as through the waiting Church unto her waiting Head in heaven.

This thing at least we find to be the fact, and it is a remarkable and significant fact—that since the Church of Rome adopted the palatial Renaissance as the palace-temple of her visible head, in St. Peters—that Church has everywhere forsaken the Catholic Christian Art. In Mexico and South America, in our own cities, as well as in the old world, the Roman Church is still throwing up its Roman columns, pilasters, arches, and domes. It does not seem able to frame its speech to the Gothic, even when it makes the attempt. As in the Cathedral of Montreal, the Church of St. Patrick in New York, it will so mutter a little, grow ashamed, and stop. Its architectural doom was sealed in St. Peters, and St. Peters was built when the Jesuit had turned the Church into the papacy—the old Roman power of the crushing will. Far be it from our thoughts to deny the work of the Roman Church, so long as it was the true work of the Catholic Church; but to our view she became sectional at the building of St. Peters, and there we cannot follow. Her great work, her divine work, was the leading of the nations into the safe and glorious place of the Pointed Cathedral, and there we altogether prefer to remain. If another development of Christian Art is to come, that is of the Catholic Church, we are absolutely certain it cannot be by going back to the circle, and the columns of the temple of Agrippa. If the work of the Church is completed, then indeed might this physical return of the Renaissance Cathedral be somewhat legitimate; if the Church is still militant, it is false. The Renaissance has the world-definite lines of the Grecian Art, for the eye, without one spark of its ideality for the mind—what *can* it then have for the spirit and faith?

The Crusader went forth under the sign of the cross, warring against the world, the flesh, and the devil, on the plains of the Orient. He came back, the saddened and so triumphant palmer; and the Pointed Cathedral is developed. That Cathedral is the militant Church. And thus again reveals its authentic character in the Catholic faith. It is actually true that the effect of the Gothic interior is churchly in this respect; it is that of a certain sadness, that of a careful joy, that of a sanctified sorrowfulness—the work is not done—the mystical Body rejoices to fill up what remains of the afflictions of the True. It represents now the struggle of the whole creation yearning under the cross, and with a holy willingness, yet saying, how long, how long. Whereas the circular dome is a world-picture, where all is defined and set, but in the actual confusion of old elementary origins, not so much as marshalled into the unities of rank and motion. Had the Crusader come back the actual conqueror, he would have been conquered—the kingdom would have been of this world—and Renaissance Duomo, the Musaeum of the Art of Greece and Rome, would have been his proper representative. As he came with the sanctified lessons of sorrow, toil, and pain, he shows us that the Church is still in the struggle, and he shows us, when he planted his cross above its arches, under what sign the warfare is to go forward. The true Cathedral should make every believer a more serious, earnest, stirring Christian—the dome will cause him to rest contented in the world. The religion of the Cathedral is that which is never satisfied with present attainments, which never as yet imagines the period of rest, which has never conceived of that self-satisfied feeling, which is one of the worst assumptions of the unchurchly spirit. It finds in the Pascals, of all ages of the Church, its truest disciples, and it finds its full warrant for the same in the life and teachings of the Lord.

It is this spirit of a churchly faith which is the especial want of Protestant christendom, and which we believe the good Master is now reviving among many portions of

his people. If the day is to come when there is to be the one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, and we know that day is to come, then must each of the great bodies of the now disparted sacramental host, move toward each other. A true development in the progress of the Christian ages does not long proceed in parallel lines. The Spirit now in the world is ever the Spirit of unity. The Greek, the Roman, and the Protestant host must come together, and make one new thing. The patriarch may hold back, the pope may utterly refuse, Protestantism may hear it with scorn; but we must come together, and we shall. As for us, we cannot in sense or faith, hold ourselves at the perfect reach. The work of the Reformation is still working, we can scarcely have entered upon the forming period. The fact that portions of the Protestant Church have come to a sense of the necessity of re-gathering some of the forgotten elements of Catholic Christianity, is for us a most hopeful token of good. With the view that imagines the Church of the Reformation bore the commission of perfecting in itself the work of Christianity, we cannot sympathize. It is not the way the Lord has dealt with the ages, and the result does not show that it has been other than a tentative process. Much less, of course, can we sympathize with the view that dares to look upon the work of the Reformation as not being the work of the Lord. The man is an object of pity who can look at the Church of Leo, and at the Church of Luther, and doubt if the Spirit of the Master were with the latter. But then we may as yet be but at the beginning of the end. Few great periods of the Church can be defined under shorter limits than five or three centuries. A part of the work which the Protestant Church has to do, in order to the unity of the body, is to draw nearer to the patriarch and the pope, in the fullest reappropriation of the Catholic faith, of which they judge themselves to be the representatives; and to show them in the spirit of love, that in all respects they are not.

Let us, in conclusion, indulge in a few words as it respects the Architecture of the future. Our review of the

progress of Christian Art to the period of the perfect Cathedral, has shown that while that great building does contain the world's work, the full contributions of all nations' Architecture, even as had before been demanded of the nations for the Tabernacle ; we also saw how the work was principally done through the parallel and commutual instrumentality of forms proceeding from the old world's last two great peoples—the Greek and the Roman. We also found the Roman the prominent element. The Basilica was a Romaic-Greek building. Its columns came from Athens, its arch was made by Rome, the resulting composition was hence far more artistically Roman than Greek. This is the germ of the perfect Cathedral.

Is it possible now that the Cathedral of the future shall reverse the process, and make the Greek element the predominant one ? Here we have to say for the Reformation work, that it is doing something in the Church like that which Greece did for man. It is proceeding upon the idea of the development of personality, as attained through spiritual freedom. In many cases it has gone too far, acted too roughly, as of course every fresh era must do ; has fallen in large portions under the isolating and separating sway of dynamic forces, and sometimes has in parts been found in danger of denying the Church, and the spiritual Power in the world. But if there be any truth in history, it is a great work going on under the good and merciful Providence of the great King. Then again, as it respects the probability of Greek Art becoming the prominent element in the Church of the future, we are to remember that that Art has never yet been thus appropriated, for which we have no sufficient explanation, on the supposition that it is not so to come forward. The Greek was the last natural man ; he was appointed to gather up and reconstruct the work of all nations in the behalf of the world for the coming of the Lord. His philosophy has been so appropriated, it did the thinking of the first centuries of the Church ; his literature is so used to this day ; his Art could not be so used because it fell into the hands of executors

who necessarily had no genius for Art. But then the Doric temple does, of all things, represent the Sabbath of the heathen nations. The grand repose of Greek Art is the four thousand years' struggle of the natural man come, in the Lord's mercy for the Church's sake, to its triumphant rest. Is this also a foreshadowing of the development of the Church? As we have in the Romaic Catholic Cathedral the Church militant, are we to have, in a Hellenistic Catholic Cathedral, the Church triumphant, at rest? We are by no means here wondering whether we should begin to build Christian churches in the Horizontal Art; we have done too much of it already. We see no Corinthian capital, we see no circular arch, in the true Cathedral, and yet it is the growth of the Romaic germ. Possibly some three or five centuries hence there may be a Cathedral which can then be equally seen to be the development of the Grecian germ. In the mean time we shall help forward the day of blessedness, by a loving, cordial, and reverent use of the Art which the Church Catholic has wrought out for us. Let us by all means leave for the present, the column and the circle to the world, to the State. The Christian State will also do its work of preparation; let not the Church act consciously in any attempt to originate. It would be the death-blow of every rational hope. It was done in the city of Rome in the fifteenth century, and it so resulted. Let us heartily re-adopt the Creed of the Church, the Liturgy of the Church; and the true Architecture of the Church must follow. This Architecture is capable of boundless modification; it is of its very essence to be so, if true. Let us learn to love it, and so shall we intelligently apply it. We may not build Cathedrals, it might not be advisable if we could. We may build in the pointed Arch, the perpendicular Line, the heaven-ascending Spire, and this is Christian Architecture.

Princeton, N. J. W. A. D.

Art. III.—THE MEANS OF GRACE.

THE WORD OF GOD, HOLY BAPTISM AND THE HOLY SUPPER.

The following article is a translation of the Ninth Lecture of the excellent little work of Sartorius on the "Person and Work of Christ." It has been translated for the pages of the *Review*, as well on account of its intrinsic merits as because it was omitted in the translation of Mr. Stearns, which was published several years ago The reason for this omission is given by Mr. Stearns in the following language: "The previous Chapter (Lecture it should be) discusses the Lutheran view of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, but is omitted in the translation as inapplicable to the ideas upon that subject held by Christians generally on this side of the water." A writer in the Mercersburg Review, Vol. I, p. 162, *et seq.*, (Dr. Nevin) in a review of Sartorius, speaks of this Lecture as a "rich, instructive and edifying discourse," and severely censures this translator for omitting it. The learned reviewer pronounces the omission to be a "glaring wrong" against Sartorius, nothing less indeed than a "downright spiritual forgery, which deserves to be abhorred by all good men."

We have now seen what Christ, the God-man, suffered and did for us; we have become acquainted with the greatness of His sacrifice for humanity, the all-sufficiency of His merit for the redemption of the world, together with the unspeakable love of God to the sinner. Let us now consider how we may come to possess and enjoy those gifts of grace which the Saviour has purchased for us.

Are we to suppose, that, after finishing his work, he left it to mere chance, to extend the blissful fruits thereof—that he gathered a treasure and then left its distribution to sheer

accident? This is in its own nature inconceivable; besides, the Holy Scriptures teach us just the contrary. The Lord himself, during his earthly life, founded *three* institutions, by means of which His Person and Work should be made known to and appropriated by men of all ages. These are the preaching of the Word, Holy Baptism and the Holy Supper. Besides He promised His disciples the outpouring and communication of the Holy Spirit (John 14: 16, *et seq.*), who was to be their Comforter and Helper, and lead them into all truth; who was to move, enlighten and sanctify the hearts of men, and form of his professed followers a Church bound together in faith and love. Thus by means of the Holy Ghost, the Christian Church was to arise and extend itself over the earth, established upon the Word and the Sacraments, as the divinely appointed channels through which the Holy Ghost conducts among men the saving operations of redeeming Grace. In other words, they are the media through which He makes the work of Christ effectual in our souls. Hence they are called the *Means of Grace.* They have been committed to the Church of Christ, in which, accordingly, for their public administration, there exists, as a continuation of the apostolic office, the office of *teaching* or *preaching.* By the means of grace, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, we are now brought to salvation in Christ, in and through the Church. These means of grace we will now separately consider.

The *first*, and most important of the means of grace, is the *Word of God*, in the twofold form of Law and Gospel, or the doctrine of Faith and Morals. The Word, or, which is the same thing, the Revelation of God, in its original, most pure and most holy form, is the Holy Scripture itself, as it is contained in the Old Testament, as well as in the New. It was written by men, who, since they were to be the first, infallible witnesses of divine revelation, and valid for all times, were under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost, whose souls were filled with the clearest light, and the purest love of the truth; as Peter says (1 Peter 1: 21): "Holy men of God spake as they were mov-

ed by the Holy Ghost." The Old Testament contains more especially the Law, interspersed, however, with numerous evangelical promises, particularly in the Prophets. The New Testament contains mainly the Gospel, with which, however, are combined also frequent teachings of the Law, as for instance, in the Sermon on the Mount, as well as in most of the Epistles at their close. The difference between the Law and the Gospel we have seen in a previous Lecture. Christ, whom the Old Testament predicts and foreshadows, and for whom, as the promised One, it prepares the way, and whom the New Testament represents as *present*, is the *central-point* of both Testaments. He is the consummation and fulfilment of the Law, the holy Pattern of all righteousness; He is the living Gospel, the Way, the Truth and the Life, through whom alone we come to the Father; the Mediator, who in his person unites Godhead and Manhood, and by his righteousness overcomes sin in fact. Not simply the doctrines of the Bible, but also its facts and histories belong to revelation; since God has, by word and deed, revealed his eternal power, holiness and grace; and the facts of Scripture according as they imply punishment or blessing, range themselves either under the Law or under the Gospel. In accordance with the counsel of God, Holy Scripture was written far less for the times when it originated—for these times had the oral teachings of the Prophets and Apostles—than for all subsequent times, that the people of God might draw from it continually the divine Truth in its *original* power, spirit and accuracy, as from the purest fountain-head. The object of the Holy Scriptures, as a whole, is instruction and edification unto salvation and holiness, as Paul says (2 Tim. 3: 15, *et. seq*): "And that from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith, which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: That the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." Also Rom. 15: 4: "For whatso-

ever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope.'" It is, accordingly, the most powerful instrument by which the Holy Spirit, by means of the Law and its examples, leads us to a penitent knowledge of sin and consequent ruin, awakening in us thus the need of grace and salvation; and then by means of the *Gospel* and its facts affords us comfort and peace in Christ, justifying, sanctifying and blessing us through faith. The childlike simplicity of its most instructive histories and parables, the plainness of its most important and most wholesome passages, the facility with which it is understood, the variety of its contents, all teaching one thing as needful for all stations, circumstances and relations of human life, its living power and force, the dignity and majesty of its language, all these cause it to be peculiarly adapted to the ends of divine interposition and grace.

But as it is the Word of God it must be read with respectful attention and proper self-application. We must keep those doctrines in view prominently which have special reference to ourselves and those histories which illustrate our own character and age, as well as the truths which God designs thereby to impress upon the hearts of men in general as well as of each person in particular. Thus the history of the children of Israel in the Old Testament recounting their manifold wanderings, the ever-recurring mercies and wonderful leadings by the hand of God, will always be a standard by which to judge of the progressive history of the kingdom of God as well as of the life of each individual. In the warnings, comfortings, threatenings and promises of the Prophets we perceive the voice of God addressing *all* nations and all periods of the world. The Psalms give expression to *our* prayers, our praises and thanksgivings, our songs of penitence and lamentation, our sighs and supplications, our comfort and our confidence. So too in all the Gospel narratives we recognize the compassionate love of the Saviour, receiving the sinner, giving rest to the weary and heavy laden, feeding the hungry,

opening the eyes of the blind, and healing not simply the ills of the body, but also—what we are all enduring—the greater ills of the soul. The Epistles are full of instruction, comfort and exhortation. Accordingly a devout and faithful reading of the Bible, accompanied with prayer for illumination, is to be urgently commended to every Christian. Christ himself says (John 5: 39): "Search the Scriptures; they are they which testify of me." The Word of God, however, is not to be found simply in the inspired Scriptures; it is also at hand in the Christian Church, and in various forms of derivation from this source. As such, we have above all, the oral preaching of the Word in the worshipping assemblies, the catechisation of the youth, spiritual conversation and books of Christian instruction and devotion of various kinds. As among the last mentioned, there are many which are superficial, insipid, and full of error, passing off a sickly sentimentality, and painted virtues for Christian piety, it is necessary to try them by this rule: Whether Christ, very God and very Man, is the centre, around which every thing is made to revolve, and that not simply as an Example and Teacher, but rather as the Mediator, Redeemer and Herald of the Gospel.

We now turn from the consideration of the Word of God to the Holy *Sacraments*, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The Sacraments are holy acts (Handlungen) of the Gospel, and sustain a relation to it which is similar to that which the sacrifices sustained to the Law. As the Law commands and requires that which man is to do towards God, so it has also its holy ceremonies and gifts which men present to God in order thereby to secure his love. These are the sacrifices. Since Christ himself has offered the most perfect sacrifice of atonement, a sacrifice of eternal efficacy, and of which the imperfect sacrifices of the Old Testament were only types; sacrifices for sin are no longer required in the Church; we are to present only the sacrifice of *Prayer*, and especially that of Praise and Thanksgiving for the blessings of divine grace which we have received.

But as the Gospel does not only teach what God has done for us but has its rich promises besides, so it has also its holy acts, and its gifts which God presents to men, or causes to be presented to them through his ministers, and these are the Sacraments. They are not good works or sacrificial acts which *we* perform, but acts of grace which are done towards us and which we have only to accept. They are added to the Word of the Gospel as visible and confirmatory signs, in order to awaken and strengthen our faith in it, without which it would be of no benefit to us; just as in common life it is customary when a promise is given to join hands or to affix a seal to a written document, not as though something new were to be added thereby, but only to confirm and render more credible the promise which has been given.

Hence the Sacraments are called also the *visible* Word by means of which the gracious operations of the Holy Spirit are yet more specially and impressively mediated than through the oral or written word; for through them the general promises of grace are specially made over, sealed to and appropriated by each individual, which, for his personal relation to God, and the assurance of his being in a state of grace, is of the highest importance. Since it is not in the power of man to promise the grace of God, so neither can man appoint confirmatory signs thereof; just as in human affairs, no subject can, in his own right, institute a token of his monarch's favor. To constitute a sacrament, therefore, a scripturally authenticated divine institution, by which the promise of grace is bound to a visible sign, is required. Sacred acts, which do not possess these requisites, are not sacraments. Sacraments are divinely appointed visible signs and seals of an invisible grace. We Protestants, in accordance with the scriptural idea, enumerate only *two* sacraments, since other sacred acts of the Church, however appropriate and important they may otherwise be, are yet wanting in the divine institution, or the sign appointed by the Church, or the special promise of saving grace.

The first Sacrament is Holy Baptism. This was instituted by Christ himself as a laver of regeneration, to which is joined the promise of Grace; or as Paul calls it (Eph. 5: 26): "a washing of water through the Word" or "the washing of regeneration" (Titus 3: 5). Its institution is found Matth. 28: 19; the promise Mark 16: 16: "He that believeth shall be saved." It is administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, since by means of it we receive the adoption of the Father, the righteousness of the Son and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost; and this indeed is effected through the mediation of Christ's sacrificial death, or his baptism of death, on which account it is particularly held up to view that we are baptized into the Lord's death, Rom. 6: 1, *et. seq.* In consequence of the offence of our first parents, who are the root of the entire human race (Rom. 5: 12)—in consequence of that first sin to which is applicable the words:

"Das eben ist der Fluch der bösen That,
Dass sie fortzeugend Böses muss gebären",*

every man is born with original sin or with the germ of selfishness. (Ps. 51: 5.) This germ is developed simultaneously with man's development, and, the will consenting to its allurement, it bears evil fruits; and without the counteracting influence of divine grace, it must lead man continually farther from God, involve him deeper in sin, and finally plunge him into perdition. Man is, accordingly, unrighteous before God by nature, even before he has committed any actual sin, and is, therefore, in the eyes of men, innocent as a child; but the root of actual sins, the hidden seed of the tares, which is not concealed from the eyes of God, is already at hand in him and renders him unclean before God. It likewise makes its appearance very soon in the selfish propensities of children, which it cannot be said are necessary for their self-preservation; for they are far more hurtful than beneficial. By nature, therefore, man cannot, with his unclean heart, be a child and favorite

* This is the curse attaching to sin, that one bad deed must beget another.

of God, nor can he be a partaker of the Holy Ghost, since he is influenced rather by the wicked and unclean spirit. Hence if Grace did not become interested in his behalf, he would become a child of perdition; as Christ himself says: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." (John 3: 5.) But the Saviour of the lost takes compassion on him, and scarcely has he entered upon natural life than He meets him with His mercies, and that indeed not simply in a spiritual and invisible manner, but also in the visible sign and pledge of Holy Baptism. It is a washing with water, as a sign and seal that all impurity and uncleanness in man shall be washed away, that is, forgiven and blotted out, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, that the purity and innocence of Christ shall be accounted to the child and that it shall be thus adopted of God who does not desire that one of these little ones should be lost. Hence it is called the laver of *regeneration* (Titus 3: 5); because by it the child, though at first still unconscious, passes out of the kingdom and spirit of the world into the kingdom of God, and becomes a partaker of His Spirit, and is transformed from a child of the flesh into a child of grace. The seal of its original destination to the image of God and to the inheritance of eternal life is impressed anew; and while in the Church of Christ, of which it is a member, all means and helps are furnished for reaching this end. Hence too a person receives in baptism from his sponsors, who represent the Church, in addition to his family name, a new Christian name. The baptism to which Christ, as man, submitted Himself for our sakes, is a visible type of that which takes place in every baptism in an invisible manner; hence we should always manifest the greatest reverence when it is administered in our presence. The Holy Subject of baptism sees heaven open as a testimony that baptism opens heaven for us; the voice of the Father is heard: "This is my well-beloved Son in whom I am well pleased," as an evidence that in baptism we become God's adopted children, and the Holy Ghost broods over the holy transaction in the form of a

dove to testify that the spirit of love, innocence and child-like simplicity is to dwell in the person of him who has been baptized.

The rite of baptism is for the most part indeed administered in childhood; but its power, value and blessing must extend through the whole subsequent life. The objections that some have made to the very ancient practice of infant baptism, proceed mostly on the assumption that the value of the act is confined to the time of its administration. In that case the benefit would of course be greater in the adult; because it is made to depend upon the degree of *faith* in the promises of which baptism is the pledge; but faith with all its blessed consequences by no means requires the presence of the rite, but only the fact of its having taken place, and can find pleasure in it sooner, for a longer time and to a greater extent, the earlier in life it has been administered. Does a man indeed only then become the child of his parents, and does he only then enjoy their love, when he becomes clearly and fully conscious of his relation to them? Is he not rather their child from the moment of his birth, although he does not then know anything of it? Is it indeed necessary that he should be born a second time, in order that in riper years, he may with certainty rejoice in his sonship and the happy consequences flowing from it? Just so does the matter stand in regard to regeneration. Once received into the kingdom of God, the whole Christian life is to be a higher development and continuation of the divine adoption obtained in baptism in the presence of witnesses, whereby, through faith and love, the old man of sin is to be more and more mortified and subdued, and the new man of righteousness is to be more and more quickened in us, as St. Paul says (Rom. 6: 3 and 4): "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."

But in order that the covenant of grace, into which,

through the medium of sponsors, God by baptism receives the baptized person, may be ratified and concluded on *his part* also, by an express and solemn vow and confession of faith, the Christian Church, following the apostolic custom (Acts 8: 4), has instituted Confirmation or the ratification of the baptismal vow. Confirmation is preceded by instruction out of the Word of God; in the act itself a confession of faith is made and the covenant of baptism renewed; then follow, with the laying on of hands, the consecration and the renewal of the obligations of the baptismal covenant, to which is joined, after confession and absolution, the first participation of the other Sacrament, that is, of the Holy Supper. Thus in Confirmation, as in the focus of Christian life, all three means of Grace meet; the Word, by means of the instruction previously imparted, Baptism, in the renewal of its vow, and the Holy Supper, in its first participation. Hence too, Confirmation, although it takes place but once, must extend its benefit and blessing over the whole of our life.

The *other* Sacrament is the Holy Supper. As Baptism is the commencement and implantation of the Christian life, so the Lord's Supper serves to nourish and support it, and hence it is to be repeated, whilst repetition in the case of Baptism is inadmissible. The Holy Supper, was instituted by Christ on the last night before his Passion, and the promise of Grace by which He communicates to us His presence and the benefits of His atonement, is expressly woven into the words of institution, since it is declared: "This is my body which is given for you," and, "This is my blood shed for you and for many for the remission of sins." Christ instituted the Holy Supper just before His separation from His disciples. They were now to be deprived of His personal presence, after having so long enjoyed it, since for the world's salvation He was approaching death. What now would be more natural and salutary than a divine institution through which He promised to them in time to come as well as to all His people in future ages, His presence and the communication of Himself through an out-

ward, visible medium? According to His divine nature he could indeed be always and everywhere present to them in a spiritual manner; but this general and incomprehensible presence could not at all be a substitute for His peculiar and definitely circumscribed presence? Besides He did not design to be present with them simply as God; but desired to impart and communicate Himself to them and take them into His fellowship as the God-man, or Mediator. This He could not do through His divine omnipresence. Hence He instituted in the Holy Supper a peculiar divine-human presence of Himself in the Church, for He says most expressly of the bread of the altar: "This is my body," and of the wine: "This is my blood." By these words He joins His invisible, incomprehensible and gracious presence to the visible and comprehensible elements of bread and wine, so that in the Sacrament we need not seek for it in heaven or elsewhere, but just where He Himself has placed it, namely, in the elements of the Sacrament, in the bread and the wine. Here then Christ is present to us, yet not in a merely outward manner as in the symbol; He imparts Himself to us; in the use of the elements He communicates Himself to us as our Saviour in an inward manner. Even in ordinary life every communication of supersensible objects, is effected through a sensuous medium, and reaches our mind apprehended by sensuous organs. Every thought and every feeling in order to be communicated to others, must assume a body, a word or sign, and then clothed therein it reaches our soul only through the medium of the eye or the ear. Why then cannot Christ be food for the souls of believers when He is orally received, according to His word, in the bread and the wine? He is such in truth. Just as all spiritual blessings are food for the soul, so He, who is the sum and substance of all blessings, is the true food and the true drink of our spiritual life.

This is what He Himself says (John 6: 35 and 51): "He that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst. . . . I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of

this bread he shall live forever; and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." In order that the spiritual fruition of Christ, which is effected by faith, may be continually sustained in us spiritual-corporeal beings, whom every supernatural blessing from without can reach only through a sensuous medium, and when this has been interrupted by sin, can be restored again only under a similar form, the Lord in His condescending grace has instituted the Holy Supper. Here by means of His invisible presence in the visible elements of the consecrated bread and wine, Christ unites himself renewedly with us in the most intimate manner for our salvation. Not as though the bread and wine were actually changed into his body and blood, as the Roman Catholic Church teaches; as little as in the Incarnation of the Son of God humanity was changed into Divinity, so little are the bread and wine changed into the substance of Christ; but here as there the union is inward only; supernatural, it is true, yet none the less real, and true according to the promise of Christ.

Will it be said that that only is true and real which we can feel and grasp with our dull senses? Were those stars, which we cannot see with the naked eye, not real, until they were discovered by the latest invented telescopes? Or does nihility begin there where our senses, even the most refined, end? Is it not the most active powers rather, as for example, life itself, which are withdrawn from all observation of the senses? Is air nothing, because we do not see it? is light nothing, because it is imponderable? or is light not present in glass and sound in the air, without glass being changed into light, and air into sound? Why then cannot the Omnipotent Christ be present in the consecrated elements of his Sacrament?

You may say this is impossible; since He is in heaven at the right hand of God, He cannot be present in the Holy Supper. We should bear in mind, however, what has been said in regard to Christ's ascension and sitting at the right

hand of God.* Heaven is not a fixed place, but the unlimited dwelling place of Jehovah, and the right hand of God is nothing else than the almighty and everywhere present power of God. Just because Christ is now sitting at the right hand of God, and because His human and bodily nature is now infinitely exalted and glorified, just on this account He can now be present in His whole person wherever He will; even as we ourselves when we shall be freed from this our chrysalis state, will have a less circumscribed presence than we now have.

It is further objected that the eating of Christ's body and the drinking of His blood is a horrible conception; but the horribleness is brought into the conception by the objector himself, since he apprehends it, as in the case of the Jews at Capernaum (John 6: 52), in a crass and inhuman manner. But there is another way of partaking of a person's flesh and blood, which, although it is still extremely material and sensuous, has yet nothing shocking in it, but is rather the type of the tenderest love; we have reference here to a mother's nourishing her infant at her breast with her own flesh and blood. But the eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Christ in the Sacrament, is not to be compared even with this, because here everything grossly material is excluded, and only the essential substance of His body and blood is supernaturally received with, and under, the bread and wine. Here then everything offensive and repulsive vanishes, and what remains is only the seal and witness of the greatest and most tender love—that love, which caused Him, in the deepest condescension, to offer himself a sacrifice for us, and now joins us to Himself in the most intimate communion, making us, in the language of St. Paul (Eph. 5: 30), to be "members of his body," who shall be saved in faith and love by having communicated to us His righteousness and all His spiritual gifts.

This, therefore, is that most venerable and most holy

* Vide Lecture V.

Sacrament of the Supper, for which the Apostle (1 Cor. 11) requires so earnest a preparation, because those who partake of it unworthily, i. e., without repentance and faith, are guilty of the body and blood of the *present* Christ. Hence, too, the Church has instituted Confession and Absolution previous to the Communion, in order that communicants may beforehand recognize and acknowledge themselves as sinners, who are hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and receive the promise of Justification, which in the Sacrament is sealed to them by means of the appropriation of Christ and His righteousness. We will not envy those who see in this meal only an outward figurative memorial of an absent Christ, which makes nothing more of Him to be present, than what they may put into it out of their own minds. Such, verily, would do better to contemplate a crucifix or an *ecce homo*, or some other image of Jesus, than to eat a piece of bread and drink a sip of wine, destroying thus the recollection sign in the very act of its reception. Such poor souls are to be compared to persons, who, in an important document or a will conferring great possessions, which is not the mere sign of an inheritance, should regard simply the paper on which it is written, and not the valuable contents, or to those who should throw away the diamond and keep only the casing. But we, as the rich heirs, will hold fast to the holy legacy, whole and entire, which, just before His passion, our bountiful and gracious Lord bequeathed to His believing Church.

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ART. IV.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

VII. MY TRAVELS IN PELOPONNESUS.

C. HISTORY OF SPARTA AND THE MOREA DURING THE SCLAVONIAN INVASIONS AND THE CRUSADES.

Different opinions on the nationality of the Modern Greeks—Invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Avars—Sclavonian settlements—Description of that people—Their conversion to Christianity and allegiance to Byzantium—Happy state of the Morea—Commerce and industry—Conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders—Otho de la Roche, Duke of Athens—William de Champlitte, Prince of the Morea—Geoffrey de Ville-Hardoin, his bailiff—Mediæval Sparta—Keeps the sovereignty by fraud—Successful reign of his sons—Flourishing state of the Franks—Their rapid decline—Byzantine despotism—Ottoman conquest.

IN the preceding articles of our Review* I described the localities and still existing ruins of ancient Sparta, and dwelt at some length on interesting discoveries lately made in Laconia of monuments from remote periods of antiquity. Having followed up its history through the times of Roman dominion and the spread of Christianity, I have now arrived at the more obscure era of the Middle Ages, during which Sparta, and indeed all Greece, suffered many vicissitudes of foreign invasion and changes in government, institutions and manners through the intermixture of the barbarian conquerors with the native population.

* See the articles on "Sparta and the Dorians," in Mercersburg Quarterly Review for July, 1856, and January, 1857.

As a distant and obscure province of the Byzantine Empire, Greece was rarely mentioned by the contemporary writers of Constantinople. The few scattered, yet important passages, which refer to that country, did not, however, escape the attention of Gibbon. In a few bold sketches, drawn with a master-hand, the profound historian has described the relations of mediæval Greece from the original sources.*

Yet the closer investigation of this subordinate subject did not come within the grand out-lines of his general history of the world through a thousand years. It was not until the time of the war of independence in Greece, when the sympathy of the civilized world became directed toward the Greek nation, so perseveringly struggling against Ottoman despotism, that the question arose among the learned: whether the modern Greeks were indeed the true descendants of the ancient Hellenes, or a mixed Græco-Sclavonian race?

This question having been once started, warm and even passionate discussions could not but follow. Historical testimony was sought on both sides. One party boldly asserted that the present inhabitants of Greece were only Byzantinized Sclavonians; while another upheld them as the lineal progeny of the Hellenes of antiquity—the descendants of Leonidas and Pericles.

As to the Greeks themselves, they, naturally enough, disown any admixture of barbarian blood and repel with scorn any suggestion that their descent is less genuine than their faith *orthodox*. The educated classes in Greece are at present well acquainted with their ancient history, and the many schools and colleges, established in every part of the country, have for the last twenty years exerted a powerful influence on the general education of this lively and intelligent people.

Yet their knowledge of the past ends with the Roman conquest of Greece. The long dreary period of Byzantine

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Chapt. LIII.

rule is to them nearly a blank leaf, only here and there sprinkled with theological schisms and controversies and the legends and miracles of their saints. The Greek knows nothing of the Sclavonian invasion of his native country, and he never heard of its long occupation by the Latin Crusaders. Only some scattered traditions from the feudal times have been preserved among the farmers and shepherds of the Morea. Such, for instance, is their tale about the castle of the Fair Lady—*της ωραιας το χαστρον*—in Laconia and a few others.

But when the traveler questions them about the turetted castle-ruins of the Crusaders still proudly rising over many a craggy height in the Morea, Attica, Bœotia and other parts of the mainland—they will always return the indefinite answer: that these old relics—*palæokastra*—were built by the Venetians, even in regions which never were occupied by the Lion of Saint Mark.*

Inquiries concerning the Sclavonian settlements in mediæval Greece had already been started by Colonel Martin Leake in 1814. This sagacious traveler was the first to observe that many localities in Greece, villages, mountains, and rivers bore names of Sclavonian origin, the counterpart of which are found in the most distant provinces of Russia and Poland. This discovery was made more generally known by the subsequent publication of the travels of Dodwell, Gell and those of Leake in 1830, and it now began to attract the attention of scholars to an hitherto uninvestigated period of Grecian history.

In Germany this discussion was carried on with more spirit and learning than impartial and discriminating criticism. The vivid fancy of the German savans and their well known predilection for new, startling theories, sometimes lead them astray. Thus, Professor Philip Fallmerayer of Munich, the champion of Greek Sclavonianism, in his elo-

* The islanders of the Ægean are better informed, because the Latin Princes ruled in the Archipelago as far down as the middle of the sixteenth century, and many of the natives are still descendants of the noble Venetian and Genoese families, who between A. D. 1205, and 1566, held the sway in the islands.

quent and brilliant history of the Morea, announces triumphantly that the Hellenic nation has long ceased to exist, that it had been annihilated and extirpated since the eighth century of our era and that the desolate regions of ancient Hellas had been re-peopled by swarms of savage, blood-thirsty Avars, and Bulgarians; nay, the enthusiastic Professor goes so far as to exclaim: that not a single drop of Hellenic blood throbbed in the veins of the mixed barbarians of modern Greece.*

The exaggeration of such views, however, is obvious—and soon Prof. Zinkeisen of Leipzig, by proving the wrong interpretation of some obscure passages in the Byzantine historians and contested etymologies of Sclavo-Grecian names, took gallantly the part of the Greeks, while Paul J. Schafarik in his Slavic Antiquities brought all the historical materials together, from which at last a more correct judgment can be formed.† ·

My own opinion, on this question of the contested nationality of the modern Greeks, which occupied me so much during my long residence in Greece, is simply: that in *many* parts of that country we can still distinctly trace the genuine descent of its inhabitants from their ancestors, the Hellenes; while in *others* we discern an admixture of a foreign race, yet even this, so feeble that the national Greek language, the orthodox religion and classical traditions and superstitions have been almost entirely predom-

* Fallmerayer's Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters. Stuttgard und Tübingen, 1830, Vol. I. It can easily be understood that a work written by a Bavarian, with great talent, but full of bitterness and scorn against the Greek nation, should have deeply wounded the feelings of the learned Greeks at Athens, and that they attempted to reply to the author. The first who, in 1842 entered the lists against him, was Anastasios G. Levkias from Philippopolis, Professor of Medicine at the Othonian University at Athens. Yet Dr. Levkias, though a profound philologian in his own literature, was but a poor historian. His spiteful and bombastic treatise, which did not even touch the ground of historical research, turned the laugh against the Doctor himself. Since my departure from Greece, in 1844, another Athenian writer, whose name is unknown to me, has again taken up the guantlet against Prof. Fallmerayer, but without better success.

† See Zinkeisen's Geschichte Griechenlands bis auf unsere Tage, I. Vol. Leipzig, 1832. It terminates with the invasion of King Roger and the Italian Normans in 1146. Most unhappily some dispute between the author and his publisher has stopped the appearance of the second volume.

inant. The Sclavonian dialects are no longer spoken in Greece, though there still remain many names of old Sclavic settlements. Not a Greek peasant or shepherd, not an islander or mountaineer speaks Sclavonic at the present day—their language is the Romaïc or modern Greek, which, Hellenic in its character, has borrowed many words from the Italian and Turkish, but few or none are found of Sclavic origin.*

This seems to me the surest proof of the victory that Hellenic civilization, language and religion ultimately gained over the Sclavonian hordes, at a time of dreadful calamities, when Greece was overrun and partially at least occupied by Sclavic tribes. But their conquest did *not* become consolidated; the Byzantine Greeks again got the upperhand and, after a few generations, the Sclavi were transformed into Greeks without leaving other traces of their race behind them than their blue eyes and fair complexion, with some of those peculiarities in their dress and manners which they had in common with their brethren on the Danube, the Bulgarians, Vallachians and Servians. This facility of becoming absorbed into another nationality is a characteristic feature of the Sclavonian race. Who would suspect that the Prussians, the Saxons on the Elbe, the Wagrians in eastern Holstein and the other Low-Germans of Mecklenburg and Pomerania belonged, a few centuries ago, to the wildest and most warlike tribes of the Sclavi—the Borussi, Vendes and Obotrites? It is, therefore, an absurdity to assert, that the mass of the Hellenic population, during the eighth and ninth centuries, were entirely expelled or annihilated. In many parts of Central Greece, in the Peloponnesus and principally in the mountains of Laconia and on the islands of the Ægean, the native population never yielded to the invader. They repelled the inroads and soon, by their superior energy, suc-

* Such is the case likewise with the Arnaut or Albanian tongue; it abounds in Italian, Turkish and even Scandinavian words—but has comparatively few of Sclavonian root. See the Researches in Greece by Colonel Martin Leake, London, 1814.

ceeded in *Hellenizing* the Sclavonian new-comers, just as their ancestors had asserted their superiority over the Pelasgian tribes among whom they settled, and over the Persians and other Asiatic races with whom they came in contact, by colonization or conquest.

We find in Greece and Epirus, at the present day, only two nationalities: the Greek and the Albanian, each speaking their own language. The Albanians or Schypetars, forming a million of hardy mountaineers, stand in no relation whatever to the Sclavonian race. They belong to the aboriginal Illyrian—or, if I dare to say so—Pelasgian tribes which, from the earliest times, have remained in possession of Mount Pindus and the Highlands of Epirus. It was only in the fifteenth century, after the death of Scander-Bey, that some Albanian bands, fleeing before the victorious Ottomans, sought refuge in Attica and Argolis, on Euboea and the smaller islands of Hydra and Spetza, where they have become bi-linguous, speaking both their own Albanian—*Arnaut* or *Skiptari*—and the *Romaïc* of the mod ern Greeks.

The three millions of Greeks, of whom one million belongs to the present independent kingdom of Hellas—extend from the maritime cities on the Black Sea, over Adrianople and Constantinople along the Thracian coast of Mount Athos and Saloniki through Macedonia and Thessaly. They inhabit Trebizond, Sinope, Smyrna and other cities on the coast of Asia Minor, all the islands of the Ionian and Ægean Seas, Rhodes, Crete and Cyprus. They all constitute one nationality and speak the same language, which, though still distinguished by provincial dialects, remains the genuine, blooming and beautiful daughter of a venerable mother—the ancient Hellenic.

Yet, while I thus deny the total annihilation of the Greek nation, during the storms of the Middle Ages, and vindicate the genuine descendence of the present Greeks from their forefathers, the ancient Hellenes, I cannot but recognize the early admixture of foreign elements which, as I have said—in some parts more, in others less—were en-

grafted upon the Hellenic nation by the Roman conquest and the introduction of the Christian religion, with all the corresponding changes of institutions, ideas, and even of blood. For, the removal of the imperial government to Constantinople, the immense influx of senatorial families, officials and citizens from Italy, of Gallic, German, and other barbarian commanders and their foreign troops, which under the cross-banner of Constantine began to constitute the main strength of the Roman armies—all these, no doubt, extended their influence not only over the new-built capital on the Bosphorus and the bordering provinces, but even over distant and secluded Greece herself. The mild principles of Christianity promoted the liberation of the slaves, who, as cultivators of the soil, were distributed throughout every region of the empire. Nor could the liberated slaves fail to engraft themselves into the native blood of Greece, where they formed, at least, one half of the population, and hence it seems credible that the freedmen and descendants of liberated foreign slaves may have exerted a considerable influence on the language and society in Greece, though they never formed as important an element in the higher classes at Byzantium as they did of Western Rome.

Thus then we discover a remarkable change in the political, social and religious institutions of Greece toward the middle of the sixth century, the era of Justinian I., when the gentile Hellenes of antiquity had melted into the orthodox Byzantine Christians of the Middle Age, and it was exactly at this period that the Sclavonian barbarians began from the north-east to penetrate into Greece. The Avars, Bulgarians, and other tribes of Sclavo-Tartaric origin, had already advanced toward the northern bank of the Lower Danube, on their wanderings from their distant homes on the Volga (Bulga), the Kuban and the Caspian Sea during the early part of the reign of Justinian.* In

*The Avars belonged to the race of the Tartars and were often confounded with the Huns. The Bulgarians, though originally likewise Tartars, became later converted to Sclavinism in language, religion and manners. Yet long

A. D., 540, they crossed the Danube and extended their incursions into the fertile provinces of Moesia, across Mount Hæmus to the frontiers of Greece. Somewhat later, about 588 or 589, bands of Avars, united with Sclavonian adventurers, for the first time, penetrated through the celebrated defile of Thermopylæ and spread over the unprotected provinces of Greece, which they devastated with fire and sword. They are supposed to have established an Avar state in northern Peloponnesus, which remained independent of Constantinople for more than two centuries.

It is very remarkable, that the only authority we have for so important an event, should be found in a short passage by Euagrius, where he alludes to the Avar invasion of Thrace, Macedonia and Hellas.* It receives, however, confirmation by a synodal letter of the Patriarch Nikolaos, to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, from the year 1081, which in accordance with Euagrius, mentions the conquests of the Avars in Greece, and adds: that for two hundred and eighteen years—589-807—the Peloponnesus became so completely separated from the Byzantine empire that no imperial officer dared enter the peninsula. Another allusion to this Avar kingdom in Peloponnesus may be found in Paul Diaconus,† where he mentions that the Lombard king, Agilulf, in 602, sent ship builders to the Avar chief, Cacanus, who then armed a fleet to attack the islands, and thus the ancient port of Pylos in Messenia may have received its modern name, Avarino, (Navarino) from the Avars.

Yet notwithstanding these notices are so vague and fortuitous and hardly touch the subject, Prof. Fallmerayer, in his vehement desire to destroy the Greeks, sounds the war-trum

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after they had settled down quietly in Moesia (Bulgaria) and become an agricultural people, they still preserved traces of their earlier nomadic habits, and the Bulgar as the "child of the Steppe," remained inseparably attached to his steed—*alogon*—his mute companion.

* Euagrii Historia Eccles. L. VI. § 10.

† Pauli Diaconi Hist. Longobardorum, L. IV. § 20.

pet in another strain. Describing the invasion, he launches forth in his fiery imagination: "Scythians, Slavi, Slavini, Slavesiani, Bulgars, Avars, Huns, Alans, Kumans, and other Devil's imps—*teuflische Unholde*—kill, murder and slaughter the entire Hellenic race, to the very last man! Nay they burn, uproot, tear down, destroy and annihilate every city, town, village and hamlet throughout the whole country"—and in this curious style the professor runs on describing with endless repetitions and great detail remote and obscure events of which history hardly indicates in faintest outline.

It was not until the reign of the Emperor Constantine IV., Pogonatus, A. D., 678, that the Bulgarians settled permanently on the rich plains of the Lower Danube in the present Bulgaria, which is still inhabited by four millions of that nation. The earlier Slavonian settlers were thus forced to seek refuge in more southern regions and many bands, no doubt, joined the Avars in the Peloponnesus. In what condition the barbarians had found the old classical country; whether they settled quietly on the desert plains, or the Hellenes resisted and were vanquished with the sword, it is impossible to determine by the total silence of the Byzantine historians. It would, nevertheless, appear probable that the new settlements in northern Greece and the Peloponnesus took place successively, and in part peacefully, and that the Slavi under their native princes (Županies) at first possessed themselves of the open country in Thessaly and Boeotia, as it is there and on the plains of Peloponnesus that we still find the Slavonian names of towns and villages at the present day. They occupied Argolis, Arcadia, Elis, Messenia and the valley of Laconia, while everywhere on the coast and in the higher mountains, the Hellenic names predominate. Thus we find the Slavic settlements of Slava, Slavo-chori, Várseva, Vérvitza, Vílitza, Kosóvo, Chernagóra, Achova, and many similar—all situated in the plains and on the slopes of the mountains. The cities on the coast and some of the fortresses in the highest situations of the interior, still retain their ancient

names, such as Corinth, Patras, Cyparissia, (the modern city of Arkadhía), Coron, Modon, Vitilos, Prastos, Zaraka, Nauplia, Argos, Epidauros, and seem never to have been taken by the invaders.

The Slavonians occupied the fertile plains of Greece, at that time mostly desert and abandoned by their inhabitants, who had sought refuge in the maritime cities or in the mountain fastnesses. Of all the eastern Barbarians the Slavi were the only nation devoted to agriculture and cattle-breeding: this is a remarkable characteristic of that race.

Wherever any of the Slavic tribes are met with in history they invariably appear fixedly settled as agriculturists, living in villages and forming their communities. Very likely the Scythæ *Agricolæ* along the river Dnieper, quoted by Herodotus (IV 59) in opposition to the *Nomadic* Scythæ, were *Slavic* tribes of the Scythian confederacy. None of the other Scythian tribes of the Ouralian stock were ever originally devoted to agriculture; neither as Huns, Alans, Tartars, Turkmans, Kalmucks or Magyars (Hungarians). The Emperor Mauritius, toward the close of the sixth century—exactly during the period of their invasion of Hellas—describes the Slavi as being eminently agriculturists. It was the Slavi who taught the Germans agriculture and gardening. At any rate the name of the plough, *Pflug*, in German, (Plug, being the real Slavic name) is of pure Slavic origin.*

Nor is it just to describe the Slavonian settlers in Greece as being a blood-thirsty horde of savages,—or as the Bavarian author says: as hellish monsters and devils in human shape. This is, moreover, an historical inaccuracy; a confounding the wild north-Slavonian tribes, those of the Vendes and Prussians on the Baltic, with the good-natured and lively Servians, Slavo-Bulgars and Slavesini of the South, who called themselves Slavi from the word *Slava*,

* See Russia as it is, by Count A. de Gurowski. New York. 1854. Page 18. They were likewise the great traders and carriers of goods between the distant regions of the Baltic and the Black Sea, for it is settled, rather than nomadic, nations that devote themselves to commerce.

which signifies glory, as the Danes have the *Dannis* expressing the sincerity and excellency of their character.

The Emperor Leo VI, (from 886 to 911) gives an advantageous account of them, for he says: that the Slavic tribes resemble one another in their habits and manners. They all loved liberty and disdained the service of foreigners.* Nor did they long endure the dominion of Byzantium, for they preferred the military rule of their native Zupanies (chiefs), to the milder laws of the Greek empire. They distinguished themselves by their disinterested hospitality, their open, sincere friendship and their mildness toward their prisoners of war, whom they never condemned to slavery (!), but permitted either to be ransomed or to settle down among themselves. Leo then continues in his praise of the beauty, tenderness and chastity of the Slavic women and the faithful affection of their husbands, as peculiar, characteristic virtues of that race. Herds and flocks constituted their wealth; agriculture was their occupation; while they neglected mechanic arts and commerce—for their wants were few and they were more disposed to enjoy an independant rural life than to earn its comforts and luxuries, to which they were indifferent.

This description of the Slavi by the literary emperor of the tenth century, answers exactly to the character and outward appearance of their Slavo-Grecian descendants in our time. They are still mostly settled in the villages of Laconia, Messenia and Arcadia, where I have every where been welcomed by the fine, square-built Slavonian peasants—*choriatæ*—whose open, round and ruddy faces, blue eyes and fair flaxen hair announce the Slavi. Their pretty women are as stout, frank and good-natured as their husbands. They are not afraid to meet the stranger, but they have none of the softer and more poetic charms of the

* O ye poor Slavi! It was your warriors, *vanquished* by the heavy sword of Charlemagne and his Border-Counts on the Elbe and Vistula, and sold as *Slaves* all over the Carlovingian Empire, who as prisoners of war and hence as serfs introduced that word into all the European languages, as *Slave* (English and Danish), *Slaf* (Swedish), *Sklave* (German), *Esclave* (French), *Schiavo* (Italian), *Esclavo* (Spanish), *Escravo* (Portuguese,) and so on.

Greek women of the islands.* They are pious Christians and the *papas* or vicar, of their village, is their councellor and friend. Their language is pure Romaïc, without any perceptible admixture of Slavonian dialects; but their habits and manners of life bear testimony to their descent, and distinguish them from the more genuine Greeks on the coast and the islands. Every traveler in the Peloponnesus will find this contrast very striking. Having passed through the old Slavonic villages, in the interior of Messenia and Arcadia, he crosses the fir-capped ridge of mount Olenos and descends through woody glens northward to Patras and Corinth. Already on the slope of the rugged mountain the names of the villages change from the Slavic Sebritza, Flamboritza, Stretzova, Chozova, Livartzo, and Kamenitza to the Romaïc apellations of Hagios Vlasios (Saint Blaise) Hagios Petros (Saint Peter) Pyrgos and Patras. Here too the modern Hellenes appear in their showy dresses. Their figure is tall and slender; their deportment easy and proud. Their oval face, regular features, high forehead, black eyes, glossy black hair and arched eyebrows, at once announce them as Greeks. They crowd around the stranger and overwhelm him with questions, for they are still the spirited, curious and idle people whom Saint Paul met loitering about the market place at Athens.†

* The picture which M. Cyprien Robert, in his interesting work on the Slavo-Grecian races, gives of the Bulgarian women, is likewise true, when applied to the Slavo-Grecians of the Peloponnesus. "*Les femmes bulgares sont douces, compatissantes et labourieuses. Leur taille est haute et svelte. Elles offrent, apres la femme grecque le plus beau type de femme de la Turquie europeenne.*

† These observations, which I made during my frequent wanderings in Peloponnesus, and often dwell on in my public lectures, find a pleasant confirmation in the work of a distinguished American traveler, who lately spent a year in Greece. Prof. Felton, of Harvard University, is entirely of my opinion with regard to the distinctive characteristics of the two races, Slavonians and Greeks. "The Slavonians," says he, "are broad-faced, stout, somewhat clumsy: the Greeks are lithe, slender, nimble, graceful. The same features that we admire in the ancient statues, nature still re-produces everywhere in Greece. The intellectual qualities of the races are strikingly different. The Greek is lively, quick to understand, adroit, eloquent, curious, eager for novelty; the Slavonian slow, indifferent, not easily moved to take an interest in any thing, that does not immediately concern himself, and what is more, the traveler in Greece falls in, here and there, with descendants of Slavonians, and other foreign settlers [Albanians and Vallachians]—sometimes occupying an entire village by themselves. Even in Athens there is a quarter in-

Such, then, being the clear, incontrovertible facts, what then becomes of Prof. Fallmerayer's total destruction and annihilation of the doomed Grecian race? Nay, history likewise gives full evidence that the Slavo-Avars of the sixth and seventh centuries did not succeed in forming in Greece so united and powerful an empire as their more northern brethren established nearly at the same period in Bulgaria, Servia and Chroatia. Their principal settlements were in Arcadia, Messenia and Elis. That the east coast of Peloponnesus did not yet come under their influence, is seen by the great naval expedition which the Greeks of the Ægean Islands and of Eastern Peloponnesus in 727, sent off against the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, during the religious dissentions of the image breakers at Constantinople. New swarms of Slavi invaded the Peninsula in 746; they occupied the valleys of Laconia, which, at that time, by St. Willibald, and other western pilgrims, is called Slavinia, *Slavinica terra*, or the Slavonian land. They seem to have lived quietly under their native princes—the Zupanies—who commanded in the different districts. They built several large towns, such as Slavo-chori at Amyclæ, near Sparta, Nikli, a large and populous city on the ruins of the ancient Tegea and Veligosti in the defile on the Upper Eurotas, near the present town of Leondari in Arcadia. Their relations to the Byzantine cities on the coast were peaceful; and for a century and a half the emperors were too much occupied by the religious conflict about the image-worship to send the strength of the empire to reconquer Greece.

At length, in the year 783, the celebrated Empress Irene, herself born in Athens, and the more interested in the recovery of her native country, dispatched her general Staurakios with an army into the Peloponnesus. He at-

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habited almost exclusively by Albanians; and not ten miles from Athens there is a village [Suli, near Marathon] where Greek is not understood. Now it is impossible for the most careless observer to mistake these people for one another, either in their looks or their speech, or in their mental characteristics." Smith's History of Greece, continued bv C. C. Felton. Boston: 1855. Page 576.

tacked the Slavonians, ravaged their settlements and carrying numerous prisoners of war and other spoils along with his victorious legions, compelled the still independent Slavic tribes to acknowledge the supremacy of the Byzantine empire and pay a yearly tribute. Whether this was afterwards strictly observed we do not know, for the vanquished Slavi seem later to have formed an alliance with the Saracens of Egypt and to have laid seige to Patras in 807, in order to regain possession of the peninsula. But the Greeks of Patras defended themselves gallantly and gained a complete victory over the enemy by the miraculous interference of Saint Andrew, as they believed. A new warlike-spirit seems hence to have inspired the Greeks; the imperial armies made progress everywhere; and when Theoktistos, the general-in-chief—or *protospatharios*—of the Emperor Michael III., arrived in the Peloponnesus in 842, the Slavonian chiefs were defeated and permanently brought back to the allegiance of the emperor.

The Slavi had still continued heathens; now the great work of conversion began. Theodora, the mother of Michael III., had then restored the worship of images at Constantinople and this re-union of the Orthodox Church celebrated its first triumphs by the conversion of the barbarians in the re-conquered province of Greece. Numerous missions of priests and monks preached the gospel in the Peloponnesus with such success, that several bishoprics were established, and many cities, now the centre of Christian instruction, were named after the Saints of the Eastern Church, such as Hagios Georgios, Hagios Petros, Ardreas, Isidor, Hagia Triada (Holy Trinity), Hagion-Oros (Holy Mountain), Christanopolis and others. Chapels of Saint Elias were erected on the summits of the mountains and the newly converted inhabitants peacefully settled in larger communities.

Two warlike Slavic tribes, the Melinghs (Milenzi), occupying the slopes of mount Taygetos and the Ezerits (Jeserzi), who dwelt in the lower valley of the Eurotas, about Helos, after a long resistance, were now rendered

tributary and compelled to pay an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty gold byzants, as a sign of vassalage.

Particularly interesting were the relations of the free Laconians. These intrepid mountaineers who, from the ancient times, inhabited the two parallel ridges of Parnon and Taygetos, and the maritime cities were likewise heathens. They continued to sacrifice to their gods and were only reluctantly converted by the missionaries from Constantinople. These highlanders were by Constantine Porphyrogenitus considered as the genuine descendants of the Eleuthero-Lakones or liberated Helots who, with the support of the Roman emperor Augustus, obtained their independence and rose to power and influence on the downfall of Sparta. Those living on the eastern ridge were called Zakonians (Laconians) and still live peacefully in large and well-built villages, raising corn, fruits and cattle. They still speak a Doric dialect, much differing from the common Romaïc, and they repelled, single handed, Ibrahim-Pashà and the Egyptians in 1826, during the late war of independence.*

The western tribe, on the peninsula of Mount Taygetos, are better known as daring pirates under the name of Maïnots or Maniates. They likewise call themselves Spartans, though their dialect, on account of their frequent intercourse with Italy, has become more Italianized than that of their eastern brethren.

The rest of the Slavonian tribes, settled in the valley of the Alpheus and in the impregnable defiles of Skorta, like-

*Rev. Stephen Gerlach, the chaplain to the imperial embassy at Constantinople in 1573 is the first of the moderns who mentions the existence of this peculiar dialect. The Zakonians inhabited then fourteen villages on the coast of Monembasia, the largest of these are now Prasto, Kastanitza and Sitena, lying high upon the rugged coast. They say *κασσιμενερεμι* for *καθομαι, I sit;* *τξαγωρεμι* for *περιπατω, I walk;* *πουλουρεμι* for *πουλω, I sell;* *συκτουπουρεμι* for *τυπτω, I strike;* *γρουσσα* for *γλωσσα, tongue;* *τουμα* for *στομα, mouth;* *σιουκου* for *μυτη, nose;* *κα. ρα* for *φωτια, fire;* *καλα* for *ξυλον, wood;* *τζεα* for *οικια, house;* *ανδρουπος* for *ανδρωπος.* *Πι εσσα εκιου, where art thou?* *Ογι εμε εζου, here I am.* *Εγγουυτερεμε τεν τζεαν, let us go home.* The Tzakonians preserve several Hellenisms which are not in common use in the other provinces, such as for instance, *ορα, see! εριφια, kids,* *ηνεγκατε* or *εωρακατε, τον εριφον; have you brought, or seen the goat.*— They call water, *ιον;* grapes, *βοτζια;* sheep, *προυατα* and others which seem mere corruptions of the HeHenic.

wise surrendered and were converted to the faith of Christ —*nine hundred years* after the first preaching of the Gospel of Saint Paul at Corinth.—A singular fact!

Thus tranquility being restored, the Peloponnesus remained thenceforth, during more than three centuries—A. D. 860—1206—the most pacific and industrious province of the Byzantine empire. It formed a military province or theme—*θεμα*—with forty cities, among which were Corinth as the capital and residence of the military governor—*στρατηγος*, Sikyon, Argos and Lakedaimonia, a large and strongly fortified city built on the ruins of ancient Sparta. The peninsula likewise changed its name during this period; for the Slavic name of *Moré*, that is *Seaboard*, or maritime country, which at first had been applied only to the western coast of Elis, now began to prevail, and henceforth the modern name Morea—*ο Μωρεας*—has supplanted the classical one of Pelops Island.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the quiet and prosperous Morea made a remarkable progress in population, commerce, industry and agriculture. Mulberry groves covered the plains and the silk-worm already introduced in the reign of Justinian I., 555, furnished the means for extensive silk-factories. The celebrated Jewish traveler, Benjamin of Tudela, found in 1152 a Jewish community of three hundred members in Corinth; another in Chalcis of two thousand wealthy Jewish purple-dyers and silk-weavers and—O wonder!—hardly to be believed—a settlement of one hundred Jewish agriculturists on Mount Parnassus!

The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus among other notices of this time, records a pleasant story, which gives us a lively picture of the comfort, wealth and industry of the Moreotes during these halcyon days of prosperity. A noble and benevolent widow of Patras, Kyrá Danielis, had received a young Macedonian officer, Basilius, into her house during his sickness, and afterward, on his recovery, sent him back to the army with a generous support. When this extraordinary man had become Empe-

ror Basilius I., the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, the widow paid him a pompous visit at Constantinople, where she presented him with a hundred pieces of the richest colored drapery, one hundred pieces of soft woollen cloth, two hundred pieces of linen and one hundred of cambric, so fine that each piece could be enclosed in the joint of a reed, together with rich vases and jewelry of great value. Among the presents were likewise one hundred young Peloponnesian seamstresses and embroiderers, and—I am sorry to say—another hundred of young and handsome eunuchs. I need hardly add, that Kyrá Danielis was well received at the splendid palace of Manaura on the Golden Horn and she left the emperor, by testament, besides immense wealth and precious objects of all kinds, eighty landed estates in the Morea.*

The Moreotes, industrious at home and disliking military service abroad, paid off the conscription of the Emperor Romanus Lekapenus in 935, when preparing for the Italian campaign, with a voluntary contribution of 7,200 gold byzants (or 20,000 dollars) and a thousand war-horses with saddles and military trappings.

During this long period of prosperity the powerful Bulgarian nation had extended their frontiers into the heart of the Byzantine empire, and their unruly and warlike kings made frequent incursions across the sea and the isthmus into the Morea, while another Slavic tribe, the Vallachians, appeared on mount Olympus and soon occupied the valley of Thessaly, which thereafter was called the principality of Great Vallachia.

Yet none of these movements could materially disturb the Greeks, and it is a highly remarkable fact, that while the complete fusion of the Romano-Germanic races was effected in western Europe during the migrations and conflicts of the Middle Ages, a similar process took place in the east of Slavo-Grecian elements, though less complete. In western Europe the Italian, French, English, Proven-

* See Constant. Porphyrog. Vit. Basil. Maced. CX. Gibbon, CLIII. Finlay's Byzantine Empire, Vol. I. Page 302.

zal, Spanish and Portuguese languages arose on the downfall of the Latin. In the east the Slavonian invasions threatened the Greeks with entire destruction;—but they withstood the shock and saved their language and nationality. Some few traces of this intermixture of races, however, still remained and hence we find at present a certain resemblance in the dresses, customs and habits of domestic life among the Slavo-Grecian nations of the Ottoman empire.

These nations are five: Moldau-Vallachians, Servians, Bulgarians, Albanians and Greeks. The Vallachian and Servian are the herdmen of the steppe and the hill; the Bulgarian the ploughman of the plain; the Albanian the klepht and warrior of the mountain and—the Greek the merchant, mechanic and mariner of the coast and the island. The wild and spirited Vallach, the robust and laborious Bulgarian, the idle and fanciful Servian, the crafty and haughty Arnaut and the ingenious and enterprising Greek—all mix together in their daily intercourse like countrymen and brethren, as co-religionists they all alike hate and despise the stupid Turk. The same hope of independence and resurrection inspires them all, and their noble exertions have in part succeeded. Servia and Greece are free. The reorganization of the Moldau-Vallachian Principalities is now the great political question of the day, which no doubt will extend its influence to the hard suffering Christians of Bulgaria.

This happy infusion of the fresh and healthy Slavonic elements into the outworn race of the Byzantine Greeks, now restored and strengthened the empire and enabled it to repel the Saracens, who during the ninth and tenth centuries, after their conquest of Rhodes, Crete and Sicily, became the terror of all the coasts of the Mediterranean and of glittering, luxurious Constantinople herself.

There cannot be any doubt that Greece, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, formed the most flourishing part of the empire, and that it might have kept an equal step in the progress of civilization, if new and more terrible storms

in the following thirteenth century had not at once destroyed this reviving prosperity in its early development. The attacks of the Arabs from the south were soon followed by the still more dangerous invasions on the north by the Bulgarians and the horrible Petcheneks united to other Turkish tribes from beyond the Danube. On the west Robert Guiscard, with his daring Normans, having driven the Greeks from Italy and the Saracens from Sicily, pursued the former into the heart of Greece, while in Asia Minor the Seljuk Turks from the Caspian had founded the Sultanate of Rumi (Iconium) and by their conquest of Nicæa began to threaten the emperor himself in his capital.

It was then that the Emperor Alexius Comnenus called the warlike nations of Europe to his assistance, and that Pope Urban II proclaimed the crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. That great movement began A. D., 1095. Several of the crusading armies took their route through Greece, which ultimately became divided into different independent Latin principalities. The haughty barons of France, Burgundy and Aragon carried their laws, language, religion and institutions into the land of Lycurgus and Solon, and though the Ottoman Turks put an end to their sway after two centuries, they left behind them many interesting monuments of their wealth and power, which still excite our curiosity at the present day, and of which I here shall attempt the description.

In the year 1204 Constantinople was stormed and sacked by an army of French and Venitian crusaders, commanded by Count Baldwin of Flanders, Henry Dandolo, the Doge of Venice, Boniface, Marquis of Montferrate and a number of distinguished French and Burgundian barons. Baldwin was elected emperor and both the real and imaginary conquests in Europe and in Asia Minor were divided among the conquerors. The city of Constantinople, with a fourth part of the Greek monarchy, fell to the share of the emperor; the rest was equally divided between Ven-

ice and the French barons, who as feudatories held their possessions of the empire with the acknowledgment of homage and military service. Boniface, of Montferrate, having the empty title of King of Macedonia, marched with a small army of French knights through the celebrated pass of Thermopylæ, where he speedily defeated the Greek chief Leon Sguros of Corinth, who, with more cunning than bravery, attempted to oppose the crusaders. Boeotia and Attica were immediately occupied and given to the Burgundian knight, Otho de la Roche, who resided at Athens, where he built the high Gothic tower still standing on the western ascent of the Acropolis, and became the founder of the ducal dynasty, which, with almost sovereign sway ruled Attica and Boeotia for more than a century, A. D., 1205—1311.

The crusaders now entered the Isthmus and laid siege to Corinth and Nauplia; but Leon Sguros, being more obstinate in defending his strong fortresses than bold in meeting the French Chevaliers in the field, frustrated all their attempts. During the blockade, to which the Marquis of Montferrate was thus reduced, another band of daring adventurers, led on by William de Champlitte, count of Dijon in Burgundy, and younger brother of the reigning count of Champagne in France, landed near Patras, on the western coast of Morea.

The Greeks, beholding the proud array of mounted knights advancing to the attack of the city, immediately surrendered, as did all the towns of the plain. The count marched to Andravida, a small, but beautiful town in Elis, where he summoned the Greek archons, or nobles and the clergy, to a general assembly. We here discover the condition of the country at that time, by the remarkable circumstance, that the archons and high prelates, being Greeks, abandoned, without any resistance, the cause of the mass of the people, who, no doubt, were mostly of Slavonian origin. They quickly concluded a treaty with the French invader, who recognized, and even extended their privileges and ordered them to join him with their Greek auxiliaries.

It was this flagrant treachery of the primates and clergy, which, in 1205, facilitated the astonishing conquest of so large and mountainous a country by a handful of adventurers; and these same evil passions among the Morcote chiefs, once more brought Greece on the brink of destruction, during the late war of independence. Thus opportunely strengthened, Count William of Champlitte advanced upon Corinth to join the main army of the crusaders. Here untoward news had spread of the formidable invasion of Joannizza, king of the Bulgarians and the imminent danger of Constantinople. Boniface, therefore, baffled in all his efforts to reduce Corinth, and desirous of hurrying to the rescue of the emperor, gladly intrusted the conquest of the Morea to the sword of Champlitte. He conferred on the brave Burgundian the sovereign principality of the Morea, and ordered Otho de la Roche, the newly created count of Attica and Boeotia, to follow his banner as his feudal liege-lord. On his return to Thessaly, Boniface learned the defeat and death of the emperor, in the battle at Adrianople against the Bulgarians, and he himself soon perished in his vain attempts to consolidate his unjust conquests.

Before Corinth William of Champlitte was joined by a distinguished warrior Geoffrey of Ville-Hardoin, who by his eminent qualities, his prudence and valor had acquired great reputation among the Greeks, and afterwards by his skillful conduct became the chief promoter of the successful enterprize of the Franks. At his advice, Champlitte, for the present, abandoned the hopeless siege of the fortresses in the north of the Morea and turned his arms against the more open regions of Messenia, where the poor Greeks, already betrayed by their nobles and priests, had united with the warlike Slavonian tribes, the Melings and Ezerits of Laconia, and the Maniates on mount Taygetus, and assembled an army of six thousand horse and foot in the olive grove of Kondoura, near Kalamata, on the Messenian gulf, where they intended to make a stand. Nor had they long to wait. Champlitte with five hundred

knights and squires, in advance of his army, suddenly appeared in the field. The Greeks again terror-struck at the strange sight of the barbed steeds and the steel-clad knights with closed visors and long, heavy lances, did not even stand their shock, but fled in wild disorder to the mountains, suffering an immense loss in the pursuit. The Franks then stormed the strong city of Arkadhía (the ancient Cyparissia), and other towns, and completed their conquest of Messenia and Elis, when quite unexpectedly messengers from France arrived on the coast, announcing the death of the count of Champagne, the elder brother of William of Champlitte, and inviting him to return to take possession of his paternal inheritance.

The count immediately resolved to leave Morea; but before his departure he summoned a general diet to meet at Andravida, where a highly remarkable constitution was drawn up, a document similar to the Doomsday book of William the Conqueror in England, and to that of the Assize of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon. According to this feudal charter, the entire Peloponnesus, though not one third part of the peninsula had yet been conquered, was divided into ten bishoprics and a vast number of feudal baronies and smaller fiefs, which were assigned to all the chiefs and knights of the expedition, with rich allotments for churches, convents and the religious orders of St. John of Jerusalem and the Knights-Templars. All laymen and ecclesiastics held their possessions by military tenure, and were to keep a certain number of knights and squires in the field. Thus were the Greek chiefs punished for their want of patriotism and bravery; and the Greek clergy, with sorrow and dismay, were now to witness the introduction of the hated Latin rites and worship, the canonical law and the sovereign dominion of the Pope of Rome! This was indeed an astonishing victory of the proud, heartless Innocent III. over the Greek Church. By this unjust and sacrilegious conquest of Constantinople the Pope extended the Roman Catholic sway over thirty-two Archiepiscopal provinces, with more than one hundred and twenty new

bishoprics and numberless monasteries and missions. But this triumph of Saint Peter was not of long duration.

The count of Champagne placed his wise and prudent councellor, Geoffrey of Ville-Hardoin, as his bailiff, at the head of government during his absence, or until the arrival in the Morea of a successor from his family,—with the express stipulation, that the entire principality, with all its sovereign rights, should become the bailiff's own hereditary possession, if such a person, with full powers from the count, did not arrive and deliver his credentials into the hands of the bailiff before the termination of "a year and a day."

Champlitte then left for France, while Geoffrey de Ville-Hardoin, with his feudal army, marched to the conquest of Laconia. We left Sparta, as it stood, on the banks of the Eurotas, in the second century, with its monuments and sanctuaries in good preservation; but its political power annihilated and having a Roman garrison within its walls. A thousand years have rolled on since then! We again visit the charming valley of Laconia—another populous city—a new Lacedæmon—occupies the well-known hills now surrounded by high threatening walls and mighty towers. The whole population, old and young, are manning these bulwarks, are barricading these gates, prepared to hurl rocks, javelins and the terrible Greek fire against the daring foe, who is advancing. Before these walls we see the picturesque tents with the fluttering banners of the Frank crusaders, pitched all along the plain, on which the Spartan women of yore, for the first time, beheld the fire of an enemy's camp, when Epaminondas appeared as the avenger of the down-trodden rights of Thebes! Then Greeks fought against Greeks—now Christians against Christians!

The assault began; but for four days the crusaders, with their huge battering rams attacked the city in vain. The solid towers withstood the shock; the modern Spartans repelled all their attacks and burnt their engines. On the fifth day, however, the beseigers succeeded in battering

down some towers and the intervening wall, and Ville-Hardoin, after a terrific slaughter on the breach, entered the city, sword in hand. The Lacedæmonians at last offered to surrender and the generous knight instantly stopped the carnage and guarantied them their property and privileges. He held his word.

The site of this Byzantine Lacedæmon can easily be recognized at the present day—nay, it was its high walls here on the principal hill, the ancient Acropolis, which so much excited my astonishment on my first approach to Sparta. The walls and their square flanking towers are constructed of free-stone and mortar; they still ran along part of the four central hills, on my first visit in 1838,—but they have been almost entirely demolished since by the workmen who made use of their materials for the buildings in New-Sparta.

Within the walls—above the large marble theatre—on the open space, where stood in antiquity the Brazen Temple of Minerva Poliouchos—appear some brick ruins of Byzantine churches, which convey an idea of the good taste and splendor of that period. The wide circumference of the walls and the many ruins scattered through the olive-wood in the neighboring plain, give evidence of the importance of the city, which apparently contained a population of from twenty-five to thirty thousand inhabitants.

But this is the last time that history mentions Lacedæmon. A few years later William of Ville-Hardoin, the second son of Geoffrey, and third prince of Morea, after the complete subjugation of the peninsula, transferred his residence to a high rock, in a very picturesque situation, at the base of Mount Taygetus, where he built a strong castle with all the Gothic magnificence of turretted walls, extensive courts and a high central fortress or keep (*donjon*), as his ducal capital. It was called Misithra, and is pronounced Misthras by the Greeks at the present day. The outer-walls and bastions are still in good preservation, and from this domineering position, more than five hundred feet above the plain, I have often at sun-rise and sun-set

enjoyed the most delightful views to the plain below, the distant Laconian gulf and the open sea.

In aftertimes the Greek despots of Misthras, and their successors, the Turks and Venetians, have considerably augmented and strengthened these fortifications, but they were in part destroyed during the Russian invasion in 1770. In 1837, while some of the ruins were removed, a suit of armor with breast-plate and iron-greaves, was discovered beneath the gate-way, and in a sepulchre, at the same place, were found a knight's helmet with its visor, and a coat-of-mail. On the visit of King Otho to Misthras in 1838, the Laconians made His Majesty a present of the coat-of-mail, but though enquiry was made, it could not be ascertained what had become of the helmet and the other parts of these curious relics of the Middle Ages.

The inhabitants of Lacedæmon soon followed the example of their sovereign, and, removing from the hills of old Sparta, they built a new city around the castle of Misthras, beneath the precipices and deep chasms of Taygetus, from which several copious springs descend toward the plain, where they irrigate the delightful orange and lemon gardens and olive plantations, for miles extending through the fertile and happy valley. But it is not only the picturesque ruins of the Gothic castle and the fine views of the plain, which attract the modern traveler. The architect finds here a rich field for design and study. On the removal from Sparta, Misthras became the seat of the archbishop of Lacedæmon, and several beautiful churches and convents were, during the fourteenth century, built on the Eastern slope of the castle-hill in the most romantic sites above the city, situated at its base. Here I admired the elegant, and I may well say, splendid metropolitan church, built in 1841, of white marble and red brick, with cupolas, colonnades and adorned with mosaics, in the best style of Byzantine architecture. In the interior of the church, the columns supporting the great central cupola are covered with inscriptions from the fourteenth century, containing precious documents for the ecclesiastical history of

Greece in that period. They have been copied and published by Lebas and by Buchon, the able historian of the French conquests and settlements in Greece during the Crusades.

In this manner the ancient city on the Eurotas was entirely abandoned. Even its site remained almost unknown for centuries, and it was not until the year 1838, that King Otho, by proclamation, encouraged the Spartans to rebuild their city on the open and airy hills, south of the two former towns; at the same time giving them the hope that a new carriage-road should be opened through the rugged defiles of the Arcadian mountains directly to New-Sparta, and from thence along the banks of the Eurotas to the harbor of Marathonisi—the ancient Gytheion, on the Laconic Gulf. This important work was indeed begun and the levelling of the road finished by the German engineer-officers, during my second visit to Sparta in 1843—but, most unhappily, the revolution at Athens which followed a month later, the dismissal and departure of the foreign officers and the subsequent pecuniary difficulties of Government, put a sudden stop to all such necessary but expensive national undertakings.

We left Geoffrey de Ville-Hardoin, the conqueror, establishing himself and his crusading army in the plain of Lacedæmon, from whence he, like the Dorians of old, accomplished the submission of all Laconia. The rich lands and strong military positions were then, according to the feudal capitulation, divided among the victors and many proud castles built,—yet in order to secure the quiet possession of all Morea, it now became expedient to effectuate the surrender of the four strong fortresses still remaining in the hands of the Greeks, and by their free communication with the sea frustrating the attacks of the Franks. These bulwarks of Grecian independence were Corinth, Argos, Nauplion and Monembasia or Malvasia, the latter an almost impregnable city, situated on a steep rocky island, near the Eastern coast of Laconia and by a narrow bridge united with the mainland.

This place became, in after times, when possessed by the Venetians, well known in England on account of its wine, the strong and delicious Malmsey, which warmed the heart of Sir John Falstaff and rendered even death a pleasure to the Duke of Clarence! Geoffrey, therefore, though reluctantly, resolved to demand the assistance of the republic of Venice, who, with her ever-ready fleets, might enforce a strict blockade from the sea, while the Franks invested the fortresses from the mainland. Yet these military expeditions were suddenly interrupted by a report from France, stating that a French nobleman, with a splendid suite of armed retainers, and full powers from the Count of Champagne, had left France and was soon to appear in the Morea as the successor of the count and the lawful sovereign of that principality.

This was startling news to the barons and even to their Greek subjects, who all admired and loved Geoffrey of Ville-Hardoin, the Bailiff, for his justice, integrity and noble bearing; they all, therefore, by deputations, assured him of their fidelity and affection,—and Geoffrey, being by nature endowed with shrewdness and cunning, as well as with boldness and bravery, resolved, like the celebrated Hernan Cortéz, the Spanish hero in Mexico, to entrap his unwary rival and gain a bloodless victory.

The Count of Champagne, on his arrival in France, had been called to the court of Philip Augustus in Paris, and there retained for many months; it was not until his return to Champagne, that he found leisure to mind the affairs of his Greek principality, and send off, as his successor, his nephew, Robert de Champlitte, a brave, but inexperienced youth. Robert, fully equipped and attended by a body-guard of knights and squires, set out for an expedition, which, at the present day of rail-roads and steam navigation, might be accomplished in a week, but at that remote time, 1207, was considered both dangerous and of a long duration. Robert had, therefore, no time to spare. He started from Burgundy in September—in the eighth month, after the convention at Andravida—and finding the

defiles of the Alps obstructed by snow, he could not descend into the plain of Lombardy till late in October. At Venice, the young pretender was splendidly received, but, under different pretexts, detained nearly two months by the cunning doge Zaini, the personal friend and confident of Geoffrey of Ville-Hardoin, who had duly instructed him to retain the French cavalier.

Robert de Champlitte at last succeeded in embarking on board a Venetian galley, bound for Crete, but the captain, likewise initiated in the plot, instead of landing his noble passengers on the coast of the Morea, put them on shore at Corfù, under pretence of his galley having sprung a leak. Robert, suspecting some intrigue, was glad quickly to engage a Greek bark, and thus, with some risk, to escape across to the opposite coast. Here he was most cordially and even brilliantly received by the commander of the castle of Clarenza. The Greek clergy, the French garrison and crowds of inhabitants from the neighborhood came down to the sea-shore to offer their welcome to the new sovereign. But the bailiff himself was absent. In order, therefore, to meet him and personally deliver his dispatches, the young prince took horse, and after a fatiguing ride over the highest mountains of Morea, from one place to another, he at last, on the plain of Tegea, in Arcadia, was received by his apparently humble and devoted lieutenant, Geoffrey of Ville-Hardoin, who, at the head of his army and the assembled people, showed him every demonstration of respect and affection, and accompanied him through the defiles down to Lacedæmon, where the city-hall had been prepared for his reception. This artificial pageantry dazzled the unsuspecting youth and his covetous followers. Robert, in the pride of his heart, ordered a general diet of prelates and barons, Franks and Greeks, to assemble at Sparta. There, in full Congress, he placed his letters in the hands of the bailiff, and ordered him to have him proclaimed Sovereign Prince of Morea. Ville-Hardoin, holding the documents aloof, repectfully announced to the French knight, that the investigation of this ques-

tion about the succession and declaration of homage, according to the feudal constitution of Andravida, belonged to the diet—and thus with the assent of Robert, he handed over the papers to the peers and primates, solemnly enjoining them with impartiality and justice to decide the legal question before them.

After a long consultation the diet pronounced that Robert de Champlitte had forfeited his title and right to the principality, having arrived fifteen days later than the ultimate term assigned by the Count of Champagne; they unanimously proclaimed Ville-Hardoin their lawful liege-lord, and immediately, as faithful vassals, rendered him their homage.

Splendid tournaments and banquets were then celebrated during many days, in the plain, on the banks of the Eurotas, for the joyful accession of the beloved duke,—while Robert, with his disappointed followers, returned to France by the way he had come.

The dominion of the French Crusaders in the Morea thus became more and more consolidated, and the Slavo-Grecian inhabitants more accustomed to the yoke of feudal institutions. Geoffrey of Ville-Hardoin, died about the year 1226, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Geoffrey II., who died childless, and then—in 1246—by his second son, the brave and active William Calamates, so called from his having been born in the castle of Calamata in Messenia, the hereditary estate of his family. William, the last powerful Prince of Morea, immediately on his accession, concluded an alliance with the republic of St. Mark, and assisted by her galleys, completed his conquest of the Morea by the surrender of Corinth, Argos, Nauplion and Monembasia. He likewise controlled the Slavonian tribes on Mount Taygetus and the roving Maniotes on the promontory of Tainaron, by building the castle of Misthras—as I have already stated—and several other fortresses on the southern cape and the Messenian gulf, such as those of Maina and Leuktron, the ruins of which I visited on another excursion in 1843.

During this period,—that is about the year 1250—William of Ville-Hardoin, was the most respected and powerful prince in the east. He not only possessed, with sovereign sway, the entire peninsula of the Morea, but on the north, his two liege-men, the Duke of Athens, and the Count of Bodonitza at Thermopyla, defended the defiles toward Thessaly, whilst on the east a third vassal, the duke of Nasos, with his fleet protected the Ægean and the coast of the Morea from the piracies of the Turks.

Peace and tranquility reigned in the interior of his fertile and beautiful dominions. The Greeks were occupied with their commerce and agriculture; the wild and warlike mountaineers were taken in pay by the French government, and formed into light-armed bands for the protection of the interior. The French barons and knights had fortified their feudal estates with numerous castles, the ruins of which, to this day, both astonish and delight the traveler,—and beneath the beautiful sky of Greece they soon found a new, dear home, which made them even so far forget the old, that they now called themselves after the Greek names of their castles; thus, for instance, Hough de Brienne called himself Lord of Karitena, Robert de Tremouille Lord of Chalandritza, Walter de Rosières of Àkova, Ralph of Kalávryta, John of Pássava, and so many others. Yet in order to be truly at home and happy in Greece, the noblemen thought it necessary to get married! Many of the barons, therefore, followed the example of their young sovereign, who, when a fleet of galleys had anchored in the port of Clarenza, having on board Agnes, the daughter of the Latin emperor, Peter de Courtenay, of Constantinople, who was going to Spain to marry the king of Aragon —invited the young princess on shore, and during a brilliant tournament, which he gave to her honor—offered her his heart and hand and told her that a young husband on the spot was better than an old bridegroom beyond the sea. The maiden princess approved of this philosophy, consented, and their marriage was soon after celebrated with great pomp in Andravida.

Such were the pleasant manners in the romantic age of chivalry when a broken lance could win a fair hand! The barons sent to France for their brides, sisters and family, and soon old Peloponnesus became so changed, that it was called "young France—La jeune France,"—and a Spanish historian from that time, Ramon Muntaner, says, that the noblest chivalry in the world were the French knights of the Morea, and that the French language was there spoken with as much grace and elegance as at Paris itself!

Not only the French Crusaders found a new field of activity in the east—even the Greeks themselves began to take up chivalrous habits—they became familiar with French minstrelsy—they too tuned their harps to songs of "daring deeds and lady-love" in the celebrated historical poem describing the loves and misfortunes of the gallant Eratóclitus and the virtuous Arethusa. Their chroniclers too sang in artless but spirited verses, the wars of the French in the Morea. It is from an interesting chronicle written by a native Moreote bard in the vernacular language—about the year 1300—that I have gathered these events in a period of history hitherto so little known.*

This prosperous state of the French principality in the peninsula was, however, of short duration. The feudal system and the warlike manners of western Europe could not strike deep root in the east. Without the slightest knowledge of the classical antiquity of Greece, or any sympathy for its modern Greco Sclavonian population, the Latin barons considered the country as a conquest, which could only be maintained by dint of the sword; while the Greeks, oppressed by the continual feuds of their masters, soon discovered the real weakness of the foreign govern-

* This metrical chronicle of the Frankish conquests in the Morea, consisting of 9,194 verses, was first mentioned by Du Cange as existing in the Royal Library at Paris. Buchon found and published it in the original modern Greek with a French translation in prose in 1825. This edition is defective; yet from a more complete copy in the Royal Library at Copenhagen he gave a second edition in his collection of chronicles illustrating the French Conquests in the Levant. The poem has many lively passages, describes the events, and furnishes a valuable specimen of the modern Greek language of the thirteenth century.

ment and turned their hopes toward the rising Greek empire of Nicæa. Some few Romanic elements had penetrated the mixed population of the peninsula and the Moreotes had taken a tincture of the civilization of the Franks; but it soon disappeared during the storms of the Turkish wars and thus the ruinous castles, the popular traditions and a few chronicles, documents and dialectic forms in the modern Greek language, are at present the only relics that have survived the conquests of the Crusaders in Greece. William of Ville-Hardoin, in the height of his power and glory, imprudently joined the despot of Epirus, Michael II. in his war against the Greek emperor of Nicæa. With his whole force he entered, in 1259, the highlands of Macedonia, where he was totally routed at Perlepi and captured at Castoria, while flying in disguise from the battle field. The Prince of Morea was carried in triumph to Nicæa and could only, after prolonged negotiations, obtain his release by surrendering three of the most important fortresses of his principality, Misthras (Sparta), Monembasia and Maina, into the hands of the Emperor Michael Palæologos, who in the meantime had re-conquered Constantinople and restored the Greek empire in Europe.

The entire province of Laconia having thus reverted to its native prince, the Greeks rose in arms against the French feudatories, and united to the Byzantine forces, invaded the plain of Elis and advanced upon the capital of Andravida. William of Ville-Hardoin and his French barrons, though hardly pressed by insurrection on every side, displayed all the romantic bravery of this chivalrous period. In a brilliant cavalry combat at Prenitza, in the valley of the Alpheus, they defeated the Byzantine army; and following up their advantage, they, a second time, routed them in the defile of Makriplaghi on the frontiers of Messenia, where the imperial generals, Philes and Makrinos were taken prisoners, and the whole open country, as far as Helos and Monembasia, was ravaged with fire and sword by the victorious army of the Franks.

Yet William of Ville-Hardoin soon felt the fatal blow

which had prostrated his power. The valor of the Franks could not, in the long run, withstand the incessant attacks of the Byzantine emperor, supported by the dissatisfied Greek population of the Morea—and their dominion would, in 1267, have come to a rapid close, if the Prince of the Morea had not found a new and powerful ally in the Angevin dynasty of Naples. William of Ville-Hardoin died at Kalamata in 1277, and his sovereignty passed, with the hand of his daughter Isabella, to Philip of Anjou. The princes of the house Anjou-Naples governed their principality of Achaia by lieutenants, or baillies, mostly chosen among the most influential feudatories of the peninsula. Zacharias Centurione, baron of Chalandritza, the last prince of Achaia, surrendering his possessions to the Byzantine despot Thomas Palæologos, in 1430, terminated the line of the Frank sovereigns, who had possessed the Morea during two hundred and twenty-five years. The endless contentions between the nobles themselves, their feuds with the Byzantine despots who governed the southern provinces in the name of the emperor, the incursions of the Catalan freebooters from Attica, and later, of the Turkish pirates from Asia Minor, had impoverished and devastated that unhappy country, whose mixed population of Franks, Greeks, Slavonians, Albanians, Gipsies and Jews, demoralized and without valor and patriotism, fell an easy prey to the sword of Mohammed the Conqueror, in 1460.

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Art. V.—THE INNER LIFE OF THE CHRISTIAN.

The Inner Life of the Christian. By Rev. Frederick A. Rauch, D. D., First President of Marshall College; and author of "Psychology, or a view of the human soul." Edited by Rev. E. V. Gerhart, President of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1856.

As a general thing, books of sermons are not popular. There is a quiet and strong prejudice against them. That the publication of the Gospel, the exposition of the Scriptures, the inculcation of Christian duties, and the exhibition of Christian principles, have their legitimate place and range in sermons, and are successful through the medium of the living voice as they cannot be otherwise, is a deep and general persuasion. The very fact that sermons have their power in connection with the living voice, and the living sympathy existing between the preacher and his audience, and that, if rightly prepared, they are produced with a view to this end, is itself an evidence that, as a general rule, they cannot hope to succeed as publications. As a flower fast to the living stem, is blooming, and fresh, and fragrant there, but begins to lose all these as soon as sundered from the plant in which alone it is the true flower; so sermons have life, power, and beauty only as they live and breathe in union with the living preacher and the living audience.

It was a just remark once made by a learned Professor in the Theological Lecture room to the effect that in no department is there so much useless literature as in that of printed sermons. This remark, the justice of which we felt, and the recollection of which has lingered with us through a number of years, we have frequently seen verified. Though we always knew that the name of such books

is Legion, yet were we convinced, on a late occasion, in the examination of an extensive private library, that we had never reached "the full extent of the mighty argument." We felt like the queen of Sheba, when she came to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and found that "the half had not been told," for we saw clearly that the books and sermons "exceedeth the fame which we had heard."

It is found, too, that the laity seldom buy sermon books. However fond they are of hearing sermons, their interest in them generally ceases beyond that. It not unfrequently happens that a pastor preaches a sermon by which the people are greatly benefitted, and with which they are highly delighted. They desire its publication. The pastor is pleased with the compliment, and it is the most commendable feeling which leads him to desire that it may do good also in the printed form. He yields to the kind request, and publishes it—on his own responsibility, as to the expense. In due time fifty or one hundred copies are sold; six or eight hundred are left on hand, and he is nine tenths of their cost out of pocket. It is just the same with sermons delivered on other public occasions. It is an illustration of the fact that men do not read, but only hear sermons. Sermons are sermons, not pamphlets or books—as sermons they are beyond all price, as books and pamphlets they are often only so much paper and ink. Sermons that once delighted an audience, moved them as a forest is shaken by a mighty wind, called dead sinners to life, and opened fountains of strength and consolation to saints, have been sold as pamphlets—loads of them—for wrapping paper at three cents a pound.

True, though the laity seldom buy sermon books, they are bought nevertheless; and a volume that can command the whole land as market, will often run through several editions. This fact, however, only points to a greater evil. They are purchased by ministers. While there is truth in the sentiment that a sermon is much enriched by the gold of many sermons on the same subject, and also in the saying, "that it makes no difference where one gets the club

only so the devil receives a heavy blow;" yet it is true also, that many ministers injure their minds, lose their habits of earnest study—which alone, with the blessing of God, can make a fresh preacher—and turn their minds into a mere receptacle of other men's thoughts—a granary, instead of a garden. Whatever may be the excellency of a sermon's outward form, it has no soul if it be not the true product of the mind and heart of the one who delivers it. Between a sermon that grows fresh out of mind and heart, and one constructed after the manner of eclectic compilation, there is as great a differenee, and a similar one, to that between water that gurgles out of the sand beneath the rock and water that rushes from a spout after it has flowed through pipes intervening between it and the fresh fountain. In both cases it is water—looks alike—but how different to him who tastes it!

We have a book of sermons before us; and we hope the candid acknowledgments which we have made in regard to this species of literature in general, will convince the reader that we come to its review with no prepossessions in favor of the department of books to which it outwardly belongs. Thus we have a right to ask that due weight be also given to whatever praise me may feel constrained to bestow upon it. There are exceptions to all rules—and sometimes they are so formidable, as to trouble us exceedingly in regard to the rule itself, even though its truth may be clear as a demonstration. This is the case with the book in hand.

We are heartily glad that the nice taste and just discrimination of the Editor did not allow him to call the book "Rauch's Sermons;" but led him to entitle it "The Inner Life of the Christian." We can easily see, after attentively studying the contents, how he was forced to the title—bound to it by the spirit of the book. Though every discourse in it is a sermon, and was delivered as such, yet it would be really unrighteous to lable the book "sermons," and put it on the shelf by the side of volumes that go by this name; because the outward sameness would not indi-

cate the true and vast difference which actually exists. Though the book is not a whole, as an author would have made it who had selected "The Inner Life of the Christian" as a subject, and written a treatise on it; yet there was a wholeness and a systematic mode of thinking in the Author's mind out of which all his sermons grew—his heart and mind moved in the inner life of Christianity and piety; and the Editor, in making and arranging his selections, has made the book approximate very nearly to a treatise, so that there is in it a principle, a soul, a progress, and an end, which fully justifies the title: "The Inner Life of the Christian." As the landscapes through which a traveler passes—the hills, and mountains, the plains and valleys, the woods and fields, the streams and fountains, the plants and trees, the insects and birds, indicate to him at any time his geographical location, and his progress toward a given point; so in this book is the reader aware of his progress from the moment when he starts in the first discourse with "The *Principle* of the Inner Life," till he feels himself wrapt up in "The Final *triumph* of the Inner Life" in the last, and is ready to exclaim with Simeon, in holy joy, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

The Author of these discourses was well at home in the true nature, power, and proprieties of language, and possessed a most delicate taste for the terseness and tenderness of style. Though he had never so mastered the idiomatic details of the English language as to be entirely proof against the intrusion of occasional Germanisms, yet was the basis of his style such as to show him master of all its fundamental principles, and of unfolding, in a remarkable degree, its power and beauty. The case required only some gentle touches from the hand of the Editor, principally, as he himself informs us, among the "particles and phrases," to remove "traces of the German idiom." As it stands we hesitate not to pronounce the language of this book English that is rarely excelled. Indeed it is surprising that a man as familiar with Latin and Greek as he was,

and writing in a language newly and later learned, should not have afflicted his style by the transfer of foreign words, and that he should have so sparingly used those words of Latin and Greek origin which are already at home in English. There is not one book in twenty now published that will compare with it in its Saxon purity and beauty.

Dr. Rauch was a philosopher. The possession of marked ability in this sphere of science has been awarded him by the scientific public, as is evident from the favor with which his work on Psychology has been received. In it he came before the public as an author unknown, and by it he has from that time been well known—the book having silently and steadily passed through a number of editions; nor to this day are earnest, enquiring scholars weary of it. Not dogmatically nor ostensibly, but in a subdued tone, there is a sounding in the depths heard also throughout these discourses. It is this that gives compactness, clearness in distinctions, and firm logic to every discussion—relieving arguments and illustrations from weary and troublesome digressions, and from all redundances of language. Useless words, sentences, and paragraphs are hard to be found.

Dr. Rauch was an humble Christian. If he had not been this he could not have been the last. It is faith that leads into the depths. It is the only "evidence of things not seen." It is the only power that truly penetrates beneath the temporal, material, sensational surface. What the Poet so beautifully describes as the upward process of our imaginative powers from childhood to manhood—which, however, he would have us to know, is, if not sanctified by a higher life, in truth a downward process—is just as true in regard to the process from simple faith toward the self-confident ripeness and firmness of natural reason—

> Heaven lies about us in our Infancy!
> Shades of the prison-house begin to close
> Upon the growing Boy
> * * * * *
> At length the Man perceives it die away,
> And fade into the light of common day.

The childlike in Christianity is the deep and fresh; that which assumes the air of what is called the manly, is the shallow and naked. The humble shall be exalted. The fools are wise. The wise and prudent grope in darkness, but the lips of babes shall speak wisdom. We must receive the kingdom of God as a little child. The Christian heaven, with all its divine poetry, with all its transcendant glory, and with all its vigor of eternal life and bliss, lies nearest to us in our gracious infancy. The intentions of the humble reach deeper into the sublime mysteries of faith than the deductions of reason. Not only the best men, but the wisest men, have been the most childlike. To speak of no other, let us remember John and Jesus Christ. In them the divine came into the human—in Christ as source, into John by transmission. Never did infancy lay more confidingly upon a mother's bosom than did Christ upon the bosom of the Father, and John upon the bosom of Christ. The discourses which we are reviewing, with all their profoundness of philosophic thought, speak of the things of the kingdom in the spirit of the most childlike faith and simplicity. What to the child, happy among its playthings, are kingdoms, monumental honors and the wealth of "merchants that are princes?" What to the Author of these discourses are depths and heights of what the world calls wisdom, while he sits at Jesus' feet and learns words and thoughts which no eternity can exhaust? "I shall prove in a few words," is the language of one of his propositions," that the connection between Christ and his Children, between the Visible and Invisible, does not exist for reason." Again, "reason places men indeed at the summit of a fallen creation, but it cannot raise him beyond it." "Nothing can lead us to true greatness in life but humility." The book is full of this sentiment. To him reason and nature are dark and narrow, faith is bright and wide. Only faith can open avenues to a higher and wider world. Only by it, and in it, can the human spirit come to its full flower and fruit.

There are certain modes of thought and of illustration

which are favorites with the Author, and which run like golden threads through every discourse. What we have just designated is one of these. At apparent variance with this, but truly one with it in the deepest harmony is another. There runs through these discourses an earnest protest against unbelief. He seems always to have unbelievers, or sceptics in his eye, and he seems laboring to fortify faith against the quiet suggestions of scepticism. This can be accounted for. He knew rationalism. He had felt it. It breathed around the Universities where he studied. It lived—or perhaps better, it lay in calm and dead repose in the text books through which extended his educational course. Though it never entered his inmost life, it had looked particularly upon his mind and heart; and as in Solomon's representation of Zion's daughter, who though pure as heaven within, was nevertheless outwardly sunburnt, so as to look dark as Kedar's tents, so some shadows of the old spirit, so foreign to his own deep religious life, were ever passing over his spirit. While his inmost spirit earnestly protested against these spirits cast out, but not banished from view, he could also not divest himself of the fear that the more inexperienced life of the students to whom he preached might fall into the power of the same seducing spirits. It must not, therefore, be supposed that this steady habit, apparent in these discourses, of confirming the truth of Christianity against the suggestions of philosophic unbelief betrays any weakness in his own faith, or is to be regarded as the whistling of a timid one past the grave yard to keep up his own faith and Christian courage. The very ground from which he evermore opposes the spirit of unbelief, proves that no weakness in his own faith led him into it. Only when he has led us to a ground and position higher than reason and nature, does he point down, and ask us to see how far and dreary below lie the cold and bleak plains of unbelief. Hear him: "What is faith? He who has it, will but rarely inquire into its nature; and he who has it not, cannot understand it." "What is faith? is difficult to be answered, not because we cannot give a

definition of it, but because the best definition will not give him an idea of faith who does not possess it." What is this but the deep and glorious truth which, not reason and nature, but only faith can reach; the secret of God is with them that fear him, and he will show them his covenant. In thy light shall we see light. I will give you of the hidden manna. The meek will he judge in judgment; the meek will he show his way. He that will do my will, shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God. To as many as receive him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God. All of which is so beautfully said in the motto of this Review: I do not seek to know that I may believe; but I believe that I may know.

Dr. Rauch had a strong organ and a fine taste for the aesthetical, as this book abundantly shows. Though extremely fond of the beautiful in the ancient classical archæology, he always kindles into a holy enthusiasm in the presence of the beauties of those creations called forth by Christianity. Indeed it is with him a favorite mode of recommending and exalting Christianity to compare its aesthetical features with the highest of similar exhibitions in all other religions. In the same way, it is common with him to contrast Christian with Pagan ethics, to show how infinitely the true and the right in Christ exceed the highest conceptions of the best paganism, or the more modern endeavors of merely natural men.

His discourses abound also in what may be called the parabolic. The lower world of nature, in all its kingdoms, perpetually illustrate the higher, supernatural world. He has ever the truth of the poet's lines before him:

> "What if earth
> Be but the shadow of Heaven and things therein.
> Each to other like, more than on earth is taught."

His illustrations of divine truth from the world of nature are many, and beautiful, and often strikingly apt and original. This gives a freshness and a charm to all his discussions.

There prevails also in Dr. Rauch's mode of preaching

the habit of deducing doctrines, duties and privileges from the facts—historical and miraculous—of the Holy Scripture. He feels that there is something deeper than doctrines and precepts—namely a divine life, which ever reveals itself first, and in its deepest sense, in facts and history. Hence he rarely takes a preceptive or doctrinal text, but often a fact, miracle, event, from which he educes truth, doctrinal and preceptive, with freshness, force, and beauty. The prominence of this feature in these discourses had much to do, as we believe, with suggesting to the Editor the title, "The Inner Life of the Christian;" and well illustrates its appropriateness. It is this also which, with all the depths and learning which every discourse betrays, makes them interesting to the reader unused to scientific theological discussions in the more abstruse departments, and thus admirably adapts the book to the earnest enquiring laity.

As a conclusion of the whole matter, we are disposed, as the result of careful reflection, to commend "The Inner Life" to all earnest persons as a book to make one think and to make one wise. It ranks high above the ordinary run of sermon books. Those especially who have read the Author's Psychology ought to read these discourses, to see with what childlike faith and pious fervor the deep and earnest metaphysician speaks of the glorious things of the kingdom; and that they may behold in it an illustration of the fact that true greatness is at the same time true humility.

The work is very properly introduced by an excellent Preface from the pen of the Editor, Prof. E. V. Gerhart, in which we are furnished with some account of Dr. Rauch's life and labors, and also of the part performed by the Editor in the work presented to the public. All is well done; and those who cherish the memory of the learned and pious Author have reason to be thankful that, in the publication of these sermons, both the Editor and publisher have done their work with so much taste, reverence, and success.

Lancaster, Pa. H. H.

ART. VI.—FANCY, WIT, AND COMMON SENSE.

Phantaſie, das ungeheure Rieſenweib,
Saß zu Berg;
Hatte ſitzen neben ſich zum Zeitvertreib
Witz, den Zwerg.
Der Verſtand
Seitwärts ſtand,
Ein proportionirter Mann,
Sah das tolle Spiel mit an.

Phantaſie ſich halben Leib's zum Himmel hob,
Einen Stern
Faßte ſie und ſchwang ihn, daß es Funken ſtob
Nah und fern.
Fiel der Witz
Wie ein Blitz
Drüber her, und faßt den Schein
In die kleinen Taſchen ein.

Phantaſie zur Wolke, die vorüberflog,
Streckt die Hand,
Sich die Wolke purpurn um die Schultern zog
Als Gewand.
Witz verſteckt
Drunter ſteckt,
Wie ſich nur ein Fältchen ruckt,
Witz heraus mit Lachen guckt.

Phantaſie mit Donnerſturm thut auf den Mund
Witz verſtummt;
Schweigt die Rieſin, thut ſogleich der Zwerg ſich kund
Pfeift und ſummt.
Der Verſtand
Hält nicht Stand,
Geht und ſpricht: Das mag ich nicht;
Denn das ſieht wie ein Gedicht.

Friedrich Rückert.

TRANSLATION.

FANTASY, the giant goddess, sat sublime
On a height,
Had beside her standing to beguile the time
WIT, the sprite,
Not far thence,
COMMON SENSE,
Quite a well-proportioned man,
Watched until the play began.

FANTASY half reared her body to the sky,
And a star
Plucked from thence and whirled it, making sparkles fly
Near and far.
Down fell WIT,
Where they lit
On the ground—the shining dust
In his little pockets thrust.

FANTASY, to clouds that swiftly o'er her flew
Stretched her hand;
Robe-like round her shoulders purple mists she drew
Full and grand.
Under slid
WIT and hid;
Where a gaping fold was seen,
Out he peeped with laughing mien.

FANTASY in thunder-tones sent forth her word;
WIT was mum.
When the goddess ceased to speak, the sprite was heard
T' pipe and hum.
COMMON SENSE
Took offence,
Turned and said: Too much for me!
For it looks like *poetry*.

Lancaster, Pa. T. C. P.

ART. VII.—THE REFORMER, JOHN DE LASKY.*

"Legitimus et ecclesiasticæ et politicæ disciplinæ usus est nervus totius ecclesiastici regiminis."—JOANNES A LASCO, 1555.

JOHN DE LASKY, the founder and organizer of the Reformed Church in East Friesland, the Netherlands, the lower Rhine, and in England, and the Reformer of Poland, descended from one of the most prominent and wealthy families among the nobility of Poland. He was born in Warsaw in 1499, and was a nephew of the primate of the realm, the Archbishop of Guesen. Endowed with a strong mind and a resolute spirit, the advantages of his birth and education contributed to the formation of a manly, independent, and noble character, that was illustrated in all the leading acts of his eventful life.

After completing his preliminary studies in Poland, De Lasky went abroad, in 1523, according to the custom of the times, and visited the celebrated schools of Lyons and Basel. At Lyons, he formed an intimate and lasting friendship with Albert Hardenberg, subsequently court-preacher to the Archbishop of Cologne, and the Reformer of Bremen. In Zurich, he became acquainted with Zwingli, and took ground against him on the necessity of a Reformation. In opposition to the authority of the Roman Catholic Church and of the popes, which Lasky maintained, Zwingli referred him to the teachings of the Sacred Scriptures, of which, up to this time, he had but little knowledge. These discussions produced an ineffaceable impression upon him. But he did not yet possess very deep and clear views of Christian truth. Repairing to Basel, 1525, he became the guest of the great Erasmus, for several months in succession, and by him was won decidedly for Christ and the

* Composed from Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphaelischen evangelischen Kirche, von Max Goebel, 2 vols.; Life and Times of John Calvin by Henry; Mosheim's Church History; Kirchengeschichte von Dr. Karl Hase; The History of the book of Common Prayer; and the History of the Church in Denmark by Herveg.

science of theology. A warm mutual attachment sprang up between them. Lasky's method of thinking, in theology, was moulded by Erasmus, whose disciple, in this respect, he continued to be to the end of his life; and when, subsequently, he went beyond this great theologian, in deep religious knowledge and Christian experience, he nevertheless adhered to the system of doctrine as taught by Zwingli and the Zurichers. Erasmus, on the other hand, was captivated by the extraordinary learning, and especially by the amiability and spotless morality, of his young friend; and, at a later period, freely acknowledged his great indebtedness to this young man. "He is a pattern for all," said he. "I, an old man, have been made better through my intercourse with this youth. The sobriety, moderation, modesty, chastity, and purity, which he ought to learn from me, an old man, I have learned from him."

At Basel, Lasky also enjoyed the instructions of Pellicanus, professor of Hebrew, and of Œcolampadius, whose simplicity and piety were a source of great spiritual good to him. Besides, at Zurich, he formed a very intimate acquaintance with the most influential disciple and follower of Zwingli, Henry Bullinger, whom he highly esteemed, in view of his simplicity in doctrine and moderation in controversy; yet freely counselled him to use a still greater degree of mildness, especially towards Luther.

This season of literary and Christian fellowship with kindred spirits, was broken up (1525) by an order from his parents and the court of Poland, requiring him to visit France and Spain, on State affairs, and then return home. Thus, after an absence of about three years, Lasky came back to Poland, in 1526, a decided and intelligent adherent to the new and liberal views of Erasmus; who held, however, "that it was more judicious to abide by the Church and her doctrines, notwithstanding her objectionable features, than to introduce doubtful innovations." Sharing this view, Lasky, with all his love of pure Christian doctrine, could enter the service of the Roman Catholic Church of Poland with a good conscience; indulging the hope that,

in this way, he could the more easily infuse the power of evangelical truth into his native country. First, he became provost of Gnesen; afterwards was promoted to several other important benefices; but he could not succeed in bringing about the gradual reform of the Church for which he labored. Disappointed at this result, the yoke of Pharisaic self-righteousness of the Romish Church became more burdensome; and the ungodly and disgraceful lives of his associates in office filled his heart with a deeper sorrow. At length, after losing ten years of his life, as he says, he broke away from all the dangerous entanglements, and turned his back upon the brilliant prospects which lay before him. He refused the bishopric of Cujavien, which was tendered him, declared himself in favor of a thorough evangelical Reformation, and bid adieu to his beloved fatherland, "until he would be recalled, not to lead a life of ease, or to enjoy the high honors of a bishop, but to serve God truly, in the Gopel of His Son." Then, at the age of ripe manhood, of commanding influence, and having received honorable testimonials from the king, he departed (1537), and, for a period of *nineteen* years, devoted himself, with indefatigable zeal and unchanging fidelity, and amid great self-denial, to the establishment of the Reformed Church in East Friesland, England, and Germany.

Lasky first visited his old friend, Albert Hardenberg, who was then at Mainz. At Lyons, in 1539, he married a pious girl, without wealth, from the common class of society. She proved to be an excellent and congenial companion, with whom he led a happy life for thirteen years, and had several children. In 1553 he married a second time, and was equally blest in the selection of a helpmate.

From Lyons he removed to East Friesland, in 1540, and purchased an estate in the vicinity of Emden, where he expected to live in retirement. Here commences the most important period of his public career in the service of the Reformed Church.

East Friesland, bounded on the east by Oldenburg, on

the north by the North Sea, and on the west by the North Sea and the Netherlands—the southern limit it is difficult to define, on a modern map—has, since the year 1815, been incorporated into, and now constitutes the western territory of, the kingdom of Hanover. At the time of which we are speaking, it was a separate Duchy or County; but had, by inheritance, become subject to the jurisdiction of the Duke of Oldenburg. The Duke, more liberal and generous than his fellow rulers on the continent, allowed East Friesland to retain the civil and religious liberties by which it had for centuries been distinguished. It had even withstood, for a long time, the iron power of the Romish Church. At the period of which we are writing, it was the only State in Germany where a certain measure of religious toleration prevailed; and to which, in consequence, the persecuted among the kindred nations of West Friesland and the Netherlands—the Reformed, nicknamed Sacramentarians,* Anabaptists, and Lutherans—fled for refuge. The Reformation as originally introduced, in 1526, by George Aportanus, the tutor of the family of the Duke, and subsequently pastor in Emden, was of the Erasmo-Zwinglian type —a wooden table, instead of the altar, having been used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and common white bread, which was broken and handed to each communicant; an innovation that, at the time, produced an extraordinary excitement throughout the whole of Northern Germany. This tendency was confirmed by the influence of Carlstadt, during his residence in East Friesland, in 1528. So strong was the foothold that the Reformed doctrines had gained, that the attempts made, from 1536 to 1540, to introduce the Lutheran confession and cultus, were perseveringly resisted; and resulted in the division of the Church into (high) German Lutheran and (low) German Reformed, which has been perpetuated down to the present day. The Anabap-

* Because they held that the real communion of believers with the human nature of Christ, in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was not local and outward, that is, by the mouth, but spiritual, that is, by faith, through the operation of the Holy Ghost.

tists also constituted a strong party, especially in Emden; and carried on a fierce warfare against the Lutheran clergy,* and reproached both the Reformed and Lutherans for their entire want of Church discipline.

Here John de Lasky selected the place of his temporary abode, where the Reformed Church—the Zwinglian doctrines and mode of worship, to which he was warmly attached—had secured a strong, if not a predominant, influence, and were tolerated, at least, by the State. The presence and comparative freedom of various parties of persecuted Protestants led, however, to considerable confusion and disorder; and the widowed Duchess of Oldenburg, a noble-minded and pious woman, though not free from weaknesses, felt the necessity of introducing some system of comprehensive Church order, adapted to the peculiar condition of the country. For this purpose, she applied, as the Duke himself had done shortly before his death, to De Lasky for counsel. He proposed his friend Hardenberg, who was himself a Frieslander, as general superintendent of ecclesiastical affairs. Hardenberg having declined the office, Lasky was himself urged to accept it. After passing through a severe inward conflict, he yielded, at length, in 1542, upon condition, however, "that he be obliged to continue in office only in case experience prove that, in calling him to the post, both the Duchess and the Church aimed at promoting the glory of God: should the contrary appear, he would demand of both an honorable dismission."† He also stipulated, as he always did in accepting an office, that he be permitted freely to obey any call from his native country. Humble and modest, forgetting his own interests, but unwilling to give up anything demanded by the Word of God, he could say boldly, when the Duchess vacillated, or his own congregation were disposed to resist the authority of Church government: "As I have freely en-

* Calling out publicly: "Death to the lying priests, death to the flesh-eaters?"

† A call from the Duke Albrecht of Prussia, to Kœnigsburg, Lasky declined, because the Duke would not agree to the Church being entirely independent of the State

gaged in the service of the Church of Christ, my strength and labors are cheerfully placed at the disposal of yourself, duchess, and of this Church. For I am ready not only to devote my property, trifling as it may be, to the good of the Church, without the prospect of any reward or advantage, but also, should it be necessary, to expose my life to any dangers for the honor of Christ, *if you will but confess that you are governed by, and will be subject to, the Word of God.* If you will not do this—if you prefer to obey the maxims of men and the wisdom of this world, I cannot and will not give you my cöoperation. The servant of evangelical and apostolical doctrine I am ready to be, in my weakness; nor shall I hesitate to learn anything of which I may be ignorant, from the least of my brethren; but the servant of *human* wisdom in divine things, or of customs which are contrary to the Word of God, I will not be, upon any condition. Human wisdom is in place, and is of value, in human affairs; but, in matters of religion, the will and wisdom of God must take precedence of all the counsels of men."

With such decided views subordinating his life and conduct, not to the arbitrary notions of men, but only to the Word and will of God, Lasky undertook the duties of his office as pastor of the Reformed Church at Emden, and as superintendent of ecclesiastical affairs in East Friesland. Not dependent upon the members of his church, nor upon the favor of the Duchess, he reposed his confidence in the protection of God, and not in the civil government—a power whose interposition he feared more than desired. One of the first important subjects which engaged his attention, was the introduction of a scriptural order of public worship. Luther desired a gradual change in worship; but Lasky, like the Reformers of Switzerland, aimed at once at a thorough and decided reformation, so as to avoid the necessity of a succession of changes. "For such changes," said he, "serve to render religion at first uncertain, and then contemptible, in the judgment of the uncultivated. If, therefore, a change of cultus is to be introduced, I desire it to be

done in such a way, that no additional changes will be necessary in future; that is, that all the papal abominations, so soon as their sinfulness shall be made evident, be abolished, without exception; and, in the introduction of new customs, an effort be made to conform as much as possible to the original purity and simplicity of the Apostolic Church, in order thus to supersede the necessity of any subsequent improvement." Like Zwingli, he regarded "everything as forbidden, concerning the adoption of which into Church cultus, God had not given a command;" and, therefore, allowed nothing that "was contrary to the pattern given in the Sacred Scriptures," or that "transcended the limits which it defines." Soon after his installation into office, he accordingly demanded of the Duchess Anna, "for the sake of his conscience and the Word of God," the removal of idolatrous pictures from the churches, and the abolishing of anti-scriptural "adulterous" ceremonies; and did not rest until he succeeded in carrying out his purpose.

He was opposed to the *kneeling* posture of communicants, because unscriptural and popish. Whilst in Emden, he allowed communicants to receive the sacred symbols *standing;* but, in England, conforming to the custom of Zurich, he adopted the *sitting* posture, "in order to testify publicly, and in every way, that we abhor idolatry, and intend to oppose it as much as lies in our power." He insisted on the use of ordinary bread in the administration of the Lord's Supper; and, should a case occur in which wine could not be had, he was willing that something else should be substituted, "if only the main matter, the commemoration of Christ, be preserved, and the sacrament be not undervalued, but celebrated with solemnity and decorum." With equal freedom and independence, however, he took ground against the Swiss, in the matter of private communion; maintaining, according to the undoubted custom of the apostolic age, the right to bear the elements, whenever desired, into the houses of the sick, and others, provided such private communion "take place

only in cases of necessity, without superstition, and without prejudice to the public administration of the sacrament."

These principles he also maintained when invited by the Archbishop Hermann, in 1543, to assist in the introduction of the Reformation into Cologne. He gave the same advice in London, in 1548, when he was called thither, with Bucer and Martyr of Strasburg, as a counsellor on the Reformation in England. Nor did he recede from his position when, in 1550, he became superintendent of the Reformed Churches, composed of fugitives, in London; though his opposition to the laws of Edward VI., enjoining uniformity of worship, put the security of his Church in jeopardy.

Important as Lasky regarded a thorough reformation in public worship to be, he laid more stress still upon the introduction of a rigid system of Church government. This was rendered the more necessary through the numerous sectaries (Anabaptists) that had taken refuge in Emden. These insisted on strict discipline, and repudiated the Evangelical Church for the want of it. Besides, the government of Spain, to which the Netherlands were subject, had become suspicious of East Friesland, for affording an asylum to so many adherents of the Reformation that had fled from persecution, and threatened to suspend all intercourse, unless the Duchess would take measures to restrain the progress of the sects. Cowardly and mercenary courtiers, from fear of the Emperor, then began to oppose and persecute the sectaries, which forced many of them to enter the established Church. Lasky proved himself to be their true friend. He treated them with extraordinary meekness and wisdom, and did what he could to secure to them the rights of citizenship. Lasky also improved the occasion to perfect the organization of his congregation, and of the Church in general, in East Friesland (1544). He resolved upon introducing a well-ordered system of government and discipline, as the most efficient means to restore order and prosperity to the established Church, which was torn and languishing from the divisions and confusion

caused by the sects. "I declare again," says he, "that we can never get rid of the sects, if we deal rigidly with others, but tolerate vice among ourselves." He determined, therefore, upon a separation of all those from the communion of the State Church who refused to come to the knowledge of the truth, and persisted in despising the authority of God. As, on the one hand, he reproached popery with an attempt to suppress the spiritual office, instituted by Christ, by establishing an arrogant hierarchy, so, on the other, he repudiated the advocates of insubordination in the Church; because, in the abuse of Gospel liberty, they endeavored to set aside what he called the *nerve of all Church government*, namely, the lawful use of Church discipline, which was likewise instituted by Christ, and retained and handed down to us by the apostles.

But the attempt to carry out his purpose met with decided opposition on the part of the Duchess Anna's counsellors. Yet Lasky persevered; and, after much conflict, succeeded (1544) in inducing the Duchess, in imitation of the order introduced by Calvin into the Church of Geneva, to institute a *presbytery*, or *consistory*, for the exercise of discipline in the Church, namely, "to associate with the pastor (or pastors) *four citizens* (ouderlingen or elders), who, in the judgment of the pastor, are of good repute, and lead a pious life; and who shall be empowered by the congregation, in conjunction with the pastor, to inquire into the conduct of the people, to remind each one of his duty, and, in extreme cases, to excommunicate those, in the name of the whole congregation, who despise all admonition." As a guide to the consistory, or presbytery, in the performance of its duties, Lasky published a book of discipline, in 1545, prepared with the aid of the "constitution" of the Church in Geneva and Cologne, in which he fully unfolded his views on Church order and Church discipline; being firmly resolved that, if his congregation would not endure such discipline, they might indeed drive him away, but that knowingly he would not spare or favor any man.

At the same time, Lasky, patterning after the constitu-

tion of the Church in Strasburg, Geneva, and Cologne, organized the *Cœtus* (or Ministerium), "for the promotion of Christian unity." This was developed, in the course of time, into the *Synods*, as subsequently organized in the Reformed Church. The Cœtus consisted of all the ministers of the principality, nearly 200, and met once a week, during the summer, in Emden. Elders were not included. The officers were a president and secretary; the president being chosen for a year. After the assembly had been opened with prayer, inquiry was made into the morals, doctrine, and life of each minister, in rotation, and the condition of his church discussed; as many being called up at each meeting as time would allow. The examination of candidates for the ministry followed, who were required also to preach before the Cœtus. Then came discussions, especially on controverted doctrines. Finally, complaints were considered, and disposed of by a vote of the majority. The Cœtus was continued, under this form, for the space of *forty* years, and proved to be a means of great good to the Church. It was suppressed, in 1583, by the Duke Edzard, who was inclined to Lutheranism, "to the sorrow of all the pious, and to the great injury of the Church of God;" but was restored again, after a short interval, and, according to Max Gœbel, still exists in the Reformed Church of East Friesland.

Feeling the necessity of a Confession of Faith adapted to the wants of the Frisian Reformed Church, Lasky drew up a Catechism, about the year 1548, on the basis of the Catechism of Calvin, the latin translation of which had been dedicated to the Church of East Friesland, in 1545. This Catechism, known as the Emden Catechism, was simple, beautiful, and comprehensive. It was subsequently used in all the foreign Reformed Churches; and, in addition to the Catechism of Geneva, rendered important service to Ursinus in the preparation of the Heidelberg Catechism.

Through the teaching and personal influence of Lasky, and through the efficient reformatory measure which he instituted and sustained with remarkable decision and wis-

dom, as superintendent of ecclesiastical affairs during a period of four years, and as pastor of the Reformed Church of Emden for seven years, from 1542 to 1549, the errors of Rome were completely abolished, in the principality, and Church order, peace, and prosperity, were restored. The Reformed Church was not only firmly established, but Emden became also the mother and model of the Reformation in the Netherlands, and especially of the *German* Reformed Churches, bearing a relation to these similar to that which Geneva bore, through Calvin, to the Reformed Church of England and Scotland. Most justly did Emden receive the honorary title: *The asylum of the oppressed and dispersed Church of God.* For, not only did the Reformed Church become strong and prosperous throughout East Friesland, but, being easily accessible from all directions, opening her doors wide, and offering a safe abode to the exiles from England, France, and the Netherlands, who, during this period, were driven from their homes by fiery persecutions; conducting an extensive correspondence with neighboring congregations; and sending out a large number of ministers, to supply spiritual destitutions; she became a centre of light to the whole evangelical Church of Western Europe.

But scarcely had this state of prosperity begun, when it was interrupted, and its destruction was threatened, by the forcible introduction of the Interim, in 1549.* To this Lasky could not think of submitting. He had already resigned the office of superintendent, in 1546, because he saw that he could not carry out his principles of Church gov-

* The *Formula ad Interim*, an edict of the Emperor Charles V., drawn up, at his direction, by Pflugius, Bishop of Maumburg, Michael Sidonius, and Agricola, Professor of Theology in Wittenburg, was proclaimed at the Diet of Augsburg, on the 15th of March, 1548—an imperial creed, which allowed the cup in the administration of the Lord's Supper to the Protestant laity, permitted ministers or priests to enter the married state, and conceded several other Protestant views, but retained all the essential doctrines of the Church of Rome; and was designed as a temporary rule or formula of faith and worship, until a general council should terminate all the religious differences of the empire. It was not satisfactory either to Protestants or papists; but was enforced, in many cities and States of Germany, by means of threats or by force of arms, and resulted in much suffering among conscientious Protestants, and in civil commotions, and even threatened a general war.

ernment and discipline in all the churches of the principality. Now he was constrained also to resign the office of pastor of the Reformed Church of Emden, and leave the country; and although the Interim was in force only for three years, till 1552, yet the Reformed mode of worship was suppressed for the time, and the free development and extension of the Church was materially checked.*

The fact has been already alluded to, that, at the invitation of Cranmer,† Lasky visited England, in 1548, as counsellor, (together with Bucer and Martyr, then holding respectively the office of King's Professor of Theology in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge,) touching the formation of the Book of Common Prayer. After remaining a short time, he returned to Emden, where he abode a year longer; but owing to the Lutherans obtaining the upper hand in Friesland, he did not formally resume the duties of his office. When expelled, in 1549, by the introduction of the Interim, and an imperial proclamation, he first repaired to his friend Hardenberg, in Bremen. There he received and accepted a call to become pastor of the newly established foreign Reformed Church of London, composed of German and French fugitives from the Netherlands. Some of these had fled to England, for the free exercise of religion, as early as 1544, and gradually increased by new accessions to their number. In 1548, they began to hold regular divine service in private houses; but, in 1550, the Church of St. Augustine was appropriated to their use, and the foreign organization‡ secured a formal acknowledg-

* On the other hand, however, the Interim was overruled for good. The Reformed Church, as also the foreign Reformed Churches, of East Friesland, independent of the civil power, could unfold the principles of their ecclesiastical polity without restraint. - There is still, up to this day, a prosperous French Reformed Church in Emden, existing under a genuine form of presbyterial government.

† Henry's Life and Times of John Calvin, vol. ii. p. 246. The History of the Prayer-Book of the Church of England, 2d ed. Oxford, p. 50.

‡ Like the French *refugies*, at a later period, these fugitives were mostly industrious and wealthy merchants and manufacturers, that is, lace weavers and lace merchants; and were indebted, in a great measure, to their skill and trade in this department of manufactures, for their favorable reception in England. Edward VI. granted the rights of citizenship to 380 members of those foreign Reformed Churches.

ment at the hands of the government. Another foreign Reformed organization, composed of Italians, soon became associated with this one. In 1550, Lasky, the champion of their rights, became the superintendent or head of these foreign churches, and the overseer of their schools.

Here Lasky found a desirable opportunity to establish a Church government, the principles of which were developed from the constitution of the Church in Zurich, Geneva, Emden, and Cologne. The generous king, Edward VI., was pleased to grant these foreign congregations a charter of rights (Privilegium, 1550), which exempted them from the operation of the existing law, requiring uniformity of belief and Church order, and guaranteed to them freedom of conscience in doctrine and worship. The Church increasing gradually, numbered at length from three to four thousand souls, and had four pastors, who preached in two or three different languages. Composed of Germans and French, the Church was from the beginning divided into two congregations, each holding its own public worship, using its own language, catechism, liturgy, and hymn-book, and having its own consistory. But the congregations were bound together by a common superintendent, by a common fatherland, common trials and sufferings, and a common faith; also by a common council, composed of the two consistories, which met once a month to discuss matters pertaining to the general interests of the whole Church. Beyond the control of bishops, unaffected by the civil law relating to the Church, and yet protected by government, they held their own constitution, made their own laws, elected their own pastors and Church officers, and thus were free to develop a genuine form of presbyterial polity. But, separated from the world by difference of language and manners and sympathies, and from the reigning Church life by different views in doctrine, worship, and discipline, they became rather austere and exclusive in character; and, having been condemned, persecuted, and driven about, both by the Lutherans and Roman Catholics, the reaction against corruption in doctrine and worship was somewhat

extreme. They not only abolished popish ceremonies, priestly vestments, candles, pictures, and the confessional, but were, it would seem, equally averse to the altar, the organ, the bell, and the kneeling posture in prayer. Notwithstanding these slight blemishes, which are to be regarded as the natural effect of their circumstances and previous history, this organization constituted a more than ordinary exemplification of the true Church of Christ. In addition to the preaching of a pure Gospel, the administration of the sacraments, the careful instruction of youth, and godly living: it combined, also, to a very high degree, the principles of authority and freedom, requiring each member to be subject to the order of the Church, and exercising a most rigid discipline; yet maintaining liberty of conscience for all who were outside of its communion. The charter of Edward, guaranteeing the rights of the foreign Reformed Church in London, did not continue in force for more than four years (1550–53); yet this comprehensive presbyterial polity was so fully matured and confirmed, during this short time, that, when this Church was dispersed along the Maine and the Rhine, and elsewhere, these principles were transplanted and perpetuated, and gave tone afterwards to the whole Reformed Church in the western part of the continent.*

The death of Edward VI., the protector of the foreigners, put an end to their prosperous Church organization. As soon as the bloody Mary ascended the throne, she revoked their charter, and required them to submit to the Church of England, or leave her dominions. With a part of his German congregation, some Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Scotchmen, 175 persons in all, Lasky took ship, in October, 1553, and sailed for Denmark, in the hope of meeting with a friendly reception. The ship was wrecked in a storm. Lasky ran into the harbor of Elsinore. The

* Did space permit, it would be interesting and instructive to give a full account of the principles embodied in the organization of these foreign Reformed congregations, under Lasky, in London. The reader is referred, for more particular information, to the *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphælischen evangelischen Kirche, von Max Gœbel*, vol. i. pp. 385–44.

severe treatment which this suffering band of wandering exiles received from the Lutherans in Elsinore, Copenhagen, Rostock, Wismar, Lübeck, and Hamburg, is matter of history.† The king of Denmark, Christian III.‡ treated Lasky respectfully, and extended some favors to his family. At first, he seemed also to lend a favorable ear to Lasky's application on behalf of the fugitives, to make their abode in the country. But Peter Noviomagus, the court-preacher, disappointed their hopes. On Sunday, Nov. 10th, he preached a sermon on the epistle for the day (Phil. 3: 17–21), in which he urged the expulsion of the fugitives from the country. They were fanatics, sacramentarians, and most dangerous heretics; for they denied the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar. Both their doctrines and character, according to Herveg, were painted in the darkest colors. The result was, that, on Monday following, an edict was issued, enjoining upon superintendents, abbots, priors, and preachers, and upon all the knights, squires, and bailiffs, that, if any stranger appear before them, and desire to enter into their service, or establish himself in any city or any part of the country, they first ascertain whence he is, what his profession and what his faith, in order that they take no one into service, and permit no one to locate anywhere, who was an Anabaptist or Sacramentarian (Reformed).

Lasky asked for the privilege to defend his community against the aspersions of Noviomagus; but the request was evaded. He then plead for permission to remain over winter. It could not be given. The exiles received command immediately to re-embark. Even the women, with children at their breasts, were not allowed to wait for calmer weather. Force was quickly employed to drive them into the ship, or beyond the boundary line; and this in

† Church History, by Herveg, vol. i. pp. 89-94. Mosheim's Church History, vol. ii. p. 112, Coote's ed., 1832. Henry's Life of Calvin, vol. ii. p. 277

‡ It was a sense of gratitude, accordingly, as well as a sense of right, that prompted Lasky to address a communication to the king, in which he set forth, in detail, and with manly decision, the great injustice which he had done to him and his fugitive Church.

spite of all their prayers to be allowed to remain to the end of winter.‖ In Germany, they were also treated as enemies of the country and of the Church. Westphal called the members of Lasky's exiled community, *the devil's martyrs*. Bugenhagen refused to acknowledge them as Christians, and they were told that papists could be better endured than they. The hatred of the Lutherans pursued the wanderers to Lübeck and Rostock. Many preachers branded the exiles with the name of heretics, and thus excited the populace against them. They were also decried as Anabaptists by the clergy, and the magistrates were, therefore, compelled to deny them a place of shelter.

Driven from city to city, and tossed upon the sea, Lasky did not find a place of shelter for these suffering, homeless Christians, till 1554, when, after much difficulty, he secured a temporary abode for them in East Friesland, Frankfort, Strasburg, Wesel, and some other cities. Lasky himself, with the members of his foreign *German* Church, were cordially received by his old friends at Emden. His children were allowed to remain in Hamburg till spring. The duchess, however, and her court, treated Lasky coolly. His strict views of Church order and Christian life, which had become more decided during his residence in England, and the imprudent zeal of some of the foreigners against organs and altars, gave offence. Under the pretext that his continuance in Friesland was offensive to the Spanish court, and, therefore, dangerous to the country, he was banished the following year. About this time, too, he lost his property, through the dishonesty of a relative—a misfortune that he bore with the greatest resignation.

He left, and came to Frankfort-on-the-Maine, in April, 1555. But he bore along with him into exile the warmest affections of his Emden congregation and his ministerial brethren of Friesland. They looked upon him as their

‖ Henry's Life of Calvin, vol. ii. pp. 267–78. The condition of Lasky greatly affected Calvin. Addressing him, he says: "The cruel conduct of Denmark affects me bitterly. Great God! what an instance of barbarity among a Christian people! It surpassed even the fury of the waves." He praised Lasky's moderation and firmness.

head, and supported him by their contributions, which he cheerfully accepted. At Frankfort Lasky was kindly received. Hither the *French* Reformed congregation had fled from London, in 1554. The magistrate, then favorably disposed towards them, extended the hospitality of the city. They obtained possession of a church, which was used by them in connection with a congregation of English Nonconformists, that had escaped secretly. Lasky now obtained permission also, on behalf of his *German* congregation, to make their abode in Frankfort. Another church was appropriated to the use of the Puritans; and the French and German congregations again worshipped together in the same building.*

In the midst of the evangelical Lutheran Church, Lasky now renewed his former efforts to restore peace between the Lutherans and Reformed; and prosecuted his efforts with fresh zeal, because he regarded the continuation of the controversy as unjustifiable, unchristian, and very injurious. And he had good reason to hope for success. He was really concerned to do both parties justice. His views of the Lord's Supper were those of Calvin, and he was willing to subscribe the (altered) Augsburg Confession. Besides, he stood high in the estimation of those upon whom the final result mainly depended—of Melanchthon, Calvin, and Bullinger, of Otto Henry, Elector of the Palatinate, and of Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse. Forgiving all the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of the Lutherans, he labored and argued for peace, extended the hand of Christian brotherhood, and begged them to accept it; but it was refused. Through the opposition and influence of Brentius, mainly, all his hopes were frustrated.

At length, after an absence of nineteen years, the way was open for Lasky's return to Poland. At the diet held in 1556, the important law was passed, that it should be lawful for any nobleman to introduce the observance of the evangelical service into his house; and Rome was called

* This is the origin of the flourishing French and German Reformed Church of Frankfort, that has been perpetuated to the present time.

upon to correct the abuses with which it was charged. After publishing a revised edition of his book of Church order and discipline, in Frankfort, which he dedicated to the king, the senate, and the diet of Poland, he proceeded to Wittenberg, to confer with Melanchthon: the latter gave him a letter to the King of Poland, exhorting him to promote the Reformation in that country. On his return (1556), the enterprising Lasky, though fifty-eight years of age, was wholly devoted to accomplishing the work of reform in his native land. He wrote on the subject, demonstrating the necessity of abolishing the Roman hierarchy (Dec. 1556). But nothing was left undone to make him an object of suspicion to the king: it was even reported that he was a determined enemy to Poland, and that he was engaged in collecting troops to effect a revolution. These reports made some impression on the monarch, till, meeting with one of Lasky's relatives, who opened his eyes to the truth, he observed:* "You know that such movements and disturbances frequently lead to the ruin of States. Say, therefore, to Lasky: Carry on the work of religion among yourselves, and in a short time you will see that I look more to the help of God than to that of men."

But, at the next diet, the affair was again deferred. Still, though standing alone, Lasky did not relax his efforts, but went boldly forward. Various successes and various reverses followed. We cannot go into particulars. Yet there was general progress in the work of reform. A synod was assembled by the Catholics at Lowicz, in which the abuses of the Church were spoken of with great boldness. But it was not till 1559 that an attempt was made to exclude the bishops from the senate. This proved fruitless. The decrees of the Council of Trent, however, were utterly rejected by the diet. Thus, the struggle between the two parties continued for years, without any decisive event. Lasky died in 1560, and saw no definite result from his faithful labors. But, by the energetic and persevering efforts

* Henry's Life of Calvin, pp. 347–49.

which he had put forth, he laid the foundation for the settlement subsequently agreed upon at Sandomir, (1570).

John de Lasky, the Polish nobleman and bold reformer, was a strong man and a devout Christian. His conversion was not, like that of Calvin and Luther, a sudden change wrought by an overwhelming power, but like that of Zwingli, a gradual passing over from darkness into light, by means of Christian instruction. Hence, his religious life was not a vehement impulse, bearing him along against all opposition, but rather a quiet power, deliberate and clear, but firm and unshaken. The character of Lasky may be said to be the peculiar blending of seemingly contradictory elements. In philosophy a disciple of Erasmus, and of one mind with Luther as to the inner life of religion, he was in theology and worship a Zwinglian, and in Church government and discipline a Calvinist. Decided in his theological opinions, firm in his opposition to error, and rigid in his views of moral conduct, he was nevertheless not censorious, but treated those who differed from him with great mildness and forbearance, especially for the age in which he lived; he accorded conscientious convictions even to his violent opponents, and, cherishing an humble opinion of his own spiritual progress, he urged the necessity of making allowances for the moral deficiencies in the character of others. We may mention, particularly, the meekness with which he bore the virulent persecution of Westphal, who called him and his fugitive Church, *the devil's martyrs*, and the forbearance with which he treated the enemies of Church order, in Emden (1542–49), the leaders, namely, of the resident Anabaptists, Menno Simon and David Joris. Such a spirit led him to study the things that make for peace. He regarded it as one of his first duties to promote harmony and love among his brethren. Like Melanchthon and Calvin, he was, accordingly, most earnestly devoted to the cause of uniting the two branches of the Reformation. Nor was he shaken in his purpose or zeal by the harsh treatment or repeated persecutions of his opponents. Hence, in the presence of theologians, princes,

and kings, he vindicated the right of the Reformed to be tolerated and acknowledged, and especially of his church of foreigners.

In one particular only was he rigid and unyielding. The careful study of the Scriptures, and his own experience, had led him to the firm conviction, that organization and discipline were essential to a true Church of Christ. Disorder and irregular living in the Church he could not endure. Tolerant and yielding as to questions of doctrine and worship, he demanded most decidedly an organization of the Church that was in all respects conformable to the principles and spirit of the New Testament. To introduce such a scriptural organization into his Church, and maintain it, he regarded, accordingly, as the great mission of his life. In this respect, he held a middle place between the separatistic Anabaptists, on the one hand, and the Lutherans, on the other, who were without any organization. Thus, he rendered possible, on German soil, the founding of the Reformed Church, which combines the truth of both tendencies. He not only rendered it possible, but actually accomplished it. It constitutes the chief merit and honor of Lasky, that he fixed his eye steadily on the development and true organization of the whole Church, which is the body of Christ. Nor could any suspicions, or opposition, or animosity, ever cause him to swerve from his purpose. Of this his whole life is the proof.

Renouncing the brightest worldly prospects, as one of the most wealthy and prominent Polish noblemen; declining the offer of the richest and most influential bishoprics in his native land; casting in his lot for many years with the suffering followers of Jesus Christ, who were driven from shore to shore; sympathizing with and befriending the persecuted for conscience' sake, even though they had been his opponents and defamers; rigid towards himself, but forbearing and yielding towards others, because truly unassuming and humble; never seeking his own temporal interests, but sacrificing his time and energies, his wealth and all, to the scriptural organization and growth of the

Church, amid a series of persecutions the most virulent, and of trials the most severe; banished time and again for preaching Christ and insisting on Church order, and stripped of his property, yet resigned to his afflictions; forgiving towards his enemies, and unshaken in his devotion to the Word of God and the cause of Christ:—the key-note of such moral heroism, and so self-denying and honorable a life is given in his own language, uttered in 1555: "Licht ist allein in Christus, welcher den ganzen Menschen erleuchtet, und desshalb ist alles Finsterniss, was ausser Christus und seinem Worte gelernt, gelehrt und gehalten wird."

Lancaster, Pa. E. V. G.

ART. VIII.—THE LIFE AND LABORS OF MICHAEL SCHLATTER.

THE LIFE AND LABORS OF REV. MICHAEL SCHLATTER; with a full account of his Travels and Labors among the Germans in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia; including his services as Chaplain in the French and Indian War, and in the War of the Revolution. 1716 to 1790. By Rev. H. Harbaugh, A. M., Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Author of "The Sainted Dead," "Heavenly Recognition," "Birds of the Bible," "Union with the Church," etc. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1857. pp. 376.

THE name of Michael Schlatter has always held a high place in the history of the German Reformed Church of America; especially among those who have made this history the subject of careful study. Though not the first ordained minister who was constrained to follow the oppressed Reformed emigrating from the Palatinate to the new world, he must, nevertheless, be regarded as the pioneer of this branch of the Church of Christ on American soil. He was the foremost man, the most laborious, influential and effi-

cient man, without any doubt, among those who laid her foundations one hundred years ago; and this, without any disparagement of his self-denying, godly coadjutors in the field. Besides, his whole life is a striking illustration of the divine power of the religion of Christ: a bright example both of an humble Christian and of a devoted minister of the Gospel, which no one can look on, and study seriously, without much spiritual benefit.

Yet of such a man, sustaining so direct and intimate a relation to an original branch of the Protestant Church transplanted to a country which has risen to be one of the first nations of the earth, no complete memoir was ever written. Nearly sixty-seven years have elapsed since he was laid in his grave in Franklin Square,* Philadelphia. The main facts of his life have been rapidly falling into oblivion. Tradition has been losing her precious trust. To many intelligent laymen, but little more than his name has been known. Many ministers have not been much better informed. Nor was this strange. There have been but very meagre resources at hand. Now and then a few isolated facts were published, or some extracts from his Journal. Even his Journal has not been accessible. Neither in English nor in German, has it been extant. A copy might have been found in the library of the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg, or here and there in the private library of a minister, who preserved it carefully as a precious treasure; but no where else. And as but few had any adequate conception of the very prominent and efficient part which Schlatter acted in organizing and establishing the German Reformed Church in America, there have been but few, comparatively, who could properly estimate the loss which the Church has been suffering through its ignorance on the subject.

The work which has just left the press on *The Life and Labors of Michael Schlatter*, by the Rev. Mr. Harbaugh, is to be regarded, therefore, as a response to a deep want that

*The old cemetery of the German Reformed Church, of Race Street, Philadelphia.

has been felt with increasing force for the last quarter of a century—felt more generally than expressed. Nothing but a lively sense of this want could have induced the author to undertake the delicate and difficult task at this late day, when some of the best sources of information no longer exist, and those which do exist are not easy of access. He merits our heartfelt thanks for what he has done—for producing a work which, in its conception and style, its particularity, fulness and thoroughness, meets the just demands of the Church. This is saying a great deal in commendation of the book. But a careful examination will, we believe, sustain the judgment.

Michael Schlatter was born of pious parents, in St. Gall, Switzerland, July 14th, 1716; and brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. After passing through the Gymnasium, he was placed under the instruction of Professor Waegelin, of his native town; and at the early age of *fourteen* was examined and accepted as a candidate for the ministry. Possessing a somewhat restless disposition, he occupied different posts as a teacher and a minister in Switzerland and Holland, until 1746, when, moved by the touching appeals from the destitute German Reformed Churches of Pennsylvania, he came to America as a missionary, at the age of thirty years, under appointment from the Synod of North and South Holland. For four years and a half (Aug., 1746—Feb., 1751) he labored incessantly, and with extraordinary energy and self-denial, as pastor of the churches at Philadelphia and Germantown, and as an exploring missionary, visiting and preaching to the destitute Germans in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, organizing churches and pastoral charges and forming plans to provide them with the stated means of grace. Upon the unanimous decision and at the urgent solicitation of the Cœtus of the German Reformed Church, the organization of which he had effected in 1747 (Sept. 29th), he undertook a mission to Europe, in order to represent clearly and fully the condition of the churches, to procure a supply of Bibles, obtain ministers and school-

teachers, and secure an annual support, for the time being, for schools and churches. This mission was very successful. By personal interviews with Synods, and with ministers and laymen in Holland, the Palatinate and Switzerland, and especially by the publication of his Journal, he produced a deep impression both on the Continent and in Great Britain. The result was a stream of support and influence which continued to flow for at least forty years.

After an absence of about eighteen months, Schlatter returned in safety, July 28th, 1852, and resumed his labors as pastor and missionary, though his tours do not appear to have been either as numerous or as extensive as before. The Church being better supplied with a stated ministry, the same necessity no longer existed. The Church difficulties in Philadelphia, growing out of the irregular course pursued by Steiner and Rubel, induced him to resign his charge in 1755; when he became Superintendent for one or two years of the Charity Schools established and sustained among the Germans in Pennsylvania by an Association organized in England. The prominence which his great activity and self-denying zeal had unavoidably given him, made him a conspicuous object for the enemy. The arrows began to fly. Too upright to use cunning, too modest to push himself forward, and too meek to return blow for blow, he became the object of suspicion both to the Germans and to the Cœtus; and rather than be the occasion of ill feeling and disturbance or division, he preferred sacrificing himself, and began to stand aloof. In March, 1757, he accepted a Commission from the Earl of Loudon, constituting him Chaplain to His Majesty's Royal American Regiment of Foot; and accompanied an expedition to Nova Scotia against the French. Returning in the fall of 1759, he retired to *Sweetland*, the name of his residence on Chesnut Hill, about ten miles from Philadelphia. Here he lived in quiet until 1777, when we find him engaged in the active duties of Chaplain in the Revolutionary war. But his judgment and heart were with the colonies.* Still

* "We find him again in the active duties of chaplain at the beginning of

under commission from the old government and refusing to obey orders, he was cast into prison. His house was plundered. He was soon released, however; and then returned to his family on Chesnut Hill. Here he passed the remainder of his life in peace and quiet, without taking any part, as it seems. in the public affairs of the Church.

Schlatter died in October, 1790, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

The prominent traits in the character of Michael Schlatter were uncommon energy, diligence and perseverance, and great power of organization, combined with a remarkable degree of humility, modesty and meekness.

To illustrate his energy, and power of endurance, we cite a few facts. He took ship at Amsterdam, on his first voyage to America, on the 1st of June, 1746; and sailed for Boston, where he arrived on the 1st of August, having been *two months* on sea. Here, after so long and tedious a voyage, not in a modern steamer, but in an ordinary sailing vessel, he rested but *two* days; received, as he says, "in this land of my pilgrimage with much love and kindness by the Hon. J. Wendel, a distinguished Holland merchant, and an officer of the government there." On the 4th he set out on his journey by land and came to Newport, Rhode Island, on the 7th. In *four* days more he travelled two hundred and thirty miles to New York, where he arrived on the 11th. Here he passed the remainder of the month. He did not reach Philadelphia until Sept. 6th. But the very next day, the 7th, he went a distance of sixteen miles to Whitpain, to visit the oldest German minister in those regions, the Rev. J. B. Boehm. The day following, on

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the Revolutionary War; whether by virtue of the old appointment or by a new commission, does not appear. Having been all along interwoven officially, and by various circumstances, prominently in the affairs of the government, he was at the beginning of the war under the appointment of the old authorities, and acted as chaplain in the British army. This was, however, only for a short time. He soon found himself impelled by his feelings and sense of right, to espouse the side and cause of the colonies, which he did in the face of danger and great self-sacrifice. Accordingly in the month of September, 1777, when the British invaded Germantown, he refused to obey orders, and thus subjected himself to the punishment which military law inflicts for such an act." pp. 386, 387.

the 8th, he went a distance of eight miles, to see Mr. J. Reif, to require of him, agreeably to the instructions of the Synod of Holland, an account of the moneys collected in Holland by him and Rev. G. M. Weiss, sixteen years previously, for the benefit of the churches of Pennsylvania. "That no time might be lost," he says, "I returned to Philadelphia on the 9th, a distance of twenty-three miles, to make enquiry in relation to the one hundred and thirty German Bibles, which, some years before, had been sent thither by the affectionate care of the Christian Synod of Holland." On the 11th, he administered the Lord's Supper in Philadelphia to one hundred communicants, preceded by a preparatory and succeeded by a thanksgiving sermon. On the 16th, we find him going to Bucks county, "to greet Rev. P. H. Dorstius," and to explain the nature of his mission to America. On the 18th he preaches in the forenoon in Philadelphia, and after the services gives "the whole congregation an exposition of the Synodical instructions which I had brought from the Fatherland." The same afternoon he goes to Germantown, preaches, and gives the people a similar "exposition." The two congregations were then united in one charge. This was the *first* charge regularly organized. The day following, the 19th, he went to Old Goshenhoppen, a distance of thirty-five miles, and preached on the 20th.

In the short space of *thirteen* days, accordingly, after his arrival in Philadelphia, he preaches on two Sundays in Philadelphia; administers the Lord's Supper; preaches on a Sunday in Germantown; organizes the first charge composed of these two churches; makes four visits in different directions to the country at distances of from twenty-three to thirty-five miles, and returns from all, but one, to Philadelphia; takes preliminary steps to make settlement with Mr. Reif; and lays his plans for future operations. To estimate these labors aright we must not forget the travelling on horse-back, the bad roads, the slow communication by mail, and the like, as they were one hundred and eleven years ago—all in broadest contrast with the extraordinary facilities of communication of the present day.

As a further illustration of Schlatter's energy and power of endurance, take the following extract, selected almost at random, from his Journal. "On the 10th (of October, 1748) I travelled forty miles, to Amwell, (New Jersey), preached there in the afternoon, and, on the morning of the 11th, I went nineteen miles farther, to Rockaway, and in the afternoon to Foxhill, to hold a preparatory service, in which last place, I administered the Holy Supper on the 12th, and, after the thanksgiving sermon, returned to Rockaway, ten miles from thence. Here, on the 13th, I administered the Lord's Supper, and, after the thanksgiving sermon, on the same day, I returned to Amwell, a distance of nineteen miles. After I had administered the Lord's Supper in this congregation, and preached the thanksgiving sermon on the 14th, I went, the same afternoon, from thence, and, after having travelled forty miles, I arrived late in the evening in Philadelphia." p. 185. That is, he preached *eight* sermons, administered the Lord's Supper *three* times, and travelled besides, a distance of one hundred and thirty-six miles on horse-back, all in *five* days.

He usually travelled from Lancaster to Philadelphia in one day, a distance of sixty-three miles, as he called it. It was rather more than less. To meet his appointments, he travelled both by night and by day. On the 7th of May, 1748, for example, he travelled forty miles. The next day, the 8th, he preached a preparatory sermon in Frederick-town, Maryland, in the school-house; "and on the same day, in company with an elder of this congregation, who, of his own free will, offered to accompany me through Virginia. I continued my journey thirty-four miles farther to Conococheague, crossing the so-called Blue Mountains,* so that we did not arrive in Conococheague till two o'clock in the morning of the 9th, when we came to the house of an honest Swiss, and gratefully enjoyed a pleasant rest. I preached there yet on the same day." p. 171. Illustrations might easily be multiplied. But these must suffice. They

* Now called South Mountain.

are fair specimens of a course of incessant toil and extraordinary activity, which, as a pastor and a missionary, he pursued for more than four years. Nor does he ever seem to lament, as though his lot were a hard one. On the contrary, his Journal glows with gratitude to God for the numberless blessings bestowed upon him, and for the privilege of gathering the scattered sheep into the fold of Jesus Christ.

This spirit of self-denial manifested itself also under another form. Schlatter performed this extraordinary amount of labor, attended with great exposure and peril, without receiving any pecuniary reward from the people, for more than a year after his arrival in America. He became pastor of Philadelphia and Germantown in September, 1746. "From that time on," he says, "I have preached in these united churches on every Lord's day, when I was not absent on journeys. And in order that by deed, I might convince them that I did not serve them merely for the sake of my bread, I neither required nor received any salary for the first year." p. 131.

At a later period, November, 1747, we find a still more striking exhibition of the same spirit: "I cannot refrain from referring briefly to the fact that these three* congregations, from gratitude for the service I had rendered them, handed me a pecuniary reward; and this was the first money which, since my arrival in America up to this time, I have received from any congregation for my labor and pains. Also, in my own congregations, up to the present time, I have drawn no salary. I must state, however, that different congregations have offered me some money, but I declined receiving it, in order to convince them that I did not seek theirs, but them; whilst, in the mean time, God has provided for me in a way that calls for devout praise, and has also enabled me to be content with little." p. 169. Here is the spirit of an Apostle.

But Schlatter was humble and modest, as well as ener-

* Amwell, Rockaway and Foxhill, in New Jersey, now incorporated into the Presbyterian Church.

getic, laborious and self-denying. His modesty is the pleasing under-tone of his Journal. Nowhere does he manifest the least self-complacency in view of the extraordinary amount of labor which he had performed. Nor does he ever bring *himself* into the foreground in showing what and how much he has done. It is rather the desire to furnish a faithful representation of the condition of the destitute German Reformed Churches, based upon his own observation and experienee, that unavoidably gives himself and his labors a conspicuous place in his Journal. To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to read his earnest and touching appeal to the Synod of Holland on behalf of his famishing brethren in America. We have but little room for extracts. Moreover, the truth of our remark becomes apparent rather from the study of his whole life than from single passages taken from his Journal. Yet we cannot refrain from giving one quotation more.

He is pleading on behalf of his few ministerial brethren in America. They needed both deep sympathy and pecuniary support, for they were compelled to waste their precious time in digging and ploughing the fields, which they desired to spend in the vineyard of the Lord. The burden of their labors, being but a few among so many helpless congregations, pressed very heavily upon them. Then to enforce this plea for his suffering fellow-servants, he speaks of himself by way of example: "I reject with disgust all ill-odored self-praise; and I can not glory save in my infirmities; but if it may serve to the awakening of others who may be able to come to our aid, I will, in all lowliness, and to the praise of that God who supported me, and gave me the will and the power to labor, say that from the year 1747 till the beginning of the year 1751, I have travelled in this part of America, in the service of the lost sheep, to collect them together, to bring them in order, and edify them, a distance of more than *eight thousand* English miles —not reckoning my passage across the ocean—and this for the most part on my own horse, by day and by night, without respect to heat or cold, which is often alike severe in

this country; yea, without avoiding danger, as not counting my life dear unto myself. * * * Amid all this travelling about I have preached *six hundred and thirty-five* times; and through all these labors God has spared my health and strength, and has not suffered my desire and zeal to serve the Churches to be extinguished, but rather to be increased." Afterwards he adds: "Excuse me, Reverened Fathers and Brethren! that I have spoken so much of myself and my doings. It has not been done, believe me, in order that I might boast; but by such a public representation of the labors of your own brethren, still more to influence your brotherly hearts in fraternal love. and sympathetic mercy, and to awaken you, Reverend Fathers, in the most friendly manner, according to your ability, to come to the assistance of your fellow-laborers, and to cause that such as can help them, shoulder to shoulder, to bear the great weight under which they must otherwise sink, may soon be sent to them." pp. 215, 217.

In harmony with this spirit, are all his manifestations of character under all circumstances. When persecuted and injured, he was meek and forbearing. He did not render evil for evil. The Steiner difficulty in Philadelphia furnishes an instructive illustration of Schlatter's decision, tempered by love and gentleness. He was also a peace-maker. He hated, and lamented over, strife and discord. To allay strife where it existed, and to promote harmony and peace in the Church, seems to have been one of the fixed objects of his life, to which he was willing to devote much of his time and endure great self-denial.

These traits of character must be referred to some principle—to a law of life working from within. From his Journal, and from his biography, taken as a whole, we gather that this law of his life, as a minister of the Gospel, was to sacrifice himself, and all his personal interests, to the honor of Jesus Christ, and to the prosperity and peace of His Church.

It is here we find, not a justification, but the secret of his comparative inactivity for a period of thirty years, in

the latter part of his life. The author handles this subject with a tender heart and a discriminating judgment. Very aptly does he say: "Though we may regret his retirement, yet ought we to know more than we do of the circumstances, to censure with decision and severity." Yet after a careful study of the subject, in its various connections, we do not feel prepared to endorse the opinion that his isolation is "a great blemish on his ministerial honor, and a gloomy shadow hanging over this part of his earnest and useful life." Through a variety of circumstances, and especially through the influence of Mr. C. Saurs' German paper,* published at Germantown, a tide of feeling had arisen against him. The intent of his activity was misconstrued and misunderstood. He had been the most prominent man in the Church. He had been more generally respected and beloved than any other. Now long continued misrepresentation, and slander, at length started a reaction; and by a natural law the reaction of feeling against him among the people, was stronger and more general than it could have been against any other man. This feeling was shared by a majority of Cœtus, perhaps by a large majority; and expression was given to their want of confidence in a letter to the Synod of Holland. The good man's heart was pained. The avenues to the confidence of the congregations were closed. His sense of propriety did not permit him to attend the meetings of Cœtus, where his presence and cöoperation were no longer welcome. He would not contend against his enemies, for he was eminently a man of peace. Nor could he turn his back upon the Reformed Church, in which he had been born, and for which he had lived, and enter another communion. There seemed, therefore, to be no alternative for him but to veer into retirement, and seek to serve His Master and the Church within the quiet circle of an eddy of life, protected against the force of the current, and sheltered from the storm, by the Rock that was higher than he. Adopting this interpretation, we may see in the comparative inactiv-

* See "Life and Labors of Schlatter," page 292 et. seq.

ity of the latter part of Schlatter's life, a meek and cheerful resignation to the dark and mysterious course of Divine Providence.

From this brief review of the life and character of Michael Schlatter, we pass to an examination of the book itself that has been put into the hands of the Church by the Rev. Mr. Harbaugh.

We have said already that the work is thorough and particular. The materials are drawn mostly from original sources —from Church records, from ancient documents, from trustworthy contemporaneous works, and from the testimony of living witnesses. The numerous references in the notes to manuscripts, periodicals and books, indicate an extensive research, and a patient study of the times in which Mr. Schlatter lived—a patient study of previous and collateral history, as well as of the facts of his own life. Obtaining thus a correct point of observation from which the author could judge of the connection and bearing of facts and circumstances, he has reproduced the age and the man. He has wrought out a consistent and well-connected whole. He has not given us vague generalities mingled with moral reflections drawn from his own mind; but clear, general outlines which become complete in particulars derived from a view of Schlatter as he was. The book possesses, what we may be permitted to call, *objective*, instead of subjective, particularity. We feel that it is *Schlatter* himself who rises up before us, rather than *Harbaugh* representing Schlatter. On this account, the book as a whole, is very satisfactory. The nature and design of Schlatter's mission to America—the fostering care of the Church of Holland—Schlatter's relation to the Charity Schools—the causes of the unfortunate misunderstanding between himself and the Cœtus—the probable reasons for his retirement from participation in the general affairs of the Church during the last thirty years of his life—and the peculiar spirit and character of the man;—are all set forth in a light that enables one to form an intelligent and well-grounded judgment on these interesting questions. It has, indeed, some blemishes; but

these are fewer than might reasonably have been anticipated in view of the difficulties with which the author had to contend. The book is very interesting also. The eye is attracted, and runs from point to point as being absorbed in the study of a life-like picture.

Possessing this objective character, the book naturally reproducess, not only Schlatter himself, but also the relations of Schlatter, truthfully—his relation to the Synod of Holland, to the Lutheran Church, to the first Dr. Muhlenberg, to the Cœtus, to England and to America. The general tone of the memoir corresponds to the general spirit of Schlatter. Schlatter was a man of broad views and broad affections. He was Reformed. And he loved the Reformed Church with a strong and steady love. But he was a man—a German—a Christian also; and he felt as such. He loved the interests of the Germans who were not Reformed. And he respected and loved the interests of the Lutheran Church. One of the warmest and most lasting friendships which Schlatter formed in America, was with Dr. Muhlenberg, who has justly been called the father of the American Lutheran Church.

In this respect, the book is faithful to its precious trust. It possesses a truly catholic spirit. It is not intent on glorifying the German Reformed Church. Hence it is not betrayed into an ignoring of the Lutheran Church. These two branches of the Church of the Reformation, though differing widely on some important points of Christian doctrine, as also in their prominent peculiarities of practical life, have, nevertheless, always been so closely related, by language, by a common nationality, by intermarriage, and so on, that it is not possible to write a truthful history of the one, or the biography of any leading man belonging to the one, without frequent allusions and references to the history of the other. A history or biography, which omits all such allusions and references is of necessity sadly deficient. It fails to correspond to general facts as they are, or to the life of a man as it really is. But if these references are introduced, much depends upon the spirit in which

it is done. A narrow, green-eyed spirit is constantly in danger of clipping and twisting facts, and of disparaging the position, and motives, and merits, of those who do not bear its own name; whilst the genuine spirit of Christian charity, which envieth not, is not puffed up, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, and thinketh no evil, recognizes the existence of others, accords to them their true relative position, and can speak of their merits with freedom and pleasure. It is this spirit that breathes through *The Life and Labors of Schlatter.* There is no depreciation of the Lutheran Church as compared with the Reformed, or of the labors of Lutheran as compared with those of Reformed ministers. We discover no reluctance on the part of the author to make honorable mention of the Lutheran Church wherever the progress of the subject requires him to do so.

True, the work gives us but little information on the early history of the Lutheran Church. To do it, was not the author's object, nor did it fall in as a part of his plan. It was his design to draw a portrait of Schlatter, and throw light upon the early history of the German Reformed Church. Nothing more. But as both Schlatter and the Reformed Church were associated with the Lutheran Church, the carrying out of the author's design consistently, rendered it necessary to make statements and allusions pertaining to the Lutheran Church. The catholic spirit of Christian charity requires that these statements be made, not omitted; and that they be made, not only according to the demands of truth, but from due respect and love for the Lutheran Church. Now, it is just this catholic spirit that arrests one's attention in reading Harbaugh's Life of Schlatter. There is not a sentence in the book that can offend the self-respect of a Lutheran, or grate harshly upon his feelings.* We rejoice at seeing such a work from the pen

* In confirmation of these views, we quote from the "Missionary," of June 25th, 1857, edited by the Rev. W. A. Passavant, Pittsburg: "With untiring industry and vast labor he (Mr. Harbaugh) has collected the scattered incidents in the life and labors of Michael Schlatter, the Patriarch of the German Reformed Church in America, and from them has erected a monument

of a minister of the German Reformed Church—breathing the earnest, irenical spirit of the Heidelberg Catechism.

There is one chapter in the book, which, under one view of the case, could have been omitted. The want of it would not have been felt by the most of readers. But under another view, it could not have been omitted without serious loss. The insertion of it indicates the animus of the work—the desire of the author not only to exhibit fully the inner life of Schlatter, but also to bring out the amiable and winning traits of character in those whom Schlatter loved. We refer to the thirteenth chapter, entitled *Schlatter and Muhlenberg.* Here we see the large-heartedness and the warm-heartedness of these great and good men. It is refreshing to read how these fathers of the two German branches of the Protestant Church in America, exchanged visits and communed with each other; how Schlatter wrote to Holland in praise of Muhlenberg and Muhlenberg wrote to Halle in praise of Schlatter; how Schlatter fell on the neck of Muhlenberg on his return from Europe in 1752, and Muhlenberg warmly reciprocated such sincere friendship and love; and how they loved and took counsel of each other until death. "Who does not sincerely desire," may we not ask, in the language of the author, "that the spirit of these men may ever reign as the

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to the memory of this great and good man, which will stand while true worth and abundant labors are had in grateful remembrance by the Church. Not only the members of the Reformed, but also of the Lutheran Church, owe Mr. Harbaugh a debt of gratitude for this valuable memoir, and we take pleasure thus publicly in expressing our indebtedness to the respected author for this important contribution to the history of the German Churches of this country."

The "Lutheran Observer," of June 26th, expresses a similar judgment: "The book before us is a seasonable, well-written and handsomely gotten up volume. Mr. Harbaugh had a noble subject and has done it ample justice. He has indulged neither in inflated eulogy, nor in sounding glorification of the German Reformed Church; and if he has not made a hero of the subject of the memoir, he has produced one of the most readable, interesting and instructive books of the kind that we have looked into for some time. The authorities referred to, also furnish the best evidence that the book is a faithful history. The collection of the facts and their verification must have cost him a vast amount of research and patient labor, for which he is entitled to many thanks and the book to liberal patronage. We take pleasure in recommending it, and have no doubt it will find, as it deserves, a ready sale in sister Churches, as well as among our German Reformed brethren."

spirit of these two confessions in this country? As they are, in an important sense, the fathers of these two branches of the Church in America, let all the children show themselves worthy of such parentage by cultivating the same spirit."

The work does equal justice to the Synods of Holland. The first German Reformed minister, Rev. George Michael Weisz, was sent to America by the upper Consistory or Classis of the Palatinate, in 1727; and was assisted on his way by the Classis of Amsterdam. Through him the wants of the German Reformed Churches in Pennsylvania were first presented to the Church of Holland in such a way as to call forth its formal action. From this time on, the Synods of Holland, conducting its operations through the Classis of Amsterdam, acted the part of a nursing mother towards their German brethren in America. They issued appeals for German Reformed ministers from the Palatinate and Switzerland, in behalf of the churches in Pennsylvania. In response to these appeals Schlatter placed himself at their disposal. The Synods sent him to America with a variety of judicious instructions, among others, to organize churches and charges, and especially to organize a German Reformed Cœtus or Synod. They also collected large sums of money,* which were applied to the support of ministers and school-masters, and ministers, widows; to the payment of the travelling expenses of ministers to the meetings of Cœtus, and sometimes of the elders; and to the purchase of Bibles,† in large numbers for gratuitous distribution among the people. Through this fostering care, which was continued for more than a half century, the German Reformed Church was planted in America, and nourished, until it became a self-sustaining Church.

These facts are all clearly and fully developed in the

* The collections made in the Palatinate and Switzerland were disbursed through the Synods of Holland.

† Some of these old German folio Bibles have been preserved, and are still in use on the pulpits of some German Reformed churches. The writer preached from one of them a short time ago.

Life of Schlatter. The precise relation of the Church of Holland to the organization and early history of the German Reformed Church in America, is more satisfactorily brought out than in any work that has yet been published in the English language. And it is brought out in a way that reflects the highest honor on the Synods of Holland. "There has, perhaps, not been since the Reformation, a historical fact that rises to such true Christian sublimity as the unwearied and disinterested devotion of the Churches of Holland, the Palatinate, and Switzerland, to the infant and struggling Churches of the distant new world. Everlasting gratitude be given first to God, and then to them, for their works of life and love; and everlasting honor to that blessed religion of Jesus Christ, which can inspire human hearts to become so much like Himself and His holy angels, as in such a spirit to offer themselves and theirs in the service of others without seeking their own advantage and honor." p. 85. As we behold the German Reformed Church now firmly established, and enjoying the rich blessings of a true faith and a scriptural organization; and remember at what an immense cost of labor and strength, of time and money, her broad foundations were laid, our hearts swell with grateful emotions; and we bless the memory of those wise and noble servants of Jesus Christ in Germany, and especially in Holland, who united, and persevered against every obstacle and discouragement, in so exalted a work of Christian beneficence.

In this connection we find it difficult to repress an expression of the regret we share with many others, both in the Dutch and in the German Reformed Church, that the fraternal relations between these two Churches, reared by the love of a common foster mother, and living side by side in the new world, have been interrupted; and interrupted too without a legitimate cause. That the alleged defection of the German Reformed Church from the faith of the Heidelberg Catechism, is the real cause, or that the whole Protestant Reformed Dutch Church, or even a majority of it, cordially approve the conduct of those who sundered these

relations with violent hands, we do not believe. We do not believe it, for different reasons. One is found in the official action of the ecclesiastical judicatories of the Dutch Church. In the Spring of 1856, the Classis of Bergen gave one of its most esteemed and faithful middle-aged ministers a regular and honorable dismission to the Lancaster Classis of the German Reformed Church. He met with a kind reception: and, to the extent that he has become known, his brethren in his new home, repose confidence in the soundness of his faith and in his fidelity to the cause of Christ. In reviewing the proceedings of the Classis of Bergen, the Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, did not censure, but approved this bold step on the part of the lower judicatory. That is to say—judging of this action in the light of preambles and resolutions adopted at a previous meeting—the Synod approves the dismission of a member, by the Classis of Bergen, to an ecclesiastical body which has forsaken the pure faith of the Reformation, is diligently propagating fatal errors in doctrine and worship, and is pushing forward in the broad road towards papal Rome! The charge of heresy preferred by a certain party, is thus falsified, and put to shame, by the solemn acts of the Classis and Synod of the Dutch Church herself. The contradiction is direct and palpable. It is susceptible, however, of explanation. In a deliberative body, it is possible for a few men comparatively, by artful management, to secure the vote of a majority in favor of a measure which is in conflict with its sober judgment and deepest feelings. But when a suitable occasion offers, and no special object is to be gained, the judgment that really prevails in the body utters itself spontaneously. Hence it was that when a well-tried son of the Dutch Church was willing to pass over into the German Reformed Church, and requested the consent, the approbation and benediction of his brethren, both the Classis and the Synod, with becoming dignity, proceeded on the assumption that all the noise about abominable Romish heresies and corruptions was nothing but a farce.

This *Life of Schlatter* does not, however, possess interest

only for the German Reformed, Lutheran, and Reformed Dutch Churches. It possesses interest also under a much more general view. Schlatter was connected with some of the most important movements of the last century. His life is interwoven with the early history of the Germans, and with the history of Pennsylvania. This memoir represents Schlatter in his relation to these important movements, and to the Germans as a body, irrespective of denominational differences. It must justly be regarded, therefore, as a contribution also to the general history of the times in which Schlatter lived; a contribution that gives us particular facts with their causes and connections, rather than general representations.

Omittting any special notice of the pleasing style in which the *Life of Schlatter* is written, or ot the new and excellent translation of Schlatter's Journal, the whole of which has very properly been embodied; we will refer briefly to the important practical bearing of the work.

The Eastern Synod, and the larger portion of the Western Synod, of the German Reformed Church, sustain a relation, at the present day, to the spiritually destitute settlements in Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri and other Western States, like that which the Church of the Palatinate, Switzerland and particularly the Synods of Holland, sustained to the first settlements of Germans in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia one hundred years ago. The fathers and mothers, the sons and daughters of the Church have emigrated to a country where they have no pastors, or but very few, and lack the means of grace; as they did then. Wolves in sheep's clothing are prowling about seeking to devour the sheep; as was the case then. The long, loud, touching cry for the bread of life from famishing thousands, reaches the ears of the Church now; as it did then. But more than this. The position of these Western destitute settlements, is as momentous in its bearings upon the Church of the future, as was the position of the poor weak Pennsylvania churches, in the middle of the last century, in its bearings upon the

Church of the present. And in the strong and influential congregatiens that now flourish in many parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Ohio, we see what the missionary stations and unorganized settlements of church members will become, under proper culture, in the course of twenty or thirty years hence.

The cases are analagous. So is the work. The *Life and Labors of Michael Schlatter* holds up *the work* clearly to view which the German Reformed Church is called upon to perform. The same earnestness and devotion are demanded now; the same self-denial and perseverance in the face of disappointments and obstacles; the same liberality from high and low, rich and poor; the same system for calling forth men and money at home; the same plan of operations abroad; and the same man, or a man who possesses the same spirit that inspired the heart, and nerved the arm of Schlatter.

Under this view the *Life of Schlatter* is both a timely and an eminently practical book. We trust it will meet with a warm reception in every section of the Reformed Church. Let ministers and people, old and young, read it—study it. It will send light and warmth into the heart. It will awaken a livelier Church consciousness. It will show us the debt of gratitude we owe to those who lived and toiled before us; and the debt of love and service we owe to our brethren who are perishing for lack of knowledge.

The past is the mirror of the present—the eighteenth, the mirror of the nineteenth century. Let the Church perpetuate her true life; let her cultivate the missionary spirit which pervades every page of *Schlatter's Life*, for it is the spirit of Jesus Christ; let her do what she has done; let her lay her gold, and her sons, on the altar to be consumed in the service of her Lord; and we shall witness greater and more glorious results throughout the West, than those which have followed the labors of Michael Schlatter and his coadjutors in the East.

Lancaster, Pa. E. V. G.

Art. IX.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

An Analytical Concordance to the Holy Scriptures; or the Bible presented under classified heads or topics. Edited by *John Eadie*, D. D., LL.D., Prof. of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church, etc. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1857. (776 pages of three volumes.)

A valuable book of reference for ministers and Bible students generally. It differs from the Common Concordance, whose design is to assist the student in finding some passage of the Bible by means of a leading word; also from the common Scripture Manual or topical Text book which is confined to doctrinal subjects and gives only a part of the Bible. The Analytical Concordance presents the whole Bible distributed under appropriate heads, bringing all the passages which relate to one topic, together under one general head, and then distributing them under subordinate heads. Thus from page 205 to 221, the reader will find all the Bible says on the Family, its divine origin, members, duties, cares, anxieties, parental authority, affection, blessing, nursing, weaning, education, filial duties, domestic prayers, etc.

Eadie's work is based on Matthew Talbot's "Analysis of the Holy Bible, combining the whole of the Old and New Testaments, collected and arranged systematically, in Thirty Books," which appeared at Leeds in 1800. But he increased the general headings from thirty to forty two, and furnished an alphabetical index of contents. Prof. Eadie tells us in the preface, that the Rev. Mr. West's Concordance which appeared in America a few years ago, is but a reprint of Talbot, with a somewhat different arrangement of "Books." But West is at least honest enough to state, in a general way, that his work is based on that of Talbot. But some Englishman by the name of T. Whowell, had the impudence to republish, at London, in 1848, Talbot's Concordance, under a somewhat different title, as his own, with the assurance: "This work has been for many years a labor of love to the Author." As murder will out, so will literary theft, which of all kinds of theft is about the meanest, because it is at the same time a cowardly imposition on the public at large.

P. S.

The American Biographical Dictionary: containing an account of the Lives, Characters, and Writings of the most emi-

nent persons deceased in North America, from its first settlement. By William Allen, D. D., late President of Bowdoin College, etc. Third edition. Boston. John Jewett & Co. 1857.

This is the third edition of a work which the venerable author first published nearly half a century ago. In its present form it is by far the most complete American Biographical Dictionary in existence. It commends itself also by the substantial and elegant style of typography. As the title indicates, it is exclusively devoted to Americans, but embraces also distinguished Europeans like Zinzendorf, Whitefield, Lafayette, Rochambeau, Kosciusko, who spent a part of their life in America, and are more or less connected with our history. It contains on 905 large pages not less than 6,775 American names, six times as many as Appleton's Cyclopedia, and three times more than Blake's Biographical Dictionary. The author then has evidently aimed at numerical completeness. Many hundreds of his names will hardly be ever looked for, or be found any where else but in this book, except in the local literature and traditions of the Eastern States.

But while Dr. Allen has done full and more than justice to the New England and Puritan department of American Biography, he is evidently far less at home in the history of the Middle and Southern States, and the Presbyterian, Episcopal, and German Churches. He passes by a number of names which were fully as well deserving of a place in his collection as the majority of those which fill his pages. Thus we look in vain for the name of Conrad Weiser, who figured conspicuously as Indian agent in the early history of Pennsylvania, and even of Michael Schlatter, the pioneer missionary of the German Reformed Church of North America, whose eminently useful life has been recently reproduced in a highly interesting volume of the Rev. H. Harbaugh (Schlatter's Life and Labors, Phila., 1857). Dr. Rauch is noticed, but simply and hardly accurately, as "minister at Mercersburg, Pa., died March 2, 1841," and not a word is said of Marshall College, of which he was the first President, and of his work on Psychology, on which his literary reputation chiefly rests.

The book, then, might be greatly improved, if some obscure ministers and schoolmasters of New England were left out, to make room for eminent names from other sections of the country. It is defective also in point of critical discernment, exact proportion, accurate delineation and pregnant condensation of style, which, in our estimation, are even of greater importance than numerical completeness. But of all works a biographical dictionary can least be expected to be perfect, especially one which refers to a new and less cultivated department of history. Dr. Allen deserves great credit for his literary in-

dustry, long continued perseverance, general accuracy in the statement of facts, and the pious spirit which runs through his work, which will not soon be superseded by a better one, and prove a valuable book of reference to the student of American history. P. S.

THE TYPOLOGY OF SCRIPTURE: viewed in connection with the entire scheme of the Divine Dispensations. By Patrick Fairbairn, D. D., Prof. of Divinity, Free Church College, Glasgow. Third edition, in two volumes. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1857.

This standard work, on the important subject of which it treats, has been noticed at length by Dr. J. W. N., in a previous volume of this Review (1852), so that it is merely necessary to direct attention to the appearance of the third edition, which can be had at the cheap and substantial book store of Smith & English, in Sixth Street below Arch, Philadelphia. P. S.

THE TWO PILGRIMS: or the Israelite and the Christian on their Journey to the Earthly and the Heavenly Canaan. By Rev. F. R. Anspach, A. M., author of "Sepulchres of our Departed," etc. For the Lutheran Board of Publication. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1857. pp. 399.

The New Testament is infolded in the Old; and the Old Testament is unfolded in the New. Thus already Augustine taught. They are integral parts of one whole: the one containing the germ of eternal life in the promise, the other, the ripe fruit in the person of the Word made flesh. God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in His Son. 1 John 5: 11. Hence the historical facts of the Old Testament do not only serve as convenient figures of speech for the truth of the New; but they are also the proper types of the Gospel. They represent, under a definite form, the great idea which is brought out in its fulness, in the last stages of the development of grace.

The Two Pilgrims lays hold of this profound idea, and turns it to account in a popular way. It follows the Israelite from the house of bondage through the wilderness to the Goodly Land; and illustrates the spiritual pilgrimage of the believers from a state of sin to the Heavenly Canaan. The parallel is generally drawn truthfully and forcibly. We should differ, for example, from Mr. Anspach in his view of the prototype of Moses. According to the general idea of the book, Moses the divinely commissioned deliverer of the Israelites, is not the type of a minister of Christ, but of Jesus Christ Himself, the true deliverer of his spiritual Israel from the bondage of sin. The style is easy, pleasant, and often graphic and eloquent, yet at times deficient in simplicity and rhetorical consistency. The book will be read with profit. We give it our best wishes.

E. V. G

THE DIVINE LIBRARY; OR CYCLOPEDIA OF INSPIRATION. The Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, according to St. Matthew. Revised version in paragraph form. Baltimore: T. H. Stockton, No. 68, Lexington St. 1856.

A tract for time and for eternity from the pen of one who wrote as he was moved by the Holy Ghost.

The idea of publishing the books of the Old and New Testaments in separate volumes is as old as it is new: new in modern times, but old as the Sacred Scriptures themselves. For as every one knows, the sacred books were originally published at different times and places; and were handed down for centuries as separate productions. The plan of publishing all the books of the Sacred Scriptures in a single volume, is of comparatively recent origin, and a human expedient. But it is certainly very wise, being connected with innumerable advantages, and will never, as it ought not to be, abandoned. Yet the original mode should not be set aside by human wisdom. The greatest advantages will be derived to the Church and the world by publishing the Scriptures in both ways. Let the Word of God go forth as a compact whole, and in its separate parts in all languages to the ends of the earth.

We have long felt the necessity and propriety of Mr. Stockton's plan; and we can heartily bid God-speed to the undertaking in which he has embarked. E. V. G.

AN APOLOGY FOR THE COMMON ENGLISH BIBLE; and a Review of the Extraordinary Changes made in it by Managers of the American Bible Society. Baltimore: Joseph Robinson. pp. 67.

The American Bible Society was instituted to print and circulate the Bible without note or comment. So far as the English tongue is concerned, its original design was to publish the English Bible according to King James' translation. It was not instituted to make a *new* translation, or to *revise* the *old* one. Revision is in place by the American Bible Society in as far as it regards the *English text*. We must have a *correct* edition, most certainly. Who so simple as to intimate that the Bible Society must reprint the errors and blunders that have crept into the English Bible? But to revise the English *text* in order to publish a correct edition of the received translation, and to revise the English *translation* in order to make changes in punctuation and language affecting the sense, are very plainly two totally different things. The one is its chief duty, whilst the other is a direct violation of its trust.

Such a violation of trust the author of the *Apology* for the Common English Bible, Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe of Baltimore, charges upon the American Bible Society; and he has, in our

judgment, fully sustained the charge. The summaries which were prefixed to the chapters, and the headings set along the top of the pages, in the common English Bible, have been eliminated by the Society in its late Revised or Standard Edition; and new summaries and new headings introduced. This is publishing the Bible *with* note and comment—note and comment *of its own*. Changes have also been made in punctuation, altering the sense in at least *four* instances, for which there is no authority in any edition. This is revising the *translation* instead of the English text.

The question is not, now, whether the new summaries and headings are better or worse than the old ones; or whether the changes affecting the sense are few or many, judicious or not. The real question is: Has the American Bible Society made *any* changes? Has it deliberately deviated from a correct edition of the authorized translation? For the *principle* involved is the same whether the changes be good or bad; whether but one or one thousand. If the managers are at liberty to make one change in the text on what may seem to them to be sufficient grounds, they may for the same reasons make any number of changes.

If, however, the Society claims the right to lay down this principle, and act on it, let it be known. Let the American Churches know, that the Society, though organized and sustained to publish a correct edition of the authorized version, without note or comment, claims the right in fact though not professedly, to revise the authorized translation and introduce important modifications which are to be found in no edition. Let it be known in its real character.

Whether the English version—the best undoubtedly that has yet been made—has any blemishes or not; whether susceptible of improvement, or whether a revision of it ought to be undertaken in the right way, is an entirely different question, and one that we can not now touch. E. Y. G.

THE SCRIPTURAL ERA IN MODERN HISTORY; or, The Infidelity of the Eighteenth Century, the Product of Spiritual Despotism. By T. M. Post. New York: Charles Scribner. 1856.

A vigorous, well written book. It appears to have been originally delivered in the form of lectures; and we can easily conceive that, with an effective delivery, its well turned periods, its vivid and often novel illustrations, its close and pointed statements, its graphic sketches of men and times, and its fearless, and sometimes almost startling independence of thought, would fall upon a popular audience with no common power. The vein of discussion is somewhat original. It has been common to charge upon Protestantism the infidelity which succeeded the Reformation, and it has been common also to accede to

the charge, and to endeavor to palliate the fact as one of the unavoidable excesses of the freedom accorded by Protestantism to private judgment. Mr. Post takes up a new line of investigation, and endeavors to meet the issue from a different point. He finds the radical source, the *causa causans* of the revolt of the human mind against Christianity in the eighteenth century, in the opposite principle of ecclesiastical and political despotism. In Protestantism and its influence, direct and indirect, upon Europe, he finds merely the occasion or channel through which this cause wrought itself out. He charges upon despotism, spiritual and civil, that it thwarted, perverted and led partially astray, a necessary and beneficent step in the legitimate progress of humanity. In making out this issue, he appears to have sifted with considerable care the history of Europe from the Middle Ages onward, and to have exercised the discrimination of a careful and capable thinker, in distinguishing between that which was causal, and that which was accidental, in the production of results.

He analyzes the relaxed and exhausted condition of Europe at the close of the thirty years' war, and the consequent partial dethronement of the religious idea from the seat of its outward supremacy over the nations. He then investigates the revolution in philosophy which the age,—not Protestantism merely—demanded and accomplished. Also the effects of the rise of the idea of wealth to the ascendancy in European society. These he treats as proximate or incidental occasions in the production of the subsequent infidel era. He then examines the specific operation, in their agencies and results, of the despotisms of Europe as working upon and against these movements of the age, and pledging Christianity alike to a false science, a false authority, a false view of human life, and identified it with moral corruption in Church and State—thus necessitating, *so far forth*, the revolt of the human mind against it. Throughout the whole course of his argument he keeps constantly before the mind of the reader, by way of example or illustration, the French nation as the most powerful generator and diffuser of infidelity, and, at the same time, the theatre of the most potent exertions of politico-ecclesiastical, and ecclesiastico-political despotism. In conclusion, he glances at the history and condition of Italy and Spain, which he anticipates might be adduced as vitiating his theory, and endeavors to show that there despotism crushed out infidelity, only because it crushed out an already ebbing vigor and life, leaving only stagnations, mental and spiritual atrophy and death.

There is just one important exception which we take to the book. It is characterized throughout by one detractive vice, which indeed is a common vice of all polemic deliverances *coram populo, viz:* the vice of *over-statement*. Mr. Post's fervor

of imagination, and his eagerness to state a case as strongly as possible for the purposes of his argument, often lead him to over-state it, and hence he fails to command the confidence of the critical reader. We feel, indeed, during the perusal of every chapter, that we are listening to the lecturer rather than the calm interpreter of history. The book bears throughout too much the air of special pleading. He over-states the extent and character of the infidelity of which his book treats. He over-states the worthlessness of the speculative philosophy of the Middle Ages. He often over-states both the virtues and the vices of personal character. And he greatly over-states the moral and intellectual sins and foibles of that Church, which he sets before his reader as the hightest impersonation of spiritual despotism. Nevertheless, he has given us a highly readable book, and one on whose pages gleam many weighty truths and striking thoughts.

C.

THE DESERT OF SINAI: Notes of a Spring Journey from Cairo to Beersheba. By Horatius Bonar, D. D. Kelso. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1857.

We have here a pleasant specimen of a kind of literature which is becoming abundant just in proportion as men are disposed to "run to and fro," and knowledge becomes increased. The passion for travel is one of the features of the times: and when a man has gone abroad and sees so much that thousands of those he left behind can never see, he can hardly be expected to resist the temptation to write a book. The book before us *is* strictly what it pretends to be, that is, "Notes of a Journey," or a running record of observations and reflections made at the time, during a five months tour with a brother clergyman and two friends in the East. The substance of most of the notes, he tells us, was written "on the back of the camel," an exercise "which a little practice made easy, at least when the animal was not moving at more than its common rate of two miles and a quarter an hour." Of course, in these circumstances, we are not to look for anything very scientific, philosophical or profound, but we have a pleasant and racy sketch of what was seen by the eye and heard by the ear. Some happy illustrations of Scripture passages are given, and a scale of the heights of the desert mountains

C.

THE

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ART. I.—CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA.

A report prepared by request for the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance held at Berlin in September, 1857.

Since the introduction of Christianity which constitutes the divine-human centre and turning point of history, no facts occurred which exceed in importance the invention of the printing press, the discovery of America, and the reformation of the Church. The one is the boldest conquest of the Romanic, the other two are the greatest deeds of the Germanic mind, for the benefit of the entire family of Christian nations. They bring to a close and sum up the last meaning of the Middle Age, while they break the way, at the same time, and control the course, of modern history. Though independent of each other and separated by one or two generations, they were yet intimately connected, especially in their prospective bearings. The press is the main lever of modern civilization; Protestantism is the chief bearer of modern Christianity; America is the largest theatre for both. There is no country under the sun, England hardly excepted, in which the press, at least the periodical press, is so free and independent, so ramified and powerful over public opinion, and where Protestantism is so fully and consistently developed, not only in the religious, but also in the whole political and social life of

the nation, as in the United States of North America. Here we see already, as in a second Europe, all the good and bad elements of the old world, in chaotic fermentation, but placed under new conditions and relations, invigorated by their very amalgamation, and preparing for a new era in the ever progressing history of the human race.

Without detracting from the just merit and importance of any nation, we may boldly assert that the deepest intellectual work of Protestantism and the solution of its theological problems have been mainly, though not exclusively, committed, by an all ruling Providence, to the Germans, while the social and political organization of Protestantism, the solution of its moral problems and the spread of modern civilization in all colonial countries and new territories to the ends of the globe, is the peculiar mission of the English and Americans.* In view of such great objects, the two main branches of the same Teutonic stock may well extend to each other, across the Channel and the Atlantic, the hand of brotherhood, and celebrate a free Christian love-feast in the metropolis of German science at the invitation of a monarch who protects them both on the strongest Protestant throne of the Continent, and who honestly wishes the unity of the Evangelical Church and the victory of the heavenly King over all the princes and nations of the earth.

The significance of the discovery of America was felt to some extent even by the celebrated Genoese who reared by this deed an imperishable monument to his name. "Let processions be made; let festivals be celebrated; let temples be adorned with branches and flowers. For Christ rejoices on earth as in heaven, in view of the future redemption of souls. Let us rejoice, also, for the temporal benefit which will result from the discovery, not merely to Spain, but to all Christendom." Thus wrote the bold navigator to the treasurer of Spain, on the return from his first voyage to the new world, when he had attained the object of his noble ambition, and established, beyond a doubt, his theory, after eighteen years of suspense and sol-

licitation, in the face of prejudice and superstition, skepticism and sophistry, sneer and ridicule. He was now to enjoy the honeyed draught of popular and royal favor, to be followed, alas, so soon by the bitter cup of envy, calumny and insult. His journey from the port of Palos to Seville and Barcelona resembled the triumphal march of a conqueror, the eager multitudes thronging the streets, the windows, the balconies and house-tops and rending the air with shouts of acclamation. The nobility and cavaliers, together with the authorities of Barcelona, escorted him from the gates of the city to the royal presence. Ferdinand and Isabella, seated under a superb canopy of state and surrounded by all the splendor of the proudest days of the Spanish monarchy, received the distinguished stranger who, a short time before, had been derided at this very court as an enthusiast and a madman, with the most gracious condescension, and listened with tears of joy to his glowing description of the Western islands, illustrated by several living representatives of the simple-hearted natives, and specimens of unknown birds, aromatic plants, and shining gold which he had brought with him as harbingers of greater discoveries yet to be made. When the admiral had finished, the King and Queen, together with the flower of the nobility and the dignitaries of the Church, sank upon their knees, and raising their clasped hands to heaven, they joined in the solemn Te Deum of the royal chapel in pious celebration of so glorious a conquest to the crown of Spain and the Kingdom of Christ. Nor was this joy confined to Spain. The whole age, as far as it expressed itself in a few leading intellects, shared in the delight at the startling news. At the court of Henry VII of England, the great event was pronounced "a thing more divine than human." Peter Martyr gave expression to the feelings of scholars, when he wrote to Pomponio Laeto: "You tell me that you leaped for joy, and that your delight mingled with tears, when you read my epistle that assured you of the hitherto hidden world of the antipodes." The whole of civilized Europe was filled with wonder at the discovery of

another world which burst upon it with such sudden splendor, and anticipated from it untold additions to the wealth, knowledge and happiness of mankind.

And yet Columbus and his age could have but a very imperfect idea of the immense bearing of this event. He died in the conviction that he had touched simply on the borders of Asia, that Hispaniola was the ancient Ophir visited by the ships of Solomon, and that Cuba was connected with Spain by terra firma. He could not dream of that still greater discovery of a new world of thought which followed on the very heels of his material discovery; nor could he foresee the future dominion of the Anglo Saxon race which, in consequence of the reformation and in spite of the bulls of Alexander VI, that divided the Western hemisphere between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, became master of the destinies of America.

We would not detract in the least from the merits of Catholicism and of the Romanic nations in Christianizing and civilizing the barbarians of the Middle Ages. But no unprejudiced observer can deny for a moment, that the whole intellectual and moral weight of America is conditioned by the English nationality and the Protestant religion. The most superficial comparison of the Northern, i. e. the predominantly Anglo-Protestant half of this continent, with the Southern or Romano-Catholic half, teaches the immense superiority of the former in every branch of political, social, moral and religious life. The contrast here presented of national prosperity and misery, progress and stagnation, life and death, is even more striking than that which is admitted to exist between the Northern or Anglo-Protestant and the Southern or Celtic Catholic part of Ireland, between the Reformed and the Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland, between Portugal and Holland, Italy and Prussia, Spain and England. Even from Mexico, which is so highly favored by nature, we hear nothing, alas, but priest craft and military despotism, ignorance and superstition, revolution and anarchy in unbroken succession. The South American sham-republics prove to a demon-

stration, that the mere forms of a republic without the moral basis of self-government, can as little secure the prosperity of a nation as the forms of monarchy, and that political freedom without religious freedom (which is altogether unknown there) amounts to an empty delusion and falsehood.

North America came under the control and fostering care of the English nationality, from the very beginning of its history, when Cabot touched on the shores of Larbador and Newfoundland, A. D., 1497, one year before Columbus set foot on the mainland of South America. But its most important part has outgrown the era of colonial dependence and is evidently the chief representative of the new world; hence its citizens are emphatically called Americans.

The unexampled external and internal development ot the United States of North America is the wonder of modern history. Hardly more than eighty years have elapsed since, by the declaration of independence, they took a place among the nations of the earth; and their present chief magistrate was born several years before the death of the venerable patriarch and first President of the Republic in the retired village where I write these lines, and where his father, a plain but honest citizen, originally from the North of Ireland, lies buried. In this short period the confederation has grown from thirteen States, with hardly three millions of inhabitants, to thirty-one States (there will soon be thirty-four) and nine Territories with more than twenty-seven millions. It extends now over an inexhaustibly rich country of about three millions of English square miles, and rules unconquered and unconquerable from the lakes of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, from the coasts of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific, thus stretching one arm of its commerce and influence towards Europe and Africa, the other towards Asia and Australia. This extension of territory and population is not the result of bloody wars of conquest, but of the peaceful purchase of Louisiana (1803), Florida (1820), Oregon and Texas (1845), California, Utah and New Mexico (1848), and of a peaceful migration of nations from nearly all parts of Europe, espe-

cially from England, Ireland and Germany, an emigration which, in 1854 alone, amounted to nearly half a million of souls, and which, though it has since considerably declined, will go on more or less without interruption, until the boundless prairies and forests to the base of the Rocky Mountains and the golden shores of California shall be inhabited by civilized men and made available for those purposes for which Providence created them. Equally astounding is the internal growth of the Republic in all departments of industry, art and education, and betrays an energy and spirit of enterprize which knows no difficulty from the mowing and reaping machine to the colossal undertaking of the transatlantic telegraph, and makes America already a successful rival of England. This inward progress is to be attributed, next to the favors of Providence and nature, to the rich inheritance of European civilization with which the States entered upon their career, instead of having to begin with barbarism and heathenism; to the spirit of freedom which animates their civil and religious institutions; and finally to the contact of different nationalities on an Anglo-Saxon basis, which convey new nourishment from year to year to be converted into national American flesh and blood by the digestive power of this fresh and vigorous people. And yet this nation is evidently still in its early youth, full of youthful hopes and dreams, courage and presumption, virtues and follies, and has, according to human calculation, a long and brilliant career before it, unless—which may God prevent—internal distraction and decay should lay the giant youth in an untimely and inglorious grave.

But here arises the question full of interest to every educated and Christian man: Has the moral and religious development of the United States kept pace with their gigantic material and political progress? Is the present condition of Christianity and the Church as flourishing and promising in this Western land, as the state of its commerce, agriculture, and secular arts? May we look forward to as brilliant a period of Church history in this

land of freedom and promise, and to the final victory of the peaceful reign of Christ which will outlast all the kingdoms of this world?

As I thus enter upon my proper task, I ask you not to expect from me on this occasion a variety of geographical and statistical notices which, in so young and rapidly changing a country as America, would become obsolete in a few months; nor a detailed account of the different denominations of the land, which would require several volumes instead of a few sheets, since it would have to embrace all churches and sects of Christendom from Romanism down to Irvingism and Mormonism.

I shall attempt nothing more than a condensed, though tolerably complete and clear, exposition of the *characteristic features of American Christianity as distinct from the European.*

Before we specify the separate traits which constitute the general religious character and condition of the American nation, we must remember that England is the bridge from the Continent of Europe to that of America, and hence furnishes the key for a genetic knowledge of the latter. The United States is, not only as regards language, manners, customs, laws and literature, but also as regards religion and the Church, the daughter of that remarkable island from which the Puritan pilgrim fathers of Massachusetts, the Episcopalian cavaliers of Virginia, the Quakers and Presbyterians of Pennsylvania emigrated two hundred years ago to lay, in the fear of God, the foundation of a new nation. But they go, in principle, an important step beyond the mother country in religion as well as in politics. I say in principle, which is quite compatible with the acknowledgment of the present superiority of the older English over the younger Americans, in all that makes up the actual condition of a matured and well organized national life. The American republic aims at a far more complete realization of the idea of religious and civil liberty and equality on the basis of self-government and popular education, or of that general priesthood and kingship, which seems to be the ultimate end of the history of Church

and State, though it can never be fully attained till the second coming of Christ as the glorious King of nations and of saints. To this must be added as modifying influences, partly stimulating, partly restraining, the different national elements from the Continent of Europe, especially the Dutch and French in New York and New Jersey, and the German in all the middle and western States. America is as yet in every respect less mature, compact and solid, but more elastic, expansive and more capable of universal development than England. It rules not merely over an island, but over a continent and two oceans.

1. *Church and State.*

If we take into consideration first the legal and social basis on which all the denominations and sects of the United States stand, we are confronted at once with what constitutes the most characteristic feature of American Christianity, namely, the *complete separation of Church and State* and the *absolute freedom of religion.* Here the United States have indeed opened a new chapter in church history, which differs widely from the ante-nicene heathen persecution of the Church by the State, from the mediaeval Roman Catholic dominion of the Church over the State, and from the modern European Protestant subjection of the Church to the State. Here they have made the first bold attempt to carry out to its last consequences the Protestant principle of religious subjectivity and toleration and to make it the basis and guarantee of civil and political freedom. Here they have already exerted a powerful influence upon public opinion in Europe, as the steady progress of similar principles in England, (not only) but also on the Continent (think for instance of the Prussian decree of toleration of 1847 and the 12th article of the new Prussian constitution of 1850), the rise and progress of the Free Church of Scotland, the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud, and a considerable number of works of such men as Vinet and others sufficiently testify. The more important it is, that this point should be placed in its proper light and carefully guarded against frequent misrepresentations of European

writers, who can see nothing but culpable indifferentism and hostility to Christianity in any attempt to emancipate the State from the Church and the Church from the State.

It is true, already Constantine the Great gave to his subjects full liberty of religion in his famous edict of toleration of 313; but this was simply a temporary measure of political expediency and a natural transition from the persecution of Christianisy to its exclusive dominion in the old Roman empire. It is true, the Reformers of the sixteenth century claimed and exercised the liberty of protest against the Papal uniformity and tyranny of conscience; but they inconsistently denied the same right to others as soon as the new faith was fairly established by law. It is true, a Voltaire of France, a Frederic the Great of Prussia, and a Jefferson of America, brought forth and defended, in the last century, the principle that morality is independent of religion, that religion belongs exclusively to man's private conviction, and that every body should be permitted—to use Frederic's favorite expression—"to save his soul according to his own fashion;" but these distinguished men were more concerned about the liberty of irreligion than the liberty of religion, and that a toleration resting on indifferentism and infidelity may under circumstances pass over into the fiercest intolerance to religion itself, is amply shown by the horrible scenes of the French revolution and the absurd blasphemy enacted under Robespierre of dethroning the Almighty in favor of fallen reason turned mad. With such wicked follies America has nothing to do whatever.

Its liberties, both civil and religious, are of English growth, and resulted from those severe and earnest struggles commencing with the reformation and continued through the greater part of the seventeenth century, in which the Protestant principle, under its most rigorous Puritanic form, was arrayed against the Catholic traditions of the past, and the principle of individual freedom against the principle of general uniformity, until in 1688, they came to a compromise in an established Church, representing the

majority simply of the nation, and tolerating, with certain restrictions, the dissenting minority, still excluding, however, the Roman Catholics, and the anti-Trinitarians from the offices of government. As matters now stand since the abolition of the test act and the passage of the reform bill in 1829, the English dissenters, both Catholic, Protestant and Unitarian, enjoy practically the same amount of freedom as the various sects in the United States, and according to the census report of 1854, they now even outnumber in their combined force the membership of the Church of England and the Kirk of Scotland. But England still maintains in theory and in fact the principle of a religion established by civil law, i. e., the Episcopalian in England and Ireland, and the Presbyterian in Scotland, and regards the toleration granted to all who dissent from it as concessions simply which may be withdrawn again by the same government who gave it (think of the antipapal ecclesiastical titles' bill of 1851). But the Federal Constitution of the United States, formed by the combined wisdom and experience of the revolutionary fathers and patriots under the presiding counsel of Washington, disowns all idea of an ecclesiastical establishment and proclaims the liberty of religion as a sacred right of nature and a permanent principle, by the famous declaration: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."*

* The original Constitution as made by the Convention of Philadelphia in 1787, says nothing of religion except in the third clause to Article VI, which excludes all religious tests as a qualification to any office or trust under the United States. But this is simply negative and secures the independence of the State, but not of the Church. The law as given above is the first article of the Amendments which were proposed in the first Congress, Sept 25th, 1789, having been approved of by three fourths of the thirteen States, were ratified by Congress in December 15, 1791, and thus became part of the Constitution. The article on religion was first proposed, it seems, by Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, in this form: "The Legislature of the United States shall pass no law on the subject of religion, nor touching or abridging the liberty of the press; nor shall the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus ever be suspended, except in case of rebellion or invasion." See Elliot's Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, Vol. V. p. 131.

The connection of religious liberty with the liberty of speech and of the press, and with the right of public assemblage and petition, points out the true interpretation of this article. Religious liberty in the sense of the Federal Constitution, which may be called the political Bible of the Americans, is not only negative, but above all positive, not freedom from religion, but freedom of religion and its actual exercise; just as the freedom of the press is not the negation or absence of the press, but its real existence and active operation. In a sinful world like ours the full freedom of religion does imply indeed the freedom of irreligion, nor can we expect the right use of liberty of any kind to exist without the possibility of its abuse by bad men. But the question is, Whether the abuse of religious liberty so far as it is strictly confined to the sphere of religion and does not violate the civil and political order, belongs to the jurisdiction of the State, or not? The American Constitution answers this question in the negative, and does so, we wish it to be distinctly understood, not from indifference or contempt of religion, but on the contrary from high regard for the same, as a sacred affair of man with God that lies far beyond all physical force and political legislation, and has no value before God and men, unless it be the free expression of the inmost conviction. It was felt that it would be best for the interests of religion as well as for the secular government, to keep them altogether distinct; that this separation was the legitimate result of the freedom of conscience; that the confounding of the spiritual kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of this world would lead to endless difficulties; that this peaceful separation would be the distinctive feature of America and the safeguard against both ecclesiastical and political despotism. The American government then has tied its own hands from the very start, as regards religion and the Church, by declaring them equally independent of its legislation and jurisdiction, as it claims to be independent in turn of any particular profession or creed, whatever may be the religion of its members in their private capacity.

From the European point of view this may appear as a dissolution of the sacred and time-honored alliance of the government with Christianity, as a degradation and contraction of the idea of the State by sundering it from all higher moral duties and conforming it simply to the secular and material interests of the nation. But it should be remembered, that it was a voluntary self-limitation, and that in favor of personal and ecclesiastical rights and liberties. What the State lost, or rather what it never possessed in North America (except in a few colonies before the revolution), accrues to the benefit of the individual, of free associations, and of the Church itself.

This, it seems to me, is the true sense of that article from which must be dated a new epoch in the history of the relation of Church and State. It is not a sanction of irreligion and the infidel philosophy of Voltaire, but a solemn protection and guarantee of religion against undue encroachments of the civil power both legislative and administrative. If time permitted, I might prove this at length, I think, from all the official documents bearing upon the subject, such as the "Madison Papers," the Congressional Debates and Proceedings of 1789 (Gale's edition Vol. I, p. 729, ff), the Debates of the several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution (Elliot's edition in 5 vols. 1845), and the private writings and the personal religious character of its principal framers, especially Washington, Madison, Hamilton and Jay.

I know well enough that Jefferson who took such a leading and efficient part in the separation of government from religion in Virginia as early as 1779, nearly ten years before the formation of the Federal Constitution, was a deist of the French school, and that he meant religious liberty, as he says expressly in his Autobiography, to be absolutely universal and to "comprehend, within the mantle of its protection, the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mahometan, the Hindoo and infidel of every denomination." But he had nothing to do with the framing of the Federal Constitution, being then absent in France, nor could he

ever have succeeded in the overthrow of the Episcopal establishment in Virginia, had he not been strongly supported by the unpopularity of the Church of England arising from its connection with the English government, and by the united influence of all the dissenters in Virginia, especially the Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers, who had no sympathy, of course, with his infidel sentiments.

The framers of the Constitution of 1787 were all Christians, at least in name, and the religious sects which then existed in the land, were all Christian sects, with the exception, perhaps, of a few Jewish synagogues. The liberty, therefore, which they secured to religion, presupposed Christianity as the general basis, and it never entered their minds that heathenism, or Mohammedanism, or Judaism, or any other religion would ever take the place of the Christian, or assume any importance in the country sufficient to justify a restriction of that liberty. Nor were they mistaken in this expectation. Christianity is now far stronger and more deeply rooted in the American people than it was in that skeptical age, and yet there is not a single denomination which would advocate a repeal of the first amendment to the Constitution. Congress moreover appoints chaplains to this day and opens its sessions with prayer—differing widely in this respect from the unfortunate German Parliament of 1848, which voted down a proposition to that effect with sneering contempt, and the President of the United States fills the chaplaincies in the army and navy (mostly with Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Methodist clergymen). All this, as well as the customary appointment of days of public prayer and thanksgiving by the Governors of the several States, may be unconstitutional, as Jefferson maintained; it certainly is not prescribed (though still less prohibited) by the Constitution; yet it is a voluntary, and for this very reason the more sincere and valuable tribute to Christianity, as adhering not, indeed, to the State as such, but to the nation, and consequently also to its representatives in the highest spheres of legislation and administration. I venture to say, that,

with all the absence of constitutional disqualification, it would be far more difficult in the United States than either in Germany, or France, or Russia, to elect an open enemy of Christianity to a high office of State, and if he should be elected, it would not be on account, but in spite of his infidelity, and from purely political considerations.

Whatever may be the abstract merits of the question here under consideration, it must be admitted that religious liberty, and what necessarily preceeds it, religious toleration, is not an artificial growth in the United States, nor the violation of any established historical rights, but natural and unavoidable. Whatever may best suit other countries, it is the only possible state of things here, and no other could be established without a radical revolution and the grossest injustice. This land was from its first settlement a hospitable asylum for persecuted Protestant Christians of every denomination, Puritans, Huguenots, Quakers, Irish Presbyterians, Moravians, Salzburg Lutherans, Reformed Palatinates, also English Catholics (in Maryland), who, under the pressure of persecution had learned to appreciate religious liberty, and exchanged their home for the then unbroken wilderness of a new world, in order that they might enjoy this highest, most important, and most sacred of liberties. It is true, in several of the colonies, which were quite independent of each other before the revolution, the government was identified with a particular denomination, in Virginia and other southern States with Episcopacy, in Massachusetts and the greater part of New England with Congregationalism. It is only too true, moreover, that the Puritans in the seventeenth century inconsistenly enough persecuted Baptists, Quakers and Papists almost with the same, though short lived intolerance, which had driven their own fathers across the ocean. But in other colonies, such as Rhode Island, Maryland, and especially Pennsylvania, in whose first settlement not only Quakers, but Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Lutherans, German Reformed, Moravians, etc., took part, the principle of toleration obtained from the beginning.

When the time had arrived for the colonies to become

an independent confederacy of States, there were so many religious denominations in the land, that the governmental patronage extended to one, would have been injustice to the other, while the toleration of one implied of necessity the toleration of all. Hence the Convention of those patriots, who framed the federal constitution at Philadelphia in 1787, were sacredly bound by every consideration of justice and regard to the rights of the various States and religious parties represented by them, to proclaim perfect liberty of religion and its public exercise. This again could not be done without a complete separation of Church and State, since the degree of the union of the two powers always implies consistently a corresponding amount of exclusiveness and intolerance against all dissenters. There was, therefore, no other just course left for them to pursue, but to deny Congress, from the very start and forever, the right of interfering either negatively or positively with matters of conscience and public worship, and to leave them with the various churches and sects of the land.* The coëxistence of these denominations, nearly all of which sprung directly or indirectly from the great protestant movement of the sixteeth century, and which were forced in part, by persecution, to seek a common asylum in this western world, is the historical condition without which the bond of union between Church and State would probably never have been broken, but continue to exist in the United States, as it does in fact in all the central and south

* From this empirical and common sense point of view the matter was regarded by James Madison, one of the chief framers of the constitution and afterwards President of the United States. In the debate of the Convention of Virginia on the adoption or rejection of the federal constitution, he disposed of the objection that Congress might assume powers over religion, in these words: "Happily for the States, they enjoy the utmost freedom of religion. This freedom arises from that multiplicity of sects which pervades America and which is the best and only security for religious liberty in any society; for where there is such a variety of sects, there cannot be a majority of any one sect to oppress and persecute the rest. Fortunately for this commonwealth (Virginia) a majority of the people are decidedly against any exclusive establishments. I believe it to be so in the other States. There is not a shadow of right in the general government to interfere with religion. Its least interference with it would be a most flagrant usurpation. Comp. Elliot's Debates, Vol. III, 330.

American republics. The North American toleration and freedom of religion may, therefore, be called the sweet fruit of the bitter European, especially English intolerance and persecution.

As matters now stand, no denomination in the land wishes a change in the relation of Church and State, not even the Roman Catholic. They feel that the liberty of their neighbors is the best and only just security of their own. But whether the same degree of religious liberty be desirable and applicable to Europe, especially to those countries where the majority of the population belong to but one or two confessions, is a very different question, with which we have nothing to do here, being confined simply to the task of giving an objective exhibition of the state of things in America. One remark only I think it proper to make, in order to avoid hasty inferences, that I regard it one of the most difficult problems of Church government and statesmanship to define the exact limits of religious toleration, i. e., not simply the liberty of conscience, which no despot can deny, but the liberty of public worship with the right of proselyting, in those countries which still hold to the principle of some official connection of the government with the Christian religion and a national Church establishment. This problem, I believe, can not be solved abstractly by theory, but only practically and gradually by the irresistible course of events, as was the case in England and in this country. There are questions which are too knotty for philosophy and theology, and can only be satisfactorily answered by history itself.

With the exposition, however, of the relation which the general government of the United States sustains to religion, we have not yet fully disposed of this point. The federal constitution does not prohibit the union of Church and State in the single States. Such a union may exist even in the territories, at least since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854, which makes them entirely independent in all internal affairs. In Massachusetts the Puritan establishment continued for many years after the

adoption of the constitution and was only gradually abolished as the exclusive dominion of Puritanism was destroyed partly by an internal apostacy to Unitarianism, partly by the immigration and increase of other sects. Even to this day there exist in most of the States severe laws against blasphemy, the profanation of the Lord's day, attacks on the Christian religion; and in the public schools the Bible must be read or may be read. In one or both of the Carolinas, if I am not mistaken, Universalists are even excluded from appearing as witnesses, because of their denial of the doctrine of future punishment. But with this last exception perhaps, all these regulations are concessions simply which the States make to Christianity, and restrictions they put upon the abuse of religious freedom; but not violations of this liberty itself, as little as laws against theft, murder and adultery can be said to be violations of civil liberty. All State constitutions place the different Christian denominations on a basis of perfect equality before the law, require no religious tests from civil officers beyond the ordinary oath, and levy no taxes for the support of religion. There can be no doubt that the genius of American liberty, if consistently carried out, must lead in every member of the confederacy to an entire separation of the spiritual and secular power as being the most advantageous condition for both.

The only exception to this rule at the present time is the Mormon State or rather territory of Utah; for it has not yet applied and probably never will apply, with its present population, most of which refuse even to be naturalized, for admission into the Union as a member of the confederacy. In the "theo-democratic" government of the Mormons, as they call it, religion and politics are inseparably interwoven, and the civil head (at present Brigham Young, Joe Smith's successor, who was unwisely appointed Governor of Utah under Mr. Fillmore's administration) is also the spiritual head, or high priest of the whole tribe.

But this Mormonism is a monstrous anomaly in America, at war not only with its religion, but equally so with its whole policy and civilization. It recruits itself mostly from

the offscouring of foreign countries, especially England and Wales; it hates all Christians as heathens; it stands in open rebellion to the United States government, and will sooner or later have to yield to the armed power of the latter, if not to a war of extermination, unless, what is not improbable, it should destroy itself by internal distractions and moral corruption, or leave once more the territory of the States, before the matter comes to a bloody crisis. The settlement of the Mormon trouble is one of the most important and interesting questions now before the administration at Washington, and may lead to a practical official definition of the true American idea of a republic and the precise limits of religious liberty. At all events the irreconcilable antagonism of the American nationality with the pseudo-Christian, polygamistic, deceitful, rapacious, and rebellious Mormonism is one of the many proofs for the assertion which we made above, that American liberty of religion is not hostility or indifference to religion, and that the separation of Church and State is by no means meant to be a separation of the nation from Christianity, but simply a peaceful emancipation of two distinct, though equally necessary divine institutions for the purpose of enabling them to fulfil the more successfully their peculiar mission.

We have now gained the stand-point, from which alone we can properly understand and appreciate the condition of Christianity and the movements of the Church in the United States of America.

2. *Christianity and the World.*

In consequence of this separation of Church and State we have in America a marked distinction of believing and professing Christians from the unbelieving world which disappears almost entirely on the continent of Europe where every citizen is *eo ipso* also a baptized and confirmed Christian and fully entitled to all the privileges of church-membership at least in the eyes of the law. Another distinction is made, especially in New England, between the Church proper, i. e., the communicating members, and the congregation or society, which includes all who attend preaching

and contribute towards the support of the pastor. The former may be compared to the "fideles," the latter to the "catechumens" of the ante-nicene period. The separation is carried out most fully among the Puritanic denominations, but very imperfectly among Roman Catholics and congregations of continental immigrants.

The separation of Church and State does away, of course, with all compulsory baptism and confirmation. Hence the public profession of Christianity and connection with a particular Church is left altogether to the free choice of every individual. Now this profession is by no means a disgrace or in any way a disadvantage as it was in the days of martyrdom. On the contrary, it belongs to social respectability in America far more than, for instance, in France, where not long since the very reverse was the case, and even in Germany, or any where else on the Continent, to attend at least the preaching of the gospel, and to contribute something towards the support of the ministry. Then we must make allowance for all the educational influences of the family which determine the will of every child more or less, for the high position and influence of woman, who can not live without religion, and for the zeal and rivalry of the many denominations, so that probably very few native American families may be found who are in no connection whatever even as occasional attendants with any Church or sect.

Nevertheless there are many thousands, yea millions in the United States who have never received Christian baptism—not only descendants of the numerous Baptists, but also of indifferent psedobaptist parents—who never make a public profession of religion by confirmation or otherwise, and who leave this mortal life without having ever received the holy communion. The number of church-members, even if we include all the sects, hardly amounts to five millions, or about one fifth of the whole population, and even from these five millions must be deducted thousands who profess religion from impure mercenary motives, and are perhaps much worse at heart than many men of the world.

This is a gloomy fact indeed, and must startle, at first sight, every European who is accustomed to regard his whole land and nation as Christian. But I respectfully ask you—not in a polemical, but historical interest—: Is the proportion of true disciples and followers of Christ to the great mass of purely nominal Christians more favorable in any State-Church of Europe, not excepting even the Church of England, the Kirk of Scotland, the Prussian Wupperthal and the Kingdom of Württemberg, highly favored as they are with all the means of grace? Or has the proportion ever been more favorable in any previous period of church history, except in the first three centuries, when a hypocritical profession was indeed by no means very rare, but far less common than afterwards on account of the persecutions? I ask moreover: Which is the greater anomaly and a more monstrous contradiction, millions of unbaptized and unconfirmed Christians, or millions of baptized and confirmed heathens? The fact that there are cities in Christian Europe where of a hundred thousand inhabitants hardly more than five or six thousand ever attend church, at least as a habit, exceeds every thing which the chronique scandaleuse of America can produce. If the celebration of the Lord's day, the frequentation of divine service and the liberality for religious purposes are reliable criteria of true Christianity, the Americans, as far as my observation goes, must be called the most Christian nation on earth.

The whole difference, then, in this respect, resolves itself into this. In America the unbelievers and indifferentists are mostly out of the church proper, and confine themselves to making money, to politics and other secular pursuits; while in Europe they are all in the church as to the body, and not seldom even preach from the pulpits, rule in the consistories, and teach from the chairs of theology. It is the difference of the snake out of the grass, and the snake in the grass, the devil in the world, and the devil in the house of God. We may regard it as the great advantage of the State-Church system, that it secures to the Church the whole population for baptism, instruction, confirmation,

marriage and spiritual care, and thus gives her an opportunity of doing her whole duty to the whole people. On the other hand, however, every enlightened Christian of Europe must admit, that all compulsion in matters of conscience which is the peculiar province of God, does more harm than good and tends almost of necessity to promote hypocrisy and secret opposition to the Church, as a supposed tyrannical power. "Faith is a free thing," says Luther somewhere, "which can not be forced on any body." Even Tertullian, amidst the persecutions of the second century, told the heathens who tried to force the Christians to offer sacrifices to their idols: "It belongs to the human right and natural power of every one (humani juris et naturalis potestatis est unicuique) to worship that God in whom he believes. It is not the nature of religion to enforce religion; for it must be freely accepted, not imposed by power. Even the sacrifices must proceed from a willing heart. If you, therefore, compel us to offer sacrifices, it will be of no advantage to your gods." This is precisely the American theory and practice.

The defects and abuses of American Christianity which abound in every sect, prove indeed that the voluntary principle can not do away altogether with those evils which are often falsely attributed to the system of compulsion and State-Churchism as such. For fallen human nature is substantially the same under all governments. It revealed its corruption even in the apostolical congregations in spite of the extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit, as every epistle of the New Testament and the state ef the seven churches as described in the Apocalypse abundantly show. But the natural tendency at least of the voluntary principle is undoubtedly to ward off from the Church that odium which invariably arises from its alliance with the police; to diminish hypocrisy; to prevent the monstrous profanation of the holy sacraments so common in religious establishments; to separate heterogeneous elements; to facilitate discipline; and to promote the unity and purity of the various Churches within their own limits. Whether these

advantages outweigh the defects of the voluntary system, and the advantages of the Church-State system, I must leave to the European brethren to decide.

3. *Self-support of the Church.*

Another consequence of the separation of Church and State is what is more particularly called the voluntary principle, that is, the necessity of the Church to provide for her own support by the free contributions of her membership, without any taxes imposed by the State. For by depriving itself of all power of control over the Church, the civil government regards itself relieved also of the duty of supporting it, except in the few cases of military and naval chaplainces.

In this respect American Christianity is placed on the same footing with the apostolic and anti-nicene Church, with that important advantage, however, that it is not *religio illicita*, but has a legal existence and enjoys the protection of the State as to its property and the public exercise of its functions.

This trait, too, like every other characteristic feature of religion in this country, has two sides. The disadvantages of the voluntary principle are innumerable vexations and annoyances to ministers and theological professors, at least in such congregations which are weak and poor or illiberal and mean—of which there are not a few—or whose membership consists mostly of European immigrants, accustomed to look to the State for the support of religion; the great disproportion in the contributions as compared with the wealth of the donors; and finally the overloading of ecclesiastical assemblies and synodical minutes with financial business, which, instead of tending to edification, exerts unquestionably more or less a secularizing influence. The advantages, on the other side, are the removal of the odium connected with State-Church-taxation; the promotion of attachment of the supporting members to the Church of their choice on the principle, where their money is there is their interest; and above all, the development of habitual, systematic benevolence, which should be regarded as an essen-

tial duty and privilege of the Christian as much so as prayer and attendance on the means of grace.

The objection which is frequently made to the system by Europeans, that it makes the ministry disgracefully dependent on the congregation, I must deny as entirely unfounded, as far as my observation of things in this country goes. For the American admires no trait of character more than manly independence and consistency, and esteems, loves and supports a minister in the same degree in which he discharges the solemn duties of his office faithfully and conscientiously as an ambassador of Christ without fear and favor of man. This at least may be regarded as the rule in all the respectable denominations of the land. The tone of preaching in America is upon the whole more free and bold, I think, than in Europe, and yet no profession is more esteemed and more influential here than the clerical. The only real sufferers of the voluntary system under this aspect, are the clerical mercenaries, idlers and loafers, and they deserve to suffer, so that the individual loss is a general gain to the congregation and the reputation of the ministry. So much, however, must be admitted, that the successful discharge of ministerial duties in a republic like the one we speak of, requires a far higher degree of prudence and caution in the treatment of the individual members of the congregation, and in abstaining from all improper intermeddling with secular affairs, such as party politics, than is the case under monarchical governments.

As to the practical execution of the voluntary principle, America presents, of course, the greatest contrasts. There are congregations in every denomination, who, as far as in them lies, literally "starve out" their ministers, as the phrase is, and I know many a worthy German clergyman, especially in the new settlements of the West, who has to make greater sacrifices with his family than the foreign missionaries who can at least depend upon a regular support from the society in whose service they labor. On the other side, there are congregations, though "few and far

between," who give the ministers, in addition to a regular salary of from three to five thousand dollars, quite a handsome Christmas or New Year's-gift, buy him a fine house or farm, and pay all his expenses for an occasional trip to Europe for the benefit of his health. Some congregations, as the Episcopal Trinity Corporation and the Dutch Reformed Collegiate Church of New York, have come in possession of an immense income by legacies, the rise of real property, or perhaps by speculation of more than doubtful propriety. Experience, however, teaches that large wealth is rarely favorable to the spiritual prosperity of a congregation and has a tendency to lower the standard of liberality among the members. There are rich Americans who give nothing, or a mere trifle, to God in return for his innumerable daily blessings; but there are also others who cheerfully devote more than the tenth of their income to religious and benevolent purposes and prosper only the more for it. I could mention not a few names who have immortalized themselves, not by legacies on the dying bed, but during their life-time, when they could enjoy their wealth, by truly princely donations of thousands and hundred thousands to the Bible—the Tract—the Missionary—the Colonization causes, to Theological Seminaries, Colleges, the building of churches, and other good objects. It must be admitted, that so far New England has stood at the head in the virtue of liberality. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the Unitarians of Boston are fully as liberal as their orthodox neighbors, not indeed, for the church and theology, which is a subordinate interest with them, but for education and philanthropy.* It would be idle to deny the restless and inordinate thirst for wealth, the over valuation of tem-

* Quite recently the London banker, George Peabody, a native of Massachusetts, and now on a visit to this country, donated, besides a number of smaller sums to various objects, $350,000 to the city of Baltimore, where he laid the foundation of his immense wealth, for the erection of a scientific institute. Another American, Mr. Cooper, a Unitarian, I believe, erects at present, not with the stiffened hand of bequest, but in the vigor of life, immense buildings in New York for a sort of University, which must have cost him already not far from half a million.

poral prosperity and comfort, the large amount of wild speculation and dishonest swindling, which characterizes American life, especially since the annexation of California and the unexampled rise of the new States in the West. But it would be equally unjust to deny the Americans the credit of a large amount of liberality, benevolence and generosity, and if it was not for this and the power of Christianity generally, the cursed worship of the golden calf would undoubtedly ruin the nation in a short time.

The average salary of the Protestant clergy in the United States is supposed to be from $400 to $500 per annum. There is at present much complaint made about the inadequate support of the ministry in these times of expensive living. Innumerable newspaper articles, and several books have been written on the subject. It has also been discussed and acted upon in ecclesiastical assemblies. So much may be said to be certain that the same amount of talent, education, zeal, labor and moral worth, which characterizes the American clergy, would command a much higher temporal reward in any other profession or occupation in so prosperous a country as this.

Taking, however, all things into consideration, we may perhaps be surprised rather, that so much is done in this respect. The comparative success of the voluntary system may, upon the whole, be regarded as the greatest glory of American Christianity. The Free Church of Scotland alone, with its heroic sacrifices, deserves the same, perhaps still greater praise. Next to it come the dissenting bodies in England, especially the Methodists, who are reported to raise larger sums annually for missionary purposes than the entire Church of England. But the Continent of Europe has nothing to be compared with it. I was told a few years ago by some of the most distinguished men in Germany, France, and Switzerland, that the withdrawal of the government support would bring perhaps more than one half of the preachers and theological professors on the brink of starvation, at least for the moment. Now, in contrast to

this admission, I ask you to consider the fact that the Americans not only sustain, with their voluntary contributions, without any aid from the government, all their ministers, domestic and foreign missionaries, the operations of the Bible—Tract—and other societies, but erect and repair also innumerable houses of worship, establish theological seminaries, colleges, academies, support poor students for the gospel ministry and encourage a hundred other benevolent objects of a local, sectional and general character.

I beg leave to prove my assertion with a few statistical facts. You have heard, no doubt, of the great spiritual destitution among the hundreds of thousands of German immigrants, especially in the new settlements of the western States. The same complaint is made by the Roman Catholics with regard to the equally numerous Irish immigrants. This is all perfectly true, and has its reason partly in the enormous tide of immigration from Germany and Ireland, with which the education of ministers in a few feeble seminaries cannot possibly keep pace, and partly in the poverty of these foreigners, a large number of whom have first to struggle for a material existence. But no inference should be made from this as to the average supply of the country with the means of grace. This, on the contrary, surpasses that of many established Churches in Europe. According to the official census report of 1850, there were at that time in the United States twenty-six thousand eight hundred and forty-two ministers of the gospel (not including the numerous local, or lay-preachers of the Methodist bodies), i. e., more than one for a thousand souls; thirty-eight thousand, one hundred and eignty-three houses of worship, estimated at eighty-seven million four hundred and forty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-one dollars, and furnishing accommodation for fourteen millions two hundred and seventy thousand one hundred and thirty-nine persons, i. e., for more than the half of the population, which, in 1850, numbered twenty-

three millions one hundred and ninety-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five; while even the rich and highly favored Church of England, according to the census report of 1851, had accommodation only for five millions three hundred and seventeen thousand nine hundred and fifteen souls, to which must be added four millions eight hundred and ninety-four thousand six hundred and forty-eight sittings of dissenting chapels, thus making the total number of sittings at the highest estimation, ten million two hundred and twelve thousand five hundred and sixty-three for a population of seventeen million nine hundred and twenty seven thousand six hundred and nine (for England and Wales).* A comparison with the Continent of Europe gives a result still more favorable to the United States. Paris had, in 1855, only forty-six churches for a population of one million one hundred thousand souls; this, on an average, would hardly give one house of worship to twenty-three thousand souls; but the disproportion was so great that the fourth district numbered forty-five thousand nine hundred inhabitants and only one church. In Berlin, with all its recent zeal for Church extension, the state of things in this respect is not much better, in Hamburg perhaps still worse. Let us now take some statistical facts of a few American cities from Lippincott's reliable Gazetteer for 1855. In 1858 the city of New York had a population of five hundred and fifteen thousand five hundred and forty-seven and no less than two hundred and fifty four houses of worship (viz: forty-four Episcopalian, thirty-seven Presbyterian, nineteen Dutch Reformed, thirty-seven Methodist, thirty-two Baptist, six Congregational, six Lutheran, twenty-two Roman Catholic, two Unitarian, etc.); Brooklyn had sixty-six churches for one hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants; Philadelphia, with four hundred and eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-two souls, numbered

* Religious Worship in England and Wales. Abridged from the official reports made by Horace Mann to George Graham, Registrar General. London. 1854. p. 57, ff.

two hundred and seventy-five places of public worship (viz: sixty-two Presbyterian, Old and New School, together with the smaller branches, thirty-eight Episcopalian, sixty-six Methodist, twenty-seven Baptist, twelve Lutheran, ten Dutch and German Reformed, twenty-one Roman Catholic, etc).

We may, therefore, boldly assert that, so far, the system of ecclesiastical self-support has fully justified itself in the United States. Church extension has kept pace with the increase of population in the cities and villages and new settlements of the West. A few years ago the Congregationalists alone raised in one day, if I recollect aright, one hundred thousand dollars, for the building of churches in the missionary charges of the great West; a year afterwards the New School Presbyterians did the same; and thus one general effort of two denominations facilitated the erection of several hundred houses of worship in the new States and Territories. It is true, our houses of worship are not Byzantine and Gothic cathedrals, (although even such have been erected within the last ten and twenty years not only by Roman Catholics, but also by Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and even Baptists and Unitarians); but they are generally better adapted to the wants of Protestant worship, which addresses itself mainly to the ear and intellect through the preaching of the Word, than the collossal structures of mediæval Catholicism, which makes much account of imposing ceremonies and operates chiefly through the eye upon the imagination. The American churches, whatever be their defects in an artistic and aesthetic point of view, are generally comfortable and kept warm during the cold season. This, no doubt, contributes to secure a regular attendance, while the chilling cold in the huge churches of the Continent keep off thousands of people during the winter. In addition to this, the American, with characteristic freedom and boldness, frequently converts school-houses, streets, market-places, meadows and groves into temples, and stones, steps, store-boxes and stumps into pulpits.

As to the numerical relation of pastors and churches, the collegiate system, so frequent in Europe, is very rare here, and where it exists, it is apt to foment envy, jealousy and party spirit. Generally speaking, a charge has but one minister who then feels the whole responsibility resting upon him. Experience teaches that this is upon the whole the best system. But in communion seasons, where the services are generally protracted for several days, it is customary to invite the assistance of neighboring brethren. It is also a part of clerical courtesy to offer the pulpit to a travelling minister in good standing, though he be of a different denomination. The writer of this, for instance, preached often in Reformed, Lutheran, Presbyterian, occasionally also in Episcopal and other churches. There is far more freedom and friendly intercourse in this respect in America, than even in England, where, till quite recently, not even a foreign Episcopalian was permitted to officiate in the established Church, not to speak of the Continent, where similar prohibitions more or less rigorous, exist to this day.

In regard to Church extension and the multiplication of parishes, German governments, especially in the growing capitals, might learn a good lesson from the zeal and activity of American Christians. But it would be altogether premature to make the comparative success of the voluntary principle in America an argument for its introduction in Europe. For it must be kept in mind, that the reward of labor and the general prosperity of the people is much greater in the United States than in the old world, with its thicker population and less rapid motion; secondly, that the Americans, by the nature of their young and growing country and by long habit, are more accustomed to pecuniary contributions for all sorts of public improvements than the continental Europeans; and, finally, that the Protestant Churches of Germany, for instance, have a just claim upon the State for support, because the government secularized their large property and thus of course assumed

the sacred duty of allowing the Church at least a part of her own original revenue.

4. *Self-government of the Church.*

For the trouble of self-support the American Churches enjoy the full right of self-government, and thus differ widely from the various forms of Cæsaropapism, or as the English generally call it, Erastianism, which, in every Protestant country of Europe, lodges the supreme government of the national religion in the temporal head.

Here American Protestantism runs parallel with the political self-government of the nation, and is considerably influenced by its parliamentary forms. We must, therefore, say a few words on the latter, in order to place this important feature in a clear light for the European mind.

The American republic rests throughout on the basis of *self-government*, and would not last six weeks without it. This truly English word * signifies in a general way the political maturity of the people on the basis of the moral self-control of its individual citizens. It enables and entitles them to take an active part in the legislation and administration of public affairs, but in an organic way and by a proportionate number of representatives, not as a chaotic mass, like the degenerate Athenian market-democracy after the time of Cleon, the tanner, or the French *peuple-empereur*, of revolutionary memory, which is only a boastful name for mobocracy. Self-government aways implies

*Dr. Francis Lieber, an Americanized German, who, strange to say, wrote the best work extant on "Civil Liberty and Self-government," (Philadelphia, 1858, in 2 vols.), directs attention to the fact (I, p. 207) that this "proud word," doubtless an imitation of the Greek autonomy, was originally used in a moral sense by the divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; that subsequently it seems to have been dropped for a time, but reappeared again towards the end of the last century, both in England and the United States, and is now used as far as Anglian liberty prevails. You look in vain for it either in Johnson's or even in Webster's Dictionary, among the many words compounded with self. Dr. Worcester has it but marked with a star, which denotes that he added it to Dr. Johnson's, and gives Paley as authority, which Dr. Lieber assures us is an error. The *self*, in this word, signifies the object of government, and has, therefore, a reflective meaning; while in autocrat, Selbst-herrscher, self-ruler, as applied to the Russian Czar, it is used in the substantive and exclusive sense (he who rules alone, and nobody else).

two apparently opposite, but in fact complementary elements, liberty and loyalty, sense of independence and love of order, manly self-respect and respect for others, coöperation in the making of new laws and obedience to the existing laws until they are constitutionally repealed. It secures the rule of the majority, but fully as much also the sacred rights of the minority and a lawful opposition ; for this, in a free government, like the English and the American, is generally the guardian of the popular liberties and puts a wholesome restraint upon the majority, thus keeping it from the abuse of power to which weak human nature is always exposed. It goes on the assumption that there is no right without a corresponding duty, no liberty without the supremacy of law, no power without self-limitation. For this reason self-government, in its various ramifications from the general departments down to the municipal and domestic, which, like the tender fibers of a living organism, reach to the extremities, constitutes the firmest, yea, the only base of free institutions and a bulwark against revolution ; while centralized despotism, whether individual or collective, monarchical or republican, is indeed the simplest and as long as it lasts, the strongest, but at the same time the unsafest form of government, which may be overthrown by the shot of a pistol successfully aimed at the despot's brain.

Self-government has its natural root in the Germanic, especially the Anglo-Saxon nationality, and was developed and matured under the influence of Protestantism during the severe struggles which agitated England for the greater part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which gave rise to the first and most influential settlements in North America. We may say, self-government is Protestantism itself, viewed as a social and political principle, or the general kingship as an emanation of the general priesthood of true Christians. It is the soul of the Anglican liberties and their guarantee against anarchy and dissolution. It is the secret of the gigantic power of the English nation

which now rules, from its island-fortress, over five millions of square miles and more than two hundred millions of souls, that is one fifth of the population of the globe. It is the strength and glory of the Anglo-Saxon republic. It explains the astounding fact that the people of the United States of America enjoy the highest degree of security for their lives and property without a standing army; for the immense country has not half the number of regular troops as the city of Paris alone, or even Berlin; and these ten thousand soldiers are mostly stationed on the Indian frontiers, so that you might travel for days and weeks through the States without seeing a uniform or a bayonet. They cannot do without a police, of course; but the police men of American cities, like the constables of London, are not armed, and not even distinguished by pecular dress, for they are there for no other purpose than "to assist the people, and the people are ever ready to assist them;" while on the continent of Europe, the military and the police seem to maintain a threatening attitude to the people, as if they needed the constant watch and superintendence of the cocked hats. The word which Napoleon III spoke at what is called the fête of the eagles, in 1852: "The history of nations is in great part the history of armies," may be true of France, but fortunately it is absolutely inapplicable to the United States.

The American self-government celebrates its greatest triumph every four years, on the fifth of November, in the universal calm which succeeds the storm of the Presidential election. During the summer and autumn of last year the thirty one States, from Maine to Florida, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, were divided into three hostile armies, a Democratic, a Republican, and a Know-Nothing or Native American; each of them strained every effort to secure the vote of the people for its own candidate; the most retired villages, as well as the cities, were carried away with the national excitement and resounded with political speeches; some ministers even—though not to their credit of course

—"took the stump" and mixed in the wild warfare; and many false prophets foretold the inevitable dissolution of the Union, unless the candidate of their choice were elected. But when the fourth of November arrived, the people marched in quiet majesty to the polls, to decide the battle, and when on the day following the result became known, through countless telegraphs, the beaten minority submitted to the *vox Dei* as it had spoken through the *vox populi*, without dreaming of a revolution, or even the possibility of a *coup d'etat* after the French fashion, and every branch of business went on as if nothing had happened. And yet not only was a new President elected, but according to the doubtful maxim, "To the victors belong the spoils," which, at Marcy's suggestion, has been in operation since Jackson's administration, the whole army of federal office-holders was placed upon the resignation-list, to make room for a tenfold greater army of office-seekers. I doubt whether any country, England excepted, could stand every fourth year such an unbloody general political revolution without running into anarchy, and without falling at last into the iron grasp of military despotism as the only means of restoring public order.

We freely admit that the American self-government is often put to the severest test, and that with the fullest enjoyment of rational freedom we have also a large amount of libertinism, its hideous counterfeit. It is a painful fact that most of our large cities, especially New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, abound in lawless "rowdies," who not only give vent occasionally to their wild passions in bloody street riots, but control even to a certain extent the fire-companies, and exert a considerable influence at the primary meetings in the nomination (which as far as the party is concerned is tantamount to an election) of candidates for the municipal offices, for seats in the State legislatures, and at times perhaps even for Congress. It is a fact that disgraceful excesses frequently take place at our elections, and that the politics of the country generally, at least in its

lower branches, without distinction of party, is awfully corrupt and contaminated by the meanest selfishness, bribery, slander and falsehood. No wonder that thousands of the best and most orderly citizens turn away from it in disgust and abstain from voting, to the injury of the public interests. Many occurrences of the last few years, above all the scandalous troubles in the newly organized territory of Kansas, which, owing to the interminable slavery question, in connection with the approaching Presidential election, was for some time, on the very brink of civil war and demanded the interference of the military force, are indelible spots in the annals of this proud nation. While I am writing, the peace of New York, where "cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque," to a greater extent even than in Rome at the time of Tacitus, is jeopardized by a serious conflict between the old city police and the new State authority, so that possibly the orderly citizens may be forced at last, like those of San Francisco, in 1856, to the desperate remedy of a vigilance committee and temporary suspension of the ordinary wheels of government.

Such phenomena must fill the heart of every American patriot with humiliation and grief, and may well undermine for a moment his faith in the capacity of the masses for self-government and the ultimate success of this republic. So much is certain that nothing can permanently secure the American liberties but the Christian religion and its moral influence on the people.

But, on the other hand, we should never form our judgment from momentary impressions and single events. These anarchical outbreaks, compared with the general state of society in America, are after all but as a drop in the bucket. The great mass of the American people are unquestionably conservative, orderly and peaceable. Yea, if we take into proper consideration the awful corruption of human nature, and the fact that the large cities and new settlements of the United States, where by far the most of

these excesses occur, contain in connection with the best elements of society, the very offscouring of all nations in Christendom, including the American, unrestrained by a standing army, or even a sufficient police-force, we should be surprised rather that the violations of the public order are not much more frequent and of a far more dangerous character. If we observe, moreover, that order and peace are always restored after every such outbreak of a disorderly spirit; that the sound sense of the people speedily and successfully reacts against these excrescences; that, in spite of unprincipled and selfish demagogues, who disgrace the city councils, the legislatures, and at times even Congress itself, the country prospers, progresses and enjoys upon the whole as much security of person and property as Germany, France or England: the desponding fears concerning the future should give place to cheerful hopes and the firm conviction of the steady, though often interrupted progress of history in the path of true liberty. Sober reflection and impartial consideration will lead at last to the conclusion that self-government is after all no empty dream or vain boast, but a fact, the greatest and most imposing fact in the social and political life of the English race, and especially of the republic of the United States.

The same judgment may be applied to the religious and ecclesiastical life of America. However numerous the instances of disorder and confusion, especially among the more radical sects, it is nevertheless a fact, a most important fact, that the Protestantism of this country is characterized, upon the whole, by a degree of self-government, a capacity of managing its own affairs in a popular way and taking care of its general interests without any assistance from government, as no Protestant Church in Europe, unless it be the Free Kirk of Scotland.

There is here, first of all, a free, well organized, Christian congregation consisting of voluntary professors of religion, as distinct from an accidental heap of passive nominal Christians which meets us so often in the State-Churches

of Europe under the name of a congregation or parish. There are in America innumerable congregations with a constitution based upon the Bible and one of the great confessions of the reformation period; electing their pastor from the regularly ordained ministers of the denomination to which they belong, not as a hireling, but as their divinely appointed and ecclesiastically sanctioned spiritual-head; associating with him as assistants a number of elders and deacons from the most worthy and zealous members; exercising discipline against gross offenders; managing their affairs in the fear of God, with prayer, calmness and well-drilled business tact, under the official presidency of the minister and according to the constitution; and taking an active part in all the general interests of the kingdom of God. Contrast with this a congregation of German immigrants, especially one that is independent of any Lutheran or Reformed Synod, assembled to consult on their local concerns: and there you will behold a motley mixture representing the various shades of belief and unbelief of the mother country; suddenly emancipated from the maternal control of the State-Church-system; compelled to take care of themselves without the capacity of doing so; every one anxious to rule and none willing to obey; a chaotic mass destitute of public spirit, talent of organization and parliamentary tact; hiring some clerical mercenary or vagabond, yet suspiciously excluding him from a seat in the consistory; and after much useless and pointless talk breaking up in hopeless confusion, unless some prudent and self-denying German minister, or some benevolent American friend should succeed by his cool self-possession, meekness and patience, to keep them together and lead them into the path of order, until they are Americanized in the best sense of the term, i. e., enabled to rule themselves.

This contrast is not overdrawn. It is a singular fact, that while the German stands unrivalled for freedom, independence and boldness in the sphere of science and speculation, and excels also by peculiar excellences in a religious

point of view, he should be so far behind the Englishman and American in all that pertains to political and ecclesiastical self-government. But the simple cause lies in his want of training in this direction; for self-government, like every other art, must be gradually acquired. It is impossible to learn to ride without handling horse and bridle, or to swim without venturing into the water. It may be a dangerous thing to emancipate the congregation in those countries, where the civil community, and not the voluntary profession of religion, is the basis of the Christian congregation, and the danger is increased when indifferentism and infidelity prevail. The above contrast shows that a sudden emancipation from the accustomed control of the higher authorities would lead to endless confusion. But, on the other side, it will hardly be denied that the Protestant idea of the general priesthood of believers, if true at all, must lead to a certain degree of congregational independence or self-government, and to an active cöoperation of the laity with the ministry. The American experience proves, beyond contradiction, that such kind of congregationalism, (I take it here in its theological, not in its technical denominational sense) instead of injuring the interests of the Church and religion and undermining the influence of the ministry, greatly promotes them. Hence we heartily wish God's blessing to descend upon all the efforts now made by the Church authorities of Prussia and other parts of Germany, to revive true congregational life, by introducing the office of lay-presbyters and lay-deacons, where it does not already exist. The process may be slow; but every solid building must begin with the foundation. The effect will be good in the end and may greatly benefit also the German Churches of America, through the improved character of the immigrants. Already there is a manifest difference between those Germans who come from a free congregational life, as it prevails, for instance, in the Wupperthal, and those who were brought up in the system of absolute passivity.

For this capacity of popular self-government in the

Church, America is indebted, no doubt, to the consistent development of the Reformed element, partly in its Presbyterian, partly in its Congregational form.

In connection with this congregational maturity and activity, we have also in the United States a true synodical life. Our regular annual or semi-annual meetings of Presbyteries or Classes, Synods, and General Assemblies or Conventions, serve the same purpose as the free pastoral conferences and the Church Diet for Germany, being bodies for the promotion of unity and all the general interests of the kingdom of God in and through its different branches or visible churches. But in addition to this, they are also, at least in the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, legislative bodies, and thus answer, at the same time, to the consistories and other ecclesiastical tribunals in the German State-Churches. Their resolutions are not recommendations simply, but legal enactments, to be obeyed by all the ministers and congregations represented. To them belong the final settlement of disciplinary questions, the control of theological schools, the examination and ordination of candidates for the ministry, the support of the education-cause, of domestic and foreign missions, and the encouragement of every enterprise that pertains to the external and internal prosperity of the Church. These meetings give annually a powerful impulse to the activity of ministers and people, and are a special blessing to the communities in which they convene, and from which they receive in return the kindest hospitality.

The same self-government, parliamentary tact, love of order, and public spirit, that characterize the meetings of the local congregations, attach, in a still higher degree, to these synodical bodies, together with a very considerable amount of oratorical talent. It is true, the weakness of human nature reveals itself here also in various ways. There is always danger of an excess of legislation, of hasty resolutions, which remain a dead letter, and a useless display of eloquence. But have ecclesiastical assemblies—not to speak of political ones—ever been free from such exerescen-

ces? Does not Gregory of Nazianzen, who himself presided for some time over the second oecumenical council at Constantinople, bring more serious charges against the great synodical meetings of the Nicene age? Was there not "much disputing" even in the apostolical council at Jerusalem, before they reached that wise conclusion concerning the relation of the Gentile converts to the law of Moses? And did not even St. Paul get into an open collision with St. Peter before the assembled congregation of Antioch? Human imperfection enters into the very sanctuary of the Church militant, and the celestial treasure is committed to earthen vessels, that no flesh should boast and all glory be given to God alone.

One of the most important features in the evangelical Synods of America is the lay-element. It flows from the protestant idea of the general priesthood, and forms the best check upon the hierarchical spirit, which Gregory of Nazianzen charges as one of the worst faults upon the old Catholic councils, and against which even St. Peter found it necessary to warn the elders of the apostolical congregation. The fundamental principle of Anglican liberty: "No taxation without representation," is characteristic also of American Christianity. It thoroughly disowns the view that the Church is identical with the clergy, and that the congregation is doomed to blind obedience. The ministers take the lead, of course, in all ecclesiastical matters, except the financial, and will always do so because of their superior knowledge and zeal. But the lay deputies are by no means passive spectators; they have generally the same number of votes and often take the most lively interest in all synodical transactions, even those of a purely theological character. They are chosen from the most worthy elders of the congregations, and a genuine American congregation, I must repeat it, is not a motley heap of a few dozen converted disciples and several hundred baptized heathens, but a well organized body of living Christians. Such laymen are never dangerous in Synods, but exert almost invariably a salutary conservative influence.

The lay representation in connection with the Presbyterian form of government, is most fully carried out in the various branches of the Reformed communion of Dutch, Scotch, English, and German origin. But even the organization of the Episcopal Church, which, of all Protestant denominations, approaches nearest the Roman hierarchy, has undergone a very significant modification in this country, by admitting a regular lay delegation, equal in number to the clerical representation, into its diocesan conventions, and into the lower house of its triennial general conventions (the upper house is exclusively composed of bishops). As far as I know, the American Episcopalians are not likely ever to give up this popular feature in their ecclesiastical polity. Even in the mother Church of England it has recently found warm advocates, and it is more than probable that it will be incorporated at some future day in the contemplated reorganization of the convocations, which at present have a mere nominal existence, the government of the Church being in the hands of parliament and the privy council.

There are, however, two important exceptions to this rule in America, which we cannot pass by unnoticed. Methodism and Romanism, although diametrically opposed to each other, agree in the exclusion of the laity from all participation in the government of the Church.

The former gives rise, for this very reason, to occasional protests and secessions in the United States as well as in England. Of these seceders the Protestant Methodists are the most important. But the purely clerical government of the Methodist Episcopal Church does not rest on a hierarchical basis, and is merely a matter of policy connected with its missionary character. Moreover, what it refuses the laity in the sphere of discipline, it restores to them in the department of worship by the important institution of lay, or local preachers, class-leaders, and in the weekly prayer meetings, where the laymen are permitted to make the largest use of the general priesthood. Hence its peculiar and very efficient organization does not prevent it from

being one of the most numerous and popular denominations of the country; it marches in the van of the great westward tide of American emigration, preaching every where with great earnestness, repentance and faith, and exciting the flame of practical piety.

Very different is the position of the Roman Catholic Church. This ancient and unchangeable body maintains, of course, also in the United States its old ground, that the clergy is the Church, and regards the Christian people merely as the sandy plain on which the colossal pyramid of the hierarchy rests. As the first Napoleon, the greatest and most genial incarnation of absolute despotism, made it his maxim: "Every thing for the people, (i. e., in his sense for himself, l' état c'est moi), nothing by the people": so the Roman Church says: Every thing for the congregation, nothing by the congregation. But by this very principle it stands in direct opposition to the national genius of America, which, in religion, as well as in politics, follows the maxim: Every thing for the people, nothing without the people. The absolute papacy, as well as the Napoleonic military despotism, which sees only common soldiers under the emperor general, may indeed easily connect itself with a certain kind of democracy. The hierarchical pyramid requires a dead level to show off in its grandeur. But the people here are not a living organism, with inherent rights and liberties, but a dependent mass, moving only at the absolute command of the priesthood. In her relation to the State, the Roman Church enjoys in this republic perfect liberty and independence, and can exercise her hierarchical self-government, if we may so call it, to the fullest extent. In this respect her condition is even more favorable than under the Roman Catholic governments of Europe, which are all more or less tinctured with Gallicanism. But she meets here with a more powerful opponent in public opinion, and the genius of free America, which is thoroughly Protestant with all its religious, social and political institutions, sympathies and tendencies. Hence we need not be surprised that Romanism, with all its undoubted growth,

has not been able to keep pace with the immense immigration of Irish and German Catholics, which, within the last twenty years has been perhaps twice as large as the entire present membership of this Church. Still less has it been able, with all its imposing cathedrals, sisters of charity, and well organized benevolent institutions, to gain the sympathies of the people. On the contrary, just in proportion as the papacy extended, the American spirit has risen against it, and recently produced even a powerful political party, called the Know-Nothing or American party, which is professedly based upon hatred of Romanists and foreigners, and has for its object to destroy their political influence. This Know-Nothingism spread, in 1856, with lightening rapidity all over the Union and threatened for a while to absorb the old Whig party and to annihilate the Democratic party then in power, until it was most signally defeated in the last Presidential election, being forced to succumb to anti-slavery republicanism in the North and to the democracy in the South. Its proscriptive spirit is directly opposed to the fundamental American principle of the political equality of all Christian sects. But for this very reason it reveals the more strikingly the irreconcilable antagonism between Romanism and native Americanism, as intelligent Catholics, especially the able dialectician, Brownson, the only really important American convert to that Church, have on several occasions reluctantly admitted. It would be absolutely impossible to organize a political party against any Protestant denomination of the country. For Mormonism, which is still more unpopular than Romanism, does not belong to Protestantism in any sense whatever, and has much more affinity with Mohammedanism than with Christianity. The future must show whether the Roman Church, with her unyielding tenacity, will be able ultimately to resist the powerful Protestant current of this country, or whether she will be carried away by it and undergo an important process of transformation.

The United States of North America is the most Protestant country in Christendom. Even its toleration, which

Romanism likewise enjoys, and should by all means be permitted to enjoy without the least molestation, is a legitimate fruit of Protestantism, and operates upon the whole more against than in favor of Romanism. The United States is the greatest world-and church-historical conquest which has been made by the genius of the Reformation since the sixteenth century, and which far outweighs all the Roman acquisitions of baptized heathenism and barbarism in South America. North America is, therefore, emphatically a land of hope for Protestantism, not negative, rationalistic and pantheistic, but positive, scriptural, evangelical catholic Protestantism, which takes its stand on Christ and his everlasting Gospel as the only source of salvation and the only guarantee of true civil and religious freedom.

Here we must bring our report to a close. We sensibly feel its imperfections and incompleteness in view of the mass of material which might claim our attention. Much might be said on American theology, which for German taste is rather too dry and mechanical, somewhat unchurchly and, as to the doctrine of the holy Sacraments, even rationalizing, but which, in other respects, is strictly scriptural and confessional, better adapted to the intelligence of the people and the wants of the congregation, than the German, and promises to produce a new phase in the sacred science by combining German learning and research with English orthodoxy and solidity;—on the many theological seminaries and the method of theological study, which, in the United States, is not as thorough, comprehensive and free as in Germany, but safer and more practical, since it is not entered upon simply as a profession and for a decent support, but from religious motives, and hence conducted with the view to a growth in piety as well as in learning, and with constant regard to the pastoral office in a particular denomination;—on the innumerable religious papers, magazines and reviews, which represent all possible shades of piety and fanaticism and carry in hundreds of thousands of copies truth and falsehood to the most distant dwelling;

—on the Christian life, which has a predominantly Reformed stamp, full of vigor, energy and enterprise, and presents all the excellencies and defects of a practical common sense Christianity, more broad than deep, strong in outward action and weak in inward meditation, laying hold of the understanding and will, rather than the imagination and feeling, running frequently into the errors of Pharisaeism and legalism, but very rarely into the opposite extreme of Sadducaeism and antinomimanism, to which the German mind is exposed;—or the American celebration of the Lord's Day, which, with all its Judaizing and legalistic features, is an imposing weekly testimony of the nation's reverence for God's holy law, a mighty bulwark of public religion and virtue, and in its practical workings infinitely preferable to the European pseudo-evangelical laxity;—on the American pulpit, which, whatever be its defects as compared with the European, is upon the whole, perhaps, superior to it, and must be said to be free, bold, energetic and decidedly evangelical in its tone, rousing the conscience with great earnestness and power, urging repentance and faith in Christ and a holy walk and conversation, shedding the light of God's word upon all the important questions of society and exerting more influence for good upon public opinion than the combined power of the press;—on the extensive activity of free associations, as the Bible, Tract, Sunday School, and African Colonization Societies, which rise superior to our sectarian divisions and distractions and present a field for united action to the various evangelical denominations;—on the growing missionary zeal of the leading Churches which follows the western tide of emigration to the base of the Rocky Mountains and the shores of the Pacific, supplying the new settlements with the means of grace, and which sends, at the same time, the messengers of the cross to the heathen on the Sandwich Islands, in China and the East Indies, to the negroes on the western coast of Africa, and to the stagnant sects of the decaying Turkish empire, extending to the ven-

erable seats of primitive Christianity and binding thus the extreme west to the ancient east by the gospel of love and peace. All this and many other things I can merely allude to; for a detailed account would not only transcend the limits of this report, which I would like to condense still more, if I had time, but also lead me into the field of the inner divisions and controversies of Protestantism, and these the Evangelical Alliance would rather forget for a moment in the enjoyment of that deeper unity and harmony, which, after all, underlies the various branches of evangelical Christendom.

For the same reasons I can only make one short remark on the most difficult problem of American statesmanship and philanthropy, which, in addition to its political and social bearing, presents also a very important moral and religious aspect and connects itself with the ultimate Christianization and civilization of Africa. Although there is little prospect of a speedy cure of the sore evil of negro slavery, which preys upon the very vitals of the American Union and threatens its dissolution, it will as certanly be healed in due time, as its root, the African slave trade, and slavery itself in all the northern States, was abolished. This desirable result, however, will not be attained by any undue foreign interference, which a nation as sensitive and high minded as the American will either indignantly repulse, or ignore; nor by political agitation, which so far at least has rather thrown back the process of emancipation and called forth a fanatical pro-slavery reaction in the southern States; nor by a dissolution of the Union and the terrors of a civil war, which may God in mercy prevent; but it will be brought about partly by the silent influence of physical and material causes, such as climate, agriculture, industry, railroads; partly by the irresistible progress of Christianity, humanity and freedom; and especially by the adorable wisdom of the almighty ruler of events, who makes even the wrath of men to praise him, who delivered Israel from the bondage of Egypt, and of Babylon, and who will in his own good time

gloriously solve this dark mystery by the elevation and salvation of the entire African race.

Yea, Jesus Christ, by whom all men were created and redeemed, will, according to the sure word of prophecy, raise at last his banner of freedom and peace over all nations and races, over all continents and islands, and heaven and earth shall resound with the triumphal song: "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever." His visible Church is still unfortunately divided by human guilt, though not without wise providential design, into many hostile camps; yet in the deepest source of her spiritual life and in her invisible head she is but one, and when each division, be it Protestant, or Roman, or Greek, shall have fully accomplished its separate mission, the hidden unity of life will also visibly appear arrayed in the beauty of infinite variety. Before this paper can reach the capital of Prussia, the transatlantic telegraph will bind the two hemispheres together, and Europeans and Americans will be no more antipodes, but neighbors. Who would have dreamed, twenty years ago, of such wonders in the natural world? And why should not the invisibly omnipresent power of divine love be able to unite the most distant parts of Christendom, for which it bled on the cross, into one, holy, catholic brotherhood of faith and love?

May the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance strengthen the consciousness of present unity in the midst of strife, give a fresh impulse to Christian zeal and activity, and help to prepare the way for a true and abiding union of believers of all countries and nations, all tongues and confessions, in Him who is their common Lord and Saviour!

With this wish and prayer I transmit to you, dear brethren, being unable to appear among you in person, this written contribution to your feast of love, hoping that under the blessing of God it may contain some comfort and encouragement to the faith of the evangelical Churches of Europe, which we Americans shall always gratefully

revere and love as our mother. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all the children of God.

P. S.

Mercersburg, August 10, 1857.

ART. II.—HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Grammar, if it would do justice to its object, must be historical as well as rational. Historical grammar investigates the origin of words, of their inflexions and derivations, and of their constructions. Historical grammar, also, shows the alterations which the material and the rules of a given language have undergone in the course of time. To fulfil this task, it compares the cognate languages, because these, in a number of cases, have preserved the original forms, and because they furnish analogies illustrating the gradual alterations of those forms.

Rational grammar arranges the material in a logical order.

The English language is a compound chiefly of Saxon, Latin and Welsh words and derivations. A historical grammar of the English language will examine each of its constituent parts.

1. An examination of the Welsh element will not be given here.

2. The Latin element has either been borrowed immediately from the Latin, or it has passed through the lips of the French. For the latter part, the other daughters of Latin, as Italian and Spanish, may be compared to advantage.

3. The Saxon element may be compared first with the

other Germanic languages, especially on the one hand with the Gothic, which is more ancient, on the other hand with the German, which is more modern.

Secondly, the Saxon element, together with the other Germanic languages, forms a branch of the Indo-germanic family of languages, and may be compared with the other branches of that family, especially Latin, Greek and Sanscrit.

The following pages will not fulfil the whole task, but are merely presented as outlines. Their author is well aware of their many imperfections, and he would have refrained from publishing this essay, unless he cherished a hope, that, however defective in itself, it may serve as a preparative labor, and admonish grammarians to make the historic element enter more largely and accurately into their works than has hitherto been the case, whereby many peculiarities and seeming irregularities of the language would be accounted for more easily and naturally.

I. LATIN WORDS THAT HAVE PASSED INTO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS ALTERED BY THE FRENCH.

The Latin language degenerated in the mouth of the vulgar of the subject nations, and became the so called *lingua rustica*. The French language is a product of this lingua rustica and of a German element introduced by the Franks. There remain in it only a few traces of the Latin declensions. Nouns of the third declension have been retained, in the most part, in the form of the ablative singular. The vowels and the consonants have undergone many alterations, of which the most important are the following:

Liquid Consonants.

l inserted: turba—trouble.

l has become u, which is lost in English: pulsare—pousser—push; salvare—sauver—save.

l—r: scandalum—slander.

m—b: kamilos—cable.

m—u: nomen—noun.

n—r: kophinos—coffer; ordine—order.

n omitted in the termination: ensis—ese; pagina—page; mensura—measure; prensione—prison; conveniente—covenant.

r inserted: thesaurus—treasure.

r—l: paraveredus—palfrey; peregrinus—pilgrim.

r omitted: chirurgus—surgeon; persica—peach.

s omitted: cerasus—cherry; pisum—pea.

s prefixed: umbra—sombre; ansa—seize (spanish: asir).

Mute Consonants.

p—v: cooperire—cover; decipere—deceive.

p omitted: conceptus—conceit; deipnon—dine; pauper—poor.

b—v: febris—fever; gubernare—govern.

b assimilated: subitaneus—sudden.

bi—g: cambire—change; rabies—rage.

b inserted: camera—chamber; numerus—number; memorare—remember; similis—resemble (Greek: mesembria).

v—f: navis—nef; salvus—safe (prove: proof).

v omitted: civitas—city (curfew—kerchief).

vi, ve—g: abbreviare—abridge; cavea—cage; deluvium—deluge.

c—ch in the beginning of words: cantare—chant; caput—chief; kiste—chest.

c—g in the middle: draco—dragon.

c—i: fructus—fruit.

ce—s: placeo—please.

c omitted: inimicus—enemy; gratificari—gratify; periculum—peril; securus—sure; tractare—treat.

g—j: gaudium—joy.

g assimilated: flagitare—flatter.

g omitted: flagellum—flail; fragilis—frail; frigere—fry; legalis—loyal; regalis—royal; sigillum—seal.

t omitted: gratus—agree; catena—chain; decretum—decree; moneta—money; nutrice—nurse.

te, ti—c, s: lectio—lesson; platea—place; ratio—reason sententia—sentence.

tic—g: silvaticus—savage; viaticum—voyage.

d inserted: genere—gender (Greek: andros).

d omitted: crudelis—cruel; consuetudinem—custom; desiderium—desire; obedire—obey; praeda—prey; redemptionem—ransom; videre, participle Italian veduto, French vu, view; cadentia—chance.

di—j: diurnus—journal.

dic—g, ch: vindicare—revenge; praedicare—preach.

z—g: zingiber—ginger.

Vowels.

a—y: trinitas—trinity.

a—ai: clamare—claim; remanere—remain.

a—ea: clarus—clear; pace—peace.

e—i: pretium—price.

e—ea: revelare—reveal.

e—g before another vowel: extraneus—strange.

e omitted: eremita—ermit.

e prefixed: stabilire—establish.

i—a: mirabile—marvel; bilance—balance.

i—e: missa—mess; ingenium—engine; initium—commence.

i—ei: dignari—deign.

i—ea: pirum—pear.

i passes into the foregoing syllable: oleum—oil; spolium—spoil; potio—poison.

o—oi: chorus—choir.

u—o: cupidus—covet.

u—oi: jungere—join.

u omitted: angulus—angle; obstaculum—obstacle; stabulum—stable.

Diphthongs.

ae—e: aemulari—emulate.

au—o, oo: aurantium—orange; Maurus—Moor.

oe—e, ai: oeconomia—economy; poena—pain.

Note—In French, the w in the beginning of Germanic words, has been changed into g, as: Walter—Gautier; warn—garnir; wasp—guêpe; wicket—guichet; and e has been prefixed to s followed by a consonant, and s afterwards dropped. A few of these words have been received into the English language, wherein they already existed in their Saxon form, so that they now exist in a double form, in the original and in the French one. Such words are: shy, shun, eschew; gain—win; gard—ward; guaranty—warrant; guile—wile; guise—wise.

II. WORDS BORROWED IMMEDIATELY FROM LATIN AND GREEK.

In such words there are comparatively few alterations, and these occur mostly in the terminations.

Verbs have been transferred either in the present indicative, as: turbo—disturb; examino—examine; praetendo—pretend, or in the past participle, as: agitatus—agitate; depositus—deposit; unitus—unite; or in the infinitive: dominari—domineer.

Consonants.

t—th: auctor—author.
d added: sonus—sound.
c omitted: benefactum—benefit.
g omitted: regula—rule.
pt—ch: captare—catch.
sc—sh: scrinium—shrine.

Vowels.

a omitted: monachus—monk; poeta—poet; anatomia—anatomy.
is omitted: classis—class.
us omitted: camelus—camel; passus—pace.
um omitted: factum—fact.
e—ee: splen—spleen.
o—oo: bonum—boon; schola—school.
o—ou: contra—encounter; corona—crown; flore—flower; fonte—fountain; hora—hour; monte—mount.
u—ou: abundo—abound.
o—ou: callosus—callous.
u—ou: fortuitus—fortuitous; tremendus—tremendous.

Note—1. Many of the words latest introduced by the learned, have undergone no change, as appendix, criterion, ratio, stimulus, stratum.

2. A few Latin words exist in a double form, in their French form, and in a less altered one, as: pauper—poor, pauper; probare—prove, probe; securus—sure, secure.

III. A COMPARISON OF ENGLISH WORDS WITH THEIR CORRESPONDING LATIN AND GREEK ONES.

The words next to be examined are not borrowed from the Latin and Greek languages, but are to be considered as a common property of the Indo-germanic family, although they differ to some extent in their letters.

Liquid Consonants are generally the same on both sides, as: velle—will; molere—mill; nasus—nose; sus—sow; yet variations are not entirely wanting, thus;

m—w: madere—wet; meta—with.

s—r: aes—ore.

r—s: corylus—hazle.

The mute Consonants are found interchanged in a consistent manner, thus:

1. The tenues p, k or c, t have taken the place of the mediae b, g, d or z: cannabis—hemp; labium—lip; sanscrit gô—cow; gnonai—know; megale—mickle; sugere—suck; gyne—queen; ad—at; duo—two; edere—eat; decem—ten; domare—tame; meldomai—melt; drys—tree.

Exceptions: grandis—great; graphein—grave.

2. The mediae b, g, or y, d, have taken the place of the aspiratae ph, ch, th: ferre—bear; ferus—bear; phonos—bane; forare—bore; hesternus—yesterday; tharrein—dare; ther—deer; thyra—door; spathe—spade.

3. The aspiratae f, or v, h, or gh, th, have taken the place of the tenues p, k or c, t; leipein—leave; pater—father; petomai—feather; pyr—fire; piscis—fish; polos—foal; pus, podos—foot; kardia—heart; koptein—hew; kome—home; cornu—horn; case—house; curro—hurry; keuthein

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Note—1. In some cases the consonants are transposed, as: bathys—deep; claudus—halt; granum—corn; plenus—full; pro—fore; philein—love; phyllon—leaf.

2. In other cases a consonant is added on one side, as: candeo—hot; chandanein—get; findere—bite; frangere—break; lingere—lick; pempe—five; septem—seven; psamathos—sand. Contrary: ballein—pelt; canis—hound; cervus—hart; keirein—shear; meidian—smile; mordeo—smart; moereo—mourn; nix—snow; homo—groom; hiare—yawn; oisya—osier; luceo—light; phlegein—bright; sal—salt; spuere—spit, stare—stand; taurus—steer; torein—thorn; thanein—die; genus—kind.

3. The relation of words is sometimes obscurated by changes of consonants on one side. Thus

h in the beginning of English words has disappeared before a consonant: circus—(hring) ring; corvus—(hraven) raven; klinein—(hlean) lean.

h omitted in the middle or end of words: dakry—tear; paucus—few; inspicere—spy.

k changed into ch: gena—chin; phegos—beech.

n omitted before s, th: sanscrit hansa—chen—anser goose; dente—tooth.

w in Greek words changed into hy, in Latin words u into w, and the following vowel omitted: hydor—water; hyphainein—weave, sudare—sweat.

k, c, g, instead of p: pisyres, tessares—quatuor—four; hepar—jecur—liver; sanscrit vrika—Greek lykos—sabine hirpus—Latin lupus—wolf.

—hide; quid—what; quum—when; collis—hill; tum—then; tenuis—thin; tres—three; to—the.

Exceptions. sp, st, ng, x and t after c, have remained unchanged: sparus—spear; stronnymi—strow; longus—long; sex—six; nocte—night; octo—eight; rectus—right; thygater—daughter. Likewise: calvus—callow; cura—care. d stands in the place of th: cutis—hide; hortus—garden; mente—mind; skotos—shade; traho—drag.

Vowels.

Original a preserved in English or changed into e, while in Greek or Latin it is changed into o: chole—gall; volvo—wallow; follis—bellows; hostis—guest; contrary: frater—brother; mater—mother; mene—moon. Original u preserved in English, weakened in Latin: centum—hundred. Contrary: jugum—yoke.

Some changes correspond to the change of the vowels in conjugation; on one side is i, the vowel of the present tense; on the other side is a or u, the vowel of the past tense: vigeo—wake; mulgeo—milk: rhiza—root.

In a few cases the Greek language has prefixed a vowel: agathos—good; aster—star; erythros—red; omphalos—navel; ophrys—brow; orophe—roof; alopex—fox.

Diphthongs.

Latin ae, English oa; haedus—goat. Latin au, English ea: auris—ear.

IV. A COMPARISON OF ENGLISH WORDS WITH THEIR CORRESPONDING GOTHIC AND GERMAN ONES.

Liquid Consonants.

m—n: besom—besen; bosom—busen; bottom—boden.

s—r: freeze—frieren; lose—verlieren (Verlust); soot—rusz; was—war. Contrary: hare—hase; iron—eisen. Gothic s—English and German r: basi—berry—beere; vêsun—were—waren.

Mute Consonants.

In ancient high German the mute consonants of the Gothic and Saxon have been interchanged in the same man-

ner, as Gothic and Saxon have interchanged those of Greek and Latin.

1. The tenues p, k, t have taken the place of the mediae b, g, d. In modern German, however, the mediae b, g, have been restored; likewise d after l, n; good—gut; (ancient German kuat) grave—grab (ancient German krap); mild—mild; wind—wind.

2. The mediae b, g, d have taken the place of the aspiratae f, h, or gh, th. In the beginning of words, however, the German has retained h and has put the soft aspirate v instead of b, and in many words f is spelt for v. Likewise h is retained before t; full—voll; deaf—taub; horn—horn; thank—dank; the—der; thine—dein; north—nord; far—fern; right—recht; enough—genug.

3. The aspiratae f, or pf, ch, sz or z, have taken the place of the tenues p, k, t. In the beginning of words and elsewhere, however, the modern German has restored the tenuis k, and s or ss is often spelt for sz: deep—tief; sheep—schaf; sleep—schlaf; pan—pfanne; break—brechen; water—waszer; that—das, dasz; tin—zinn; tear—zerren; lot—loos; fox—fuchs; six—sechs; wax—wachs.

Exception. sp, st, t after gh, tr have remained unchanged: spring—springen; stun—staunen; flight—flucht; asp—espe; west—west; true—treu.

Gothic and Saxon Consonants changed in English.

1. Transposition: brinnan—burn.

2. Omission of n before d, th: anthar—other; sunth—sooth; tunthu—tooth.

3. n—l: kind—child; kuntha—could.

4. Omission of v in the middle and end of words: saihvan—see (saw); saiv—sea; singvan—sing; sinkvan—sink.

5. b, v, f: thiub—thief, thievish.

6. sk, sh: skeinan—shine; skoh—shoe (scathan—scath).

7. k, ch: feccan—fetch; lêki—leech; vakan—watch; vrak—wretch; tekjan—touch. l in this connexion has been lost; mikil—much; hweleik—which.

8. h omitted before l in the beginning of words; hlaibs—loaf.

9. g, dg: brygge—bridge; egge—edge; flegge—fledge; hegge—hedge; wegge—wedge.

10. g, i, y; bergan—bury, bugjan—buy; eage—eye; dag—day; hagl—hail; fagr—fair; rign—rain; sagan—say; sigl—sail.

11. g, w: maurgin—morrow; saurga—sorrow; fugl—fowl.

12. h, y; slahan—slay.

13. h, w: swilhan—swallow; marh—marrow.

14. j, w: majan—mow; sajan—sow.

15. th, d: gulth—gold; nêthla—needle.

Gothic and English Consonants changed in German.

1. Addition: aiskan—ask—heischen; adder—otter, natter; hup—hip—hüfte; ais—ore—erz; melt—schmeltzen; mêna—moon—mond; shut—schlieszen; speak—sprechen.

2. Omission: irksome—ekel; slink—schleichen; sneeze—niesen; sting—stechen.

3. Transposition: hoarse—heiser; horse—ross.

4. b dropped after m: climb—klimmen; crumb—krume; lamb—lamm; thumb—daum.

5. w dropped before r and in the end of words: wreak—rächen; hollow—hohl; shadow—schatte.

6. w, b: fallow—falb; swallow—schwalbe; yellow—gelb.

7. s, sch before l, m, n, w: slime—schlamm; smear—schmieren; snout—schnauze; swim—schwimmen.

8. h omitted before w: white—weisz.

Short Vowels.

1. Gothic a has in English and German been retained or changed into o: manna, man, mann; ana, on, an; af, of, ab; fram, from; kald, cold, kalt; skal, shall, soll; comb, kamm; (mat, meat; and, und).

2. Gothic e, spelt ai, corresponds to English e, ea, German e: airtha, earth, erde; hairda, herd, herde; hairto, heart, herz; (vaila, well, wol).

3. Gothic i has been retained or changed into e, ea, ie: blind, blind, blind; spinnan, spin, spinnen; hilpan, help, helfen; liban, live, leben; field, feld; brikan, break, brechen; learn, lernen; stilan, steal, stehlen.

4. Gothic o, spelt au, has been retained: daur, door, thor; kaurn, corn, korn.

5. Gothic u has been retained or changed into o, oa, ou: fula, foal, fohlen; juk, yoke, joch; mulda, mould; sunna, sun, sonne; sunu, son, sohn; ufta, often, oft; tungo, tongue, zunge; summer, sommer.

In many cases u has been changed into the diphthong ou, au: nu, now, nun; thu, thou, du; skura, shower, schauer; round, rund.

Long Vowels.

1. Gothic ee has been preserved in English, although often spelt ea; the German has a: jer, year, jahr; letan, let, laszen; slep, sleep, schlaf; steel, stahl; read, rathen; vepn, weapon, waffe; quen, queen; (hair, haar; hook, haken; mena, moon).

2. Gothic oo has been preserved in English, the German has u: blôth, blood, blut; fôtu, foot, fusz.

Diphthongs.

1. Gothic ai corresponds to English a, mostly o, oa, sometimes ea, German ei, e: ain, an; one, ein; aith, oath, eid; dail, deal, theil; hailjan, heal, heilen; haithi, heath, heide; laisja, lore, lehre; saiv, sea, see; stain, stone, stein; vai, woe, wehe; haim, ham, heim; bleak, bleich; mean, meinen; sheath, scheide; weak, weich; wheat, weizen; (flesh, fleisch).

2. Gothic au corresponds to English ea, German au, o: auzo, ear, ohr; laub, leaf, laub; (raud, red, roth; hauh, high, hoch; lye, lauge); bread, brot; great, grosz.

3. Gothic ei corresponds to English i, German ei, (anciently i long): beitan, bite, beiszen; mein, mine, mein: (leitil, little, lüzel).

4. Gothic iu corresponds to English ea, ee, ie, Saxon eo, German ie, eu (anciently iu): duip, deep, tief; kniu, knee,

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Note—In English and German i occurring in the termination often modifies the vowel of the preceding syllable, and this modification may remain, although the i which caused it is lost. Thus: bride, corresponds to the Gothic bruth and German braut, the i is a modification of u or ou. Again: green, grün have a modified oo, u; seek corresponds to the Gothic sôkjan, German suchen.

knie; (siuk, sick, siech); stiur, steer, stier; thiub, thief, dieb: steer, steuern; (niun, nine, neun).

V. DECLENSION.

The number of objects and the relations which they sustain to each other, are expressed in the languages of the Indo-germanic family by peculiar terminations annexed to the root of the word, partly also by changing the vowel of the root.

Where these terminations are either lost in the course of time, or insufficient in themselves, prepositions must be resorted to.

The Sanscrit abounds in terminations; the Greek, Latin, Gothic, Saxon have a limited number; the English has retained a few.

1. s forms the genitive case and serves also to derive adverbs: else from an obsolete root eli, alius; needs; unawares. Sometimes t is annexed: amidst, amongst, whilst. The German shows some similar adverbial genitives: flugs, rings, stracks, unversehens.

2. s forms the plural number.

3. Plurals formed by a modification of the vowel: men, feet, geese, teeth, lice, mice.

4. Plurals formed by n: brethren, oxen, kine.

5. m, n belong to the dative plural: children, used as a nominative; whilom, has become an adverb.

6. Remains of the declension of numerals: the adverbial genitives once, twice, thrice, (einst for eins; zwier); the old accusative twain.

7. The Gothic demonstrative pronoun has furnished the English language with forms for its definite article, for its demonstrative pronouns, and for the personal pronoun, third person, plural:

the corresponds to tho, accusative, feminine singular.

this, these to this, thise, genitives masculine.

that to thata, nominative, singular, neuter.

those to thos, nominative, plural, feminine.

they, them, to thai, thaim, nominative and dative, plural, masculine.

the, used before comparatives is an old ablative:
the greater, eo major, tosoyto kreitton. Hebrews 1: 4.

VI. CONJUGATION.

The times and the persons to which actions are referred, as well as the modalities of actions, are expressed in the Indo-germanic languages by peculiar terminations annexed to the root of the verb, partly also by changing the vowel of the root.

Where these terminations are either lost in the course of time, or insufficient in themselves, there auxiliaries must be resorted to.

The Gothic forms the preterit tense in four different ways:

1. Either by a reduplication similar to that of the Greek perfect tense: slepa, saislep.

2. Or by reduplication and change of the vowel: lêta, lailôt.

3. Or by change of the vowel: brika, brak.

4. Or by the termination *da*: sôkja, sôkida.

The verbs of the first, second and third classes have no termination in the first and third persons singular indicative of the preterit tense; the second person annexes *t*, and the past participle *an*.

The past participle of the verbs of the fourth class ends in *ith*.

The verbs of the English language may, as to their conjugation, be divided into three classes.

1. Such as form the preterit tense by a change of the vowel.

2. Such as form it by annexing *ed*.

3. Such as employ both methods.

Each of these three classes presents anomalies; but it is unhistorical to call all verbs of the first class irregular; the change of the vowel is as good and justified a method of forming tenses as the annexation of a syllable; it is even more lively and expressive. Perhaps the first class would present less anomalies, if these verbs had not

been, by grammarians, considered a nuisance and, consequently, neglected. We consider them rather a beauty of the language.

First Class.

1. Present i; Preterit Singular a, Plural u; Past Participle u: begin, cling, come, (Gothic quiman), dig, drink, fling, ring, run, sing, sink, shrink, sling, slink, spin, spring, stick, sting, stink, string, swim, swing, win, wring.

2. e, ea—a, o—o,

bear, break, choose, climb, cleave, freeze, get, heave, help, melt, seethe, shear, speak, steal, swear, swell, tear, tread, wear, weave, forlorn, (Greek: trepo, etrapon, tetropha).

3. i, ea, ee—a—i, ea, ee.

bid, beat, eat, give, lie, see, sit, spit; quoth is the preterit tense of the obsolete verb quithan.

4. i—Preterit Singular o, Plural i,—i.

abide, betide, bite, chide, drive, hide, ride, rive, shine, shrive, slide, smite, stride, strike, strive, thrive, write, writhe.

5. ow—ew—ow.

blow, crow, draw, fly, grow, know, show, strow, throw.

6. a—oo—a.

forsake, hang, shake, slay, stand, take, wake.

7. a—e—a.

fall, hold.

8. i—ou.

bind, find, grind, wind, fight.

Second Class.

Here we notice the following anomalies:

1. Verbs in t, d, adding no termination in the preterit, but shortening the vowel if long:

bleed, breed, burst, cast, cost, cut, feed, hit, hurt, knit, lead, let, lift, light, meet, put, quit, read, rid, set, shed, shoot, shred, shut, slit, speed, split, spread, sweat, thrust.

2. Verbs in d, making t of ded:

bend, blend, build, gild, gird, lend, rend, send, spend.

3. Verbs adding d or t, shortening the vowel if long:

burn, cleave, creep, dare, deal, dip, dream, dwell, feel, flee, hear, keep, kneel, lean, leap, leave, lose, mean, reap, reave, say, shoe, sleep, slip, smell, spell, spill, strip, sweep, weep; wont is the past participle of the obsolete verb wonan.

4. Verbs omitting their last consonant before d:

clothe, have, make.

5. Verbs forming their past participle by *en*:

bake, fold, grave, hew, lade, mow, prove, saw, shave, show, sow.

Third Class.

1. Present e, the modification of a, Preterit o, anciently a, the restoration of a: sell, tell, (ancient German: zellen, zalte).

2. bring, buy, catch, do, freight, owe, reach, seek, teach, think, work.

3. can, shall, may, must, will, wot, are preterit tenses of obsolete present tenses, for which reason a few of them add t in the second person singular, they all do not add s in the third person singular, they have no infinitive, and some of them have no participle. They are now used as present tenses (compare in Latin: coepi, memini, novi, odi) and form new preterit tenses.

Defective Verbs.

1. go borrows its preterit tense from wend, (Italian andare).

2. be (Greek: phyo; Latin: fui) borrows its present indicative from the root as, ar, (Sanscrit as, Greek esmi, Latin esse).

First person *am* instead of *arm*, the *m* being an obsolete termination. The preterit tense is borrowed from the obsolete verb: visan: was, wast, were.

We believe that, by an arrangement like the one given here, the learner may better be introduced into the English conjugation, than by a list wherein all these verbs are thrown together, although we do not deny the conveniency of such a list for reference.

Terminations.

1. Present tense, second person singular annexes *s* in Gothic, as in Greek and Latin, the t is an appendix of later date.

2. Third person singular, in Gothic and ancient English, annexes *th*, corresponding to Latin *t*.

3. Infinitive, in Gothic and Saxon, ends in *an*. The n seems to have been dropped through the influence of the Danish language, where the infinitive has simply *e*.

4. Present Participle, in Gothic and Saxon, ends in *and*. This *nd* remains in the following participles, now used as substantives: fiend, from Gothic fijan—to hate; friend, from Gothic frijon—to love. For *nd* the derivative termination *ing* has been substituted.

Auxiliaries.

The Goths used their present tense for a present and a future, and their preterit tense for an imperfect, a perfect and a pluperfect.

The English and German languages employ be and have, sein, haben for the perfect and the pluperfect. For the future the English has shall, will, which are found also in ancient German, whilst modern German has werden.

The Goths, although forming a passive gender, yet sometimes used as an auxiliary verb visan: daupidai vesun—were dipped (baptized); or vaírthan, as in German werden: atgibans varth—was given—gegeben ward.

VII. DERIVATION.

1. A few substantives are derived from verbs merely by a change of the vowel or last consonant, or not even that:

band, bit, drove, song, stand, strife, stroke, web, writ, wrong.

Compare in Latin: tegere, toga; in Greek: trepein, tropos; speydein, spoyde; leipein, loipos; ptêssein, ptôchos; in German: binden, binde, band, bund.

2. Such changes occur even when terminations are annexed. *Substantives* are formed by adding

le: handle, shuttle, spittle, towel, (Gothic thvahan—to wash), girdle, (Greek: didaskalos).

m: bloom, doom, film, (Greek: poiema, odyrmos).

r: layer, bower, from the obsolete bauan.

s: loss, (Greek: doxa).

t: from verbs: behest (from the obsolete behaetan), bequest, draught, flight, frost, grist, might, sight, theft, weight.

t: from nouns: drought, hight, theft.

th: from verbs: birth, growth, stealth.

th: from nouns: breadth, dearth, length, month, width, youth. (Greek: kopetos).

d: flood, ford, seed.

e: pride.

er, or: from the root *as, ar:* lawyer, sailor.

et: circlet.

in: ermin, from the obsolete harm.

ness; Gothic assus, from the root *as:* goodness.

ter: garter, halter, laughter, shelter, slaughter.

ster: originally feminines: songster, spinster, webster.

ing: forms personal nouns: king, Saxon kuning, from kuni—race, family; but mostly abstract nouns like the German *ung*.

ock: hillock.

kin: lambkin.
let: ringlet.
lin: ermelin.
ling: suckling.
} Compound terminations.

Adjectives are formed by adding

y, Gothic ag, eig, (Greek: ikos), lofty, rainy.

le: brittle.

ish: childish, french, welsh.

en: (Greek; inos): brazen, heathen, wollen.

er: forms simple adjectives: bitter (German: wacker); but mostly comparatives: smaller.

In Gothic, comparatives are formed by adding isa, and this s has remained in the comparatives: less, worse, from the obsolete verb wirran—to trouble.

est: forms superlatives: first.

In Gothic, superlatives are formed from adverbs by adding *uma*: innuma; the Saxon has added to these comparatives a second termination: innumist, innumost, from whence come such words as inmost, which look as if they were compositions of most. (Compare Latin imus; intimus).

th: forms ordinals: fourth (Latin tus: quartus).

Adverbs.

Correlatives: here, hither, hence.

th: forth.

Verbs are formed in Gothic by adding *jan;* of this termination, in some cases e has been retained; bathe, breathe, glaze.

In other cases the vowel is changed or modified:

fell, fill, gild, grope.

In cases without number the verb does not differ from its primitive word.

l: kneel, grapple, ramble, settle, speckle, startle, throttle.

n: deepen, frighten, lengthen, widen, (Greek: aino, leykaino.)

k: talk from tell; walk from wallôn French, aller.

r: clamber, flitter, wander, waver, (Greek eiro: oikteiro) (hear, Gothic hausjan, seems to be derived from ear, ausjo, by prefixing h, which is causative, as h in the Hebrew conjugation hifil).

8. The variety of compositions may be arranged under the following heads:

Substantive and Substantive: goldpen, namesake, tradesman, gospel, (from god and spill—a narrative), nightingale, (from night and the obsolete verb galan—to sing), world, (from vair—Latin vir and ald—generation). Alfred, (from Alf—elf and raed—counsel). Os-good, (from ans, as, os—

Note—Latin and Greek derivative terminations are often added to English roots: able: readable.
ee (Latin: atus): settee, trustee.
eous: righteous.
ess: (issa): shepherdess.
ism: witticism.
ment: settlement.

god). The words in ard, dom, head, hood, rick, are compositions, as these are not derivative syllables, but independent words: ard—hard; dom—doom, head, hood—essence, rick—empire.

Adjective and Substantive: highway, holiday, blackamoor. The words in ship are also compositions, as ship is originally an independent word, connected with shape.

Adverb and Substantive: nought, (from ni and wiht—thing); not is an abbreviation of nought, as the Greeks use oyden for oy, the Latins nihil for non.

Preposition and Substantive: arvasna (from hvas—sharp)—arrow; foreman; inroad; overcoat; outlet; underwood; upland.

Substantive and Adjective: wayfaring. The words in ful, less, ly, some are compositions, as these are also independent words: by—like; less—loose, German los.

Adverb and Adjective: unkind, (un a negation, Greek an, Latin in, used only in composition), neither (from the obsolete negation ni).

Substantive and Verb: partake, waylay.

Adjective and Verb: curtail.

Adverb and Verb: mistake, (Gothic misso—athwart), outbid, uphold.

Preposition and Verb: arise, (a seems to be an abbreviation either of on, Gothic ana, or of at; it is used independently in constructions like the following: the ark was a preparing, (1 Pet. 3: 20).

become (be an older form of by).

embody, endear (en—in).

forbid (for—Gothic fra).

foretell (fore—Gothic faura).

gainsay.

overtake.

untie, (un—Gothic and German ent).

understand.

withstand (with—Gothic vithra).

yclad (y—Gothic ga, German ge, which are prefixed to the past participle of verbs and correspond to the Latin preposition cum).

answer (a composition of the Danish verb svare, and the preposition an or and).

Adverb and Preposition: herein, thereof, upon.

Adverb and Adverb: never, (ni, ever).

Preposition and Preposition: against, before, behind, into, within.

Preposition and Adverb: but, (be—out), throughout, about, (an, be, out), above, (an, be, ove).

Adjective and Conjunction: although.

Adverb and Conjunction: nor, (ni, or).

Note—English roots are often composed with Latin adverbs or prepositions: counterwork, disown, interweave, recall, perhaps.

VIII. SYNTAX.

In treating this department of grammar we would preceed in the following order:

1. *Elements of the Sentence.*

Persons or objects are denoted by substantives or personal pronouns. They are more accurately described by adding to the substantive or pronoun either articles, adjectives, appositions, which are cöordinate, or genitives and prepositions with their cases, which are subordinate.

Actions are expressed by verbs, and here the use of the different genders, moods and tenses must be shown. Verbs have their complement in adverbs and in substantives, which they govern either immediately or by prepositions.

2. *Formation of the Sentence.*

Sentences may be undeveloped, consisting of a mere substantive or pronoun, such are titles, epitaphs, vocatives, or of a mere verb, such is the imperative mood.

The construction of a substantive and a verb gives the developed sentence, in which regard must be had to position and to concordance.

3. *Connexion of Sentences.*

Sentences are either cöordinate or subordinate to each other. Cöordinate sentences may be connected by conjunctions, or unconnected, asyndeta. Words common to two or more sentences may, in certain cases, be expressed but once.

Subordinate sentences may be connected by conjunctions or relative pronouns, which both are omitted in certain cases. Some subordinate sentences are abridged by putting the verb in the participle or in the infinitive.

IX. METRE.

1. A Latin or Greek verse is a regular succession of long and short syllables. Regard is had to the quantity, to the time necessary for pronouncing the different syllables. An English or German verse is a regular succession of accented or unaccented syllables. Regard is had to the quality, to the greater or less significancy of the different syllables. A Greek or Latin iambus consists of a long syllable, preceded by a short one; the latter may contain the root, the former be a mere termination, as in: nea, trophe. An English or German iambus consists of an accented syllable preceded by an unaccented one; both may be long, as: unfold. A trochee consists of an accented syllable preceding an unaccented one; the former may be short, the latter long, as: living. English verses are composed either of iambs or trochees. In some cases two unaccented syllables are allowed, instead of one, which gives anapaests and dactyles, as:

With reverence heed their parents' word.—*Hymn.*

Where three unaccented syllables concur, the middle of them receives a slight accent, as:

Unspeakable, who sittst above these heavens,
To us invisible, or dimly seen.—*Milton.*

Likewise the latter of two unaccented syllables at the end of a verse:

A fortnight hold we this solemnity.—*Shakespeare.*

In the beginning of iambic verses trochees are admitted sometimes:

Fairest of stars, lost in the train of night.—*Milton.*

2. But this regularity in the succession of accented and unaccented syllables, has not been deemed sufficient by the Germanic nations, to distinguish poetry from prose. They connect their verses by a concordance in sound. In ancient times the consonants beginning the most important syllables of two succeeding verses were the same. This

concordance of consonants is called allitteration, stabreim, which is found, also, in a number of proverbial locutions, as: bend or break, fish or flesh, grave and gay, heart and hand, last but not least, might and main, like priest like people, safe and sound, saint and sinner, sire and son, ashore and ashore, stout and strong, toil and trouble, weal and woe;—bausch und bogen, geld und gut, haus und hof, gang und gáb, land und leute, lieb und leid, mann und maus, nacht und nebel, null und nichtig, schiff und geschirr, stab und stecken, wehr und waffe, wind und wetter. In Latin: curae cordique esse, ferro flammaque vastare, hirtus atque horridus, maria montesque polliceri, sanus et siccus, sucus ac sanguis. In Greek: stolos stratos te. In Hebrew: na 'va nad. G. 4: 14., shamir va shayit. Isaia 7: 23.

3. Allitteration as an ornament in poetry was succeeded by the concordance of the last accented syllables of two or more verses, which is called rhyme. The rhyme too, occurs in proverbial locutions: helterskelter, hurlyburly, talk and walk, tear and wear;—dach und fach, kern und stern; rat und tat; sang und klang; salz und schmalz; saus und braus; schutz und trutz; stein und bein; weg und steg: In Greek: rhome kai gnome; pheme kai mneme. In Hebrew: tohu va bohu. Gen. 1: 2.

Allitteration and rhyme were used by Greek and Roman poets to make single verses more expressive, but not to connect different verses. Examples:

hoisi Zeus poinima pathea pathein poroi.—*Sophokles.*
tois men stellein, toisi de mellein.—*Euripides.*
mollia luteola pingit vaccinia caltha.—*Virgil.*
tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce,
et sola in sicca secum spatiatur arena.—*Virgil.*

The use of rhyme as a connexion of verses was first introduced by the ancient Christian poets.

4. Epic, didactic, and dramatic poems suffer the constant repetition of the same verse in an equal flow, whilst in lyric poetry either equal or unequal verses are separated into groups of the same length, called stanzas. Usually the architecture of stanzas displays a law of symmetry; there are two equal parts corresponding to each other, each of which

may again consist of equal or unequal sections. To these two equal parts a third unequal part is often, by way of contrast, associated. Examples: Two equal parts, each of two unequal verses:

Lo! what a cloud of witnesses
Encompass us around!
Men, once, like us with sufferings tried,
But now with glory crowned. [*Hymn.*

Two equal parts, each of two equal verses:

As he surveys the much loved spot,
He slights the space that lies between.
His past fatigues are now forgot,
Because his journey's end is seen. [*Hymn.*

Two equal parts and a third:

Thanks we give and adoration
For the Gospel's joyful sound.
May the fruits of thy salvation
In our hearts and lives abound.
May thy presence
With us evermore be found. [*Hymn.*

Not so frequently three equal parts are associated with a fourth:

On Linden, when the sun was low,
All bloodless lay the untrodden snow,
And dark as winter was the flow
Of Isar, rolling rapidly. [*Campbell.*

The same symmetry may be discovered in the strophes invented by the Greek and Italian lyric poets. We find in the alcaic strophe, two equal verses succeeded by two unequal ones, as:

Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Nec civium ardor, prava jubentium,
Nec vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster. [*Horace.*

Three equal verses, succeeded by one unequal, sapphic strophe, as:

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
Semper urgendo, neque, dum procellas
Cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
Littus iniquum. [*Horace.*

Two equal parts succeeded by a third, which is again composed of two equal parts, in the Italian sonetto of 4, 4, 3, 3 verses.

In the choruses of the Greek drama, there is a strophe and an antistrophe, corresponding to the two equal parts of the stanza, whilst the epode corresponds to the third, unequal part of the stanza. The different parts of stanzas should be well proportioned: when a third part follows two equal parts, its extent should be scarcely less than one of the two equal parts, nor much greater than the sum of both.

The verses of the first part rhyme either with each other, or with the corresponding verses of the second part. The third part may have its own rhymes, or some of its verses may agree with verses of the two preceding parts.

In the poem of Campbell, above quoted, the fourth lines of all stanzas are linked together by rhyme. Elsewhere the same verse or verses are repeated in all stanzas.

X. ORTHOGRAPHY.

We conclude by stating, on the orthography of the English language, what we have to say from our stand-point.

It would, beyond doubt, be desirable to have one sign to each sound, and one sound to each sign, and no sign to no sound. This end might be reached by introducing a few marks on the letters now in use.

But all homonymes could then not be distinguished by their external appearance, and the origin of many words would be obscurated.

The present system has this advantage, that in other languages we easily recognize the words adopted into English. Yet it is susceptible of improvements.

Let inconsistencies be removed, without altering materially the original spelling of words.

Examples.

hw instead of wh, as : hwat, Saxon hwat.

g, q without u, where no u is sounded, as: conqer, liqor, gard.

k, c instead of ch, in words like skeptic, arkives, caracter.

g instead of gh in the words gost, burg.

h instead of gh, where neither is sounded, as :

hih, Saxon heah ; riht.

dh instead of soft th, as ; dhine.

a instead of au in words like hant.

au instead of ou in words like fauht.

ie instead of ei in words like recieve.

o instead of oa, as oke, othe ; except where oa sounds like au, as : broad.

o instead of oo, ou in words like : dore, flore, mold, sholder.

oo instead of o, oe, in words like : doo, moove, canoo, shoo.

ou instead of ow, where a diphthong is sounded, as: brou, froun.

u instead of ou, in words like; anxius, enugh, luve, wunt.

CONCLUSION.

There are two ways of treating a language. The one is to establish rules founded partly on facts and partly on our imagination, and to call irregular whatever does not agree with those rules. The other way is to observe *all* the facts, tracing a historic development in its whole extent, not only taking up its extremities. The first (rationalistic) method has been followed already too long in English Grammar. It is high time to adopt the second (historical) method. You cannot properly understand or correctly judge the social or political condition of any nation without a knowledge of its history. Just so it is with language.

Grammar, treated historically, discloses the *inmost spirit* and character of a nation in its working upon language.

Historical grammar does justice to the *national spirit*, and is truly popular.

We hope the day is not distant, when the universities of this country will be furnished with a truly historical grammar of the English language, by a man acquainted with all the languages that have influenced the English.

A collection of extracts from the best productions of the Anglo-Saxon literature, with a short grammar and a glossary, is also a desideratum, to which we direct the attention of those of our learned men who visit England.

Sheboygan, Wis. J. BOSSARD.

ART. III.—CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE.

IN the progress of our examination of the subject of Comparative Architecture, in a previous article, we arrived at the fact that, like all other nations, so the Christian nation, that is the Church, has expressed herself in a form of Art, which is probably the final form until the second coming of her Lord; at least that the facts of the case since,—all attempts at something different having been, for *church*-architecture, without a single exception, mere vagaries and nonentities—show us imperatively that our only hope of attaining to any thing better, lies in our cordially rëadopting that which we have, already furnished to our hand. This Christian Architecture we found to be one, and catholic. To a far more unvarying degree and under an incomparably more forceful instance is cathedral architecture the sign of the Christian people, than the Doric temple of the Grecian, or the Corinthian of the Roman, people.

We thus found our subject bringing itself to bear upon the higher question of Church unity. If the progress of church architecture since the full cathedral took on its form does show that no improvement has been made, and that the thing remaining after all intervening trials, for any Christian congregation at this day to do, in order to build for themselves an adequate church edifice, is to revert to the elements of Cathedral Art; then is not the inference legitimate that the proper thing for the same people to do in order to get visibly back to the Catholic Faith, is to revert to the palpable form of that Faith which lay at the foundation of the evolution of that Cathedral? Let us not be misunderstood. We use the word Cathedral here, not at all in its technical sense, but as that which represents the Catholic Church. We admit that the building was de-

veloped under the pope and bishops, we acknowledge therein the hand of Providence, but we hold that the Architecture is that of the Catholic Church. In other words, as we have a very high idea of the Art, so have we a high idea of Catholic unity, an idea to which the earthly bishop is not necessary. The bishopric, in which we recognize a divine appointment to the same extent that we see a divine appointment in the king, but a diviner, so to speak, in the Government—the bishopric did its work, so long as it did the same, according to the will of Providence, and while that work remains the permanent gift of the Church, we think we can as clearly see in Providence that the office is not a necessary element in the idea of unity, or a necessary function as it respects its actualization and conservation. The true Head is in Heaven, the centre of an infinitely broader horizon than can be drawn from any point upon earth, and as it respects the earthly order of the Church in relation to her Head, the history of the Church, since the Reformation, does attest the power of the Church as the ground and pillar of the truth, to be at least as exemplary under the Presbyterial representative of the true Headship, as under the Prelatical.

Defenders of Episcopacy on the ground of its universally obligatory divine appointment, are in the habit of charging want of candor upon Presbyterian controversialists in not allowing due weight to the historical argument as drawn from the primitive Church. However this may be, no writers have shown a more manifest lack of candor than themselves, as seen in their method of dealing with historical arguments since. It only shows how true it is that the making of any, not expressly commanded, particular a necessary element of unity constrains the thoughts of a man into a specified channel out of which they cannot proceed, and which of course must limit both the views and feelings —must degrade unity and violate charity. It has been a favorite method of these writers to point to the defections of certain of the Presbyterial bodies on the Continent. Now

surely a candid search for truth might have found it nearer home. We find the tractarian writer, for example, on the other side of the Atlantic, making out his catena of testimonies in behalf of his doctrine, not merely of a standing or falling Church, but his very doctrine of the Church. He has most legitimately gone to the writings of those venerable men in whom, if at all, the doctrine is to be found, seeing they are, by the necessity of his theory, the divine representatives of it. He finds himself compelled to pass by the whole body of the bishops under which his Church was reformed, and by far the greater portion of them since, and the weightiest portion of them strongly protesting against his doctrine—and yet this writer is able to maintain that here and here only is that Church of God which is the bearer and witness of truth! That is to say, his doctrine of the Church is that of the divine indispensableness of the bishopric—the bishopric is the divine witness of the doctrine—and yet, of all the English bishops since the Reformation, certainly not more than one in fifty can be found who teach the doctrine which they were divinely constituted to teach! And then this very writer will point to France, Switzerland and Germany, and cry, "behold the fact,—in rejecting the bishop they denied the Church and are reaping the curse of schism in their heresies." Now assuredly if this man possessed the candor, the want of which he charges on others, he would see two things;—one, that the English bishopric has not been a true witness to the doctrine on which the Church, as he maintains, is founded; and the other, that the Church of Scotland, which he would also see to be the only fair instance of a Church working under a Presbyterial centre of unity, has been, at least equally with his own, an uniform witness of the truth. She is not indeed a witness-bearer of *his* peculiar doctrine, nor has she certainly held forth the truth in *his* peculiar style; but if he were a candid man then must he have acknowledged that the Church of Scotland has for two centuries been a more unvarying witness to the truths which she

holds as essential, than the Church of England has been to the truth which *he* holds to be essential. If the one has had seceders, the other has had its Hoadleys—if the one has had a particular period of moderation, as to her own saving doctrines, the other has had a life of moderation as to *his* saving doctrine, even from the day of Cranmer to the present excellent bishops of his Church.

A like disordering of vision is seen in the case of those who, in our land, have been carried away with this theory. The venerable bishops of Ohio and Virginia are no witnesses for this truth, yet they are equally bishops with those of Maryland or of New Jersey. Now how a man can continue to hold fast to a theory which necessitates that the bishop shall witness of his doctrine, every where and always,—while the fact is not so, but is oftener the contrary, it is hard for candor to see. Certainly if the high-church theory mean any thing besides words, it means that where the bishop is, there one and the same teaching is——and yet, as a matter of fact, the whole cast of teaching, the form of religion and piety resulting under the teaching of some of the American bishops is as different from that which comes out from the training of others, as the religion of the intelligent Puritan is from that of the pious Romanist. But here again, as in the other case, the American high-churchman will point to the sects as the English churchman pointed to the Socianism of the Continent. And yet here too is a like fair illustration at hand. We are ourselves no believers in sects, we are strong believers in governments and powers, and we believe that the true Presbyterian bodies of America have the same. It is simply manifest to the senses that the teaching of these bodies is at least as uniform as to what they hold to be true doctrine, as that of the Prelatic body is, and rather more so. The high-churchman's theory is worth nothing, because it has never yet actualized itself, and least of all is it doing so now. The argument of succession as evidence of true teaching might have been a valid and most useful argu-

ment in its day—it might be so now, had it continued to carry its authentication in itself;—but to say, at this age of the Church, I, the bishop, am the true Church for you, inasmuch as I am the divinely constituted channel and witness of catholic truth, and then find one bishop saying this and another that as catholic truth,—why it is dealing with a man as if he were a child. Whatever the bishop might have been in this respect, in the early ages of the Church, and we believe he was in Providence much for the times,—yet in the light of actual facts as now existing, we cannot see how the argument can ever again be of much practical use. It is simply a fact that the bishops of the world at this day, are no more a catholic one in their teachings, than the presbyters of the world are. However as this doctrine seems to have come with a helping force here and there to certain troubled intellects, able to receive its help without feeling its defectiveness, we will no longer quarrel with it for such, or for those who find themselves bound in conscience to hold it. The great objection we have to make to it has respect to its effect in reducing the glorious conception of unity to the boundaries of a technical horizon, and so hindering the progress of true catholicity. As such we cannot see how it differs from any other definition of the mere understanding. It is just as much so on the churchman's part as that which he seems to find on the puritan's part in defining another class of doctrines. And, inasmuch as it is such, it must produce division to the same degree in which it is held to be essential. Whenever a technical definition is made the test of catholic unity it must operate to limit and divide the Church. We mean that no dictum of uninspired logic can be made an indispensable element in the idea of catholic unity without producing division. We honor the Church of England, we bless the Chnrch of England, we heartily acknowledge and reverence her bishops as men chosen of God in their office to do a great work, nor would we have her constitution altered; but we should be sorry indeed to find ourselves

under the constraint of a theory which must deny the name of Church, that most glorious of all names under the saving Name, to all Christian people now living, who are not in communion with the pope, the patriarch, or the Church of England. The Church of England stands or falls with the other Churches of the Reformation. Our hope is in Him who can cause us all to stand, and who will cause us all to stand together some day. Only let us do what we can to get upon a ground of commutual understanding with each other. And it is for this reason that we must be permitted to make a further explanation. For ourselves we should be as sorry to believe that low-church religion is Episcopal religion, as that high-churchism is the true Episcopacy. We fear there are nearly as many Zwinglians in the low-church as there are in other denominations. As far as we have been able to see, the low-church style of the faith is equally unchurchly, unsacramental, with that which is to be found in other bodies; the same Arminian puritanism, or congregationalism, or whatever the thing be, has crept in and unchurched us all. It seems to us that our low-church Episcopal brethren have quite as much to do in order to get back to the true spirit of their Liturgy, as the high-church to get back to the true Episcopacy, or as the Presbyterian to get back to the full spirit of his confession. When that most blessed work and labor of love shall have been done by all, then we are assured it will appear how nigh we are together. May the good day make haste!

The Apostolic Church, which is the ground upon which we are to get together, assumed its accessible form for faith in the Apostles' Creed. Let us then all say the Creed. It is true that the Church of Rome, as well as portions of the Episcopal Church, make it mean too much, make the article of the Church to mean the pope, to involve the bishop, and others of the Reformed Churches do not, alas, say it at all, so that it has even become a strange sound to them and to their children. Still, as we do not believe that visible unity is to be altogether the result of a foregoing spir-

itual unity, but that the two are to proceed in virtue of a reciprocal working, even like as faith begets the sacrament and the sacrament begets faith, so do we believe that something is gained whenever the varying divisions of the Church fall upon the same usage, although each from its own point of view. Consent in the observation of the same Sabbath is assuredly something, and so would consent in the observation of the same fasts and festivals be an additional advantage. Consent in the regular use of the Lord's Prayer and of the Apostles' Creed would be a still farther advance. Let the Christian, such being the use in all Churches, go out on Sunday in order to find some assembly of saints, and whatever he might find, he would find something for himself, he would find a prayer and a creed, the mother-tongue of his own faith, and it would be his own fault if he did join in them.

But here now we feel instinctively that there can be little hope at this point, for we have struck upon a self-conscious process, and all the prejudices in which we have grown up are startled. There are Protestants to whom the altar service of the Roman churches is not idolatry, and who could thankfully say the Creed with those who there said it, but the number of such is very small; and as matters now are the Romanist and the high-churchman would almost seem to think of going into other places of worship. Let us see then if there are gleams of hope from the other quarter—the aesthetic, which is never a self-conscious process. What we have further to say on our subject will be, in reality, a somewhat prolonged examination of the question, Whether any light of hope is indicated by the fact that at this hour, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians are, as it were, unconsciously and unsuspectingly building churches mainly in the elements of true Christian Architecture? If those churches, in their architecture, are, as we believe they are, the embodied echo, as it were, of the catholic faith, then will they not tend unconsciously to reproduce the catholic forms of faith, and so

tend to bring us back to unity? We hope so. We can not understand how a congregational church could continue to deny governments under the continued influence of cathedral art, or how the Puritan Christian could so continue to close his ears to the liturgical resoundings of the mystical body, or how the churchman or the catholic shall continue to see a visible head under the continued influence of that grand art whose glory is that its unity is never represented to the sense, but ever indicated to the spirit. This much at least have we, as a good sign of hope, that with several of the great Christian bodies of our land, while it would seem for the present a vain task to persuade them to reintroduce the Apostles' Creed, as an integral part of their church service, they can without difficulty go on to build their church edifices according to that form of Christian art which was the true product of the creed. What we mean by saying that the Gothic church is the place, and as yet, the only sufficient place in which to say the creed, will appear further on.

In the mean time let us recapitulate the argument. The architectural argument, we have said—and whoever has well considered the history of Solomon's temple, what it was to the former covenant, how it stood to our Lord's body, what it experienced at his death, will feel that the argument has a hopeful meaning—clearly indicates that the thing at hand for the great sections of the Church, patriarch, pope, and reformer, to do in order to strive together unto unity, is for each to go back to the true Christian temple, the Pointed Cathedral, and so labor to get back together to the Apostolic Church. Full well do we know that each claim already to have it, and as fully do we know that neither has. The one has too much, the other too little; we hope that all have it essentially, but we know that, whatever of it we may have at heart, we all need to have our speech more truly set to the Apostolic tone. We as little believe that the reformer talks altogether as the Church of the Apostles talked, as we do that the Romanist and high-church-

man possess the true language. To the extreme reformer that language, when speaking of the Church, the sacraments, the communion of saints, is actually by itself as strange as the sound of the Creed, while on the lips of the extreme churchman, it is repeated either with the painful emphasis of a new found phrase, or else bandied with a freedom that exhausts it of its awfulness, even as some Christian people can wear the cross about their neck as a trinket of this world.

Nevertheless it is not to be denied that Episcopal religion has the chief advantage here, its phraseology, the forms and utterances of its daily faith, are more like the speech of the Apostolic Church, than are to be found among other Christians. Just what we mean here is this: the Apostles, for example, sometimes addressed believers as the holy, the sanctified, sometimes as the baptized, and a slight examination of the Epistles shows that such was the customary usage in the Apostolic Church. They never taught that the baptized were necessarily the sanctified, but their method of speaking takes it for granted that their faith is strong enough to receive, without alarm, their description either from the one side or from the other. We find it to be a matter of fact that the truly spiritual Episcopal Christian is able to endure the same. To the Roman Catholic this kind of language would be nearly unintelligible, because the sign of his sanctification is to him the ever present papacy. The extreme reformer could not stand the language without constant protest and parenthesis. To take a more familiar instance. In the matter of saying grace at meat; the Roman Christian makes the sign of an invisible cross over the table. It is not Apostolic, it is overwrought. The Puritan makes a particular prayer to the occasion. This is very good, the primitive Christian could do the same, but he also could do something different which the Puritan cannot, which would astonish his faith when done, and would really have no meaning to him. That is to say, the early Christian could sometimes use the

Gloria Patri at meat. Episcopal religion can do the same, naturally, easily, and satisfactorily, and in so doing, acts in perfect accordance with the spirit and the letter of Apostolic speech. For ourselves, we cannot but feel, after a careful comparison of the Episcopal Liturgy with the Epistles of the New Testament, on this point, of the full phraseology of faith and piety, that as it respects the work of unity, the other bodies of Christendom have more to do in moving towards them, than they towards others. It does appear to us, that in a most important sense, the Church of Cranmer is to be a great centre of unity. Not that Church as having the bishoprick, in which respect if there be argument at all, it lies with the bishop of Rome; but that Church as, in the good Providence of God, having preserved the Apostolic usage and phraseology of the practical Christian life. If there be any reality or force in the entire argument we are engaged in, then this work of the Episcopal Church is one for which, at some time, others of Christ's Churches shall rise up and call her blessed. And, O, if those of her bishops and writers who are so vainly seeking to make out of her what her constitution never contained, and so in combating other denominations, have found themselves upon ground where they can only maintain their position by an incessancy of outcry against Rome, which reveals to all who have watched it, the constant and felt uneasiness of their predicament—O if they would but fall back to the true dignity of their Providential place, and leave Rome and the sects to Christ, so should that Church have a vantage ground in the great work of charity that has been given to few of the Churches of Christ in any age. We are perfectly well aware of what we are here saying, and we are well aware that no man can, in these times, speak thus without being misunderstood, nevertheless truth is stronger than all, and it shall overcome. It is sufficient for our own conscience that we know that a man may, under any form of the Church which possesses all that the New Testament expressly gives, in perfect good faith seek

a return to the primitive form of religion without leaving his Church, unless his Church have placed some positive order in his way, which the Presbyterian Church has never done. It has not done it even in Scotland, although from political circumstances the divines of that Church did assume an unliturgic direction. It was not so with the English Presbyterians. To the greater number of those who composed the Westminster Assembly, the essential forms and usages, the whole pietistic method of expression, of the early Church, was the settled habit of their faith, as is plainly enough shown in the Confession of Faith, which has in reality a more decidedly churchly tone than the Episcopal Articles. Still less perhaps was it so with the Continental Presbyterian Churches; a remarkable verification of which we have in the fact that the Continental Presbyterians who fled to this country, have so generally become Episcopalians—not by accident, not for the sake of the bishoprick, for there was no such Episcopal Church here at the time, but because the liturgical form of religion in that Church was more consentaneous to their own faith, than they found the Presbyterian or Independent to be. We have besides another evidence to the sense that a Presbyterian Christian can, as well as any other man, legitimately draw back to his religious habits those portions of the primitive form and method which accident has robbed him of, in the fact that a distinct portion of the Presbyterian Church in our land is, as such seeking to do this very thing. The work which the German Reformed Church is here doing we do most humbly and thankfully recognize as the work of Divine Providence. We see here a Church which, so far as we can find to the contrary, is holding with only a surer steadfastness to the pure evangelic teachings of its standards, and at the same time seeking to carry out the full utterance of the Creed in these primitive forms and usages, which the Church has left as its natural utterances. It is thus doing what the New Testament does, when it prays for grace under the form of bread, when it helps the

sanctified under the form of water, when it gives thanks in the form of Trinity-worship; in a word, when it gives the sacrament as the reality to faith. This we take to be the the distinguishing characteristic of Calvinism. The doctrine of the decrees is not the distinctive characteristic of Calvinism. We believe Calvin's statement of that doctrine, we believe it to be more exhaustive of Holy Scripture than any other statement of it, and we have never seen any lowering of it that was not liable at a point to which it must be run, if it hold any election at all, to precisely the objections made against predestination. But this, we strongly repeat it, is not the peculiar doctrine of Calvin. The peculiar doctrine of the system of faith called Calvinistic, is that of the Lord Jesus Christ, the only Redeemer and Strength of men, *ever present in His ordinances, and especially present to faith in the Holy Supper.* We state this not as a paradox, we state it as a fact, which has presented itself from the beginning to the end of Calvin's works, life, and letters. And we further see that while this portion of the Presbyterian Church is returning to the liturgic method of faith and worship, it is increasing in Christian charity. It is receiving bad usage with a Christian spirit, and it is enlarging rather than narrowing its idea of the Church. In every way in which it has been tested, we behold marks of a Divine assistance. To our mind the example of the German Reformed Church, in this matter, is of immense meaning. If we have obtained any real truth in studying the questions of the Church and of the Divine life in the light of their aesthetic bearing, then a right return to the primitive forms of faith and religion, should humanize the man, enlarge his views, and render charitable his feelings, should increase his capability of worshipping together with any part of the Church of Christ, should bring more men into his idea of the Church than the conceptions of any human system can allow, and should bear patiently with the weaknesses, defects, excesses, and at last with the personal revilings of all. It means the same, in our view, whether we say that this is, under

grace, a *liturgic* work, or, an *aesthetic* work. It behooves us then to inquire carefully as to what is the truth, what is the fact, as it respects this aspect of our subject. What do we learn from the creations, constitutions, and word of our Lord? Is it according to His will that we shall seek to help a man to become a good man by calling in the aid of aesthetic culture? Under proper limitations, Yes. Our warrant is that our Maker so addresses us in nature, giving to sense the form of the idea that thus we may recognize the idea and acknowledge the Lord; that He has dealt with us after the same method in the communications of His grace, in the Church and in the sacraments. I am sure from my own constitution and from the works and word of God, that my very nature is preconfigured to this discipline, and I am doubly sure of it, when I find myself in the visible Church. When blindness shuts my eye from the form, when deafness closes my ear to the speech, when sickness keeps me from the assembly, and when death lays my senses for a season in the ground, I may be a good man apart from the manifest form, which is always for me, except as Providence prevent, the indispensable completion of the reality and the truth. The Lord has given me no right to feel that I am a Christian, remaining wilfully unbaptized, or that I am living by the Lord Jesus, remaining wilfully from the sacrament of his body and blood. And, of course, the contrary is true. If I am baptized into Christ, I have, through the Spirit, who witnesseth with the water, a good hope through faith that I am dead to sin. If I partake of the consecrated bread and wine, I have a like good hope through faith that I am one with Christ. And, again, albeit I may not have a prayerful spirit at the time, the good Master has given me a daily prayer which I may use and so get a prayerful spirit. I may not have a praising spirit, but it is my proper privilege to sing a song of praise. I am not in the full heart to do a charitable deed, but I can go and do it, and so get charity. Or, still again, my heart is burdened and my speech perplexed, not knowing what to say or to pray for as I ought—I can answer all by pray-

ing, "Thy will be done." Or, my heart is full of thankfulness to Christ for the abundance of his gifts in life, providence, and grace, and I want to say so to the Lord—where shall I begin, what shall I say? I will say, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord, glory be to Thee." In a word, we find two distinct kinds of provision made for men, alike in the world of nature and in the world of grace, the one is specific, the other is liturgic or aesthetic. The two are one, and the truth is one. The science of botany indicates truth, but the flower contains the truth. Whichever way we turn we find that to our faculties for truth and goodness, are exhibited those forms which are to the idea as the container to the contained. When I see the rainbow in the cloud I hear the voice of Jehovah saying to *me*, "Go on with your labors in hope, seed time and harvest shall duly come and return," and I hear this not in the way of explicit speech, but by seeing it in a form of unspeakable beauty which I could neither see nor feel, had I not an aesthetic, a liturgic, a sacramental nature within me.

Now then the Church, the Christian nation, has its Art, as well as the world, and far more powerful, because far more holy. The Christian nation has its art in sacred song. It has its hymns adapted to that capacity of sacred song. Let us see then which has the advantage, the present style or the apostolic, the didactic or the aesthetic. Here, for example, is a Methodist hymn book, an Episcopalian, a Lutheran, &c. They all contain some good hymns, hymns in which all good men ought to acknowledge the gifts of the Spirit to the Churches. But they all contain a great many, by far the largest number, which are not good hymns, except for private use, and that for the same reason that the private prayers of Brainard or Payson are not good prayers for the congregation. The early Church had such hymns also, but they have dropped out, as the most of ours will do, because the Church cannot, in her public capacity, assimilate them. There are a few of the hymns of the early Church, however, which have not dropped out, and especially two, the Morning Hymn of the Church, and the

Te Deum. Now when I examine that hymn, "Gloria in Excelsis," and compare it with Holy Scripture, and find that it seems most remarkably to have been cast in the same method in which those Scriptures give their forms for the feeling of worship, and that it actually is to my highest faith and holiest feelings incomparably more satisfactory than any or all the private hymns of all our hymn books, who shall tell me that I am not doing my soul good by acquiring the habit of using it? Or, again, when I find that the very pronouncing of the Apostles' Creed does sometimes stir my soul as with the sound of a trumpet, and always tends to bring me nigh to the mystical Body, who shall hinder me and my children from daily saying the Creed at our family altar that so we may feel that the Church of God is in our house? Should one answer, it is formalism; I reply, I am commanded daily to resort to the same kind of formalism in the Lord's Prayer, in the not neglecting to assemble with the saints, in the singing of praise in the congregation, and am addressed by the same as I walk to the church under the maternal sky of heaven and amidst the trees and grass and flowers of earth. If the reply should be, Our people are, in Providence, so trained to a specific and didactic method of devotion, that the Morning Hymn and the Creed would bewilder their faith, then I say, It behooves me to see that thing and to deal carefully with it, and not to fly in the face of Providence, and did I not see as clearly and as scripturally as I do that these primitive forms are far better than the present ones, I would accept that Providential condition as an imperative one. As it is, I believe it to be my duty to seek, in the spirit of Christian love and wisdom, to carry them back in these particulars to the early Church, and to the fuller method of the Sacred Scriptures. In so doing I should do what I call the work of aesthetic, or liturgic culture. It is properly called aesthetic, because it is that part of our nature which is addressed. The liturgic form and method of the Church is the Art of the Church. The reason why the Te Deum is worth for devotien more than all our hymn books with-

out it, is of a like nature with that which makes the Poem of Milton to be worth, for the imagination, more than all the poems that have been written since. I could not find the Church, or come to the Saviour, were I not a creature of sense, and the very thought is profanity, of what the Church and sacraments would be to me, being a creature of sense, had I not a faculty for faith, reason, imagination and sentiment.

We are well aware there are many pious and excellent minds which will not feel the reality of the above course of reasoning. To some all our words may seem like an empty beating of air. These will be of two kinds, to the one of whom express statements stand as the forms of truth. We might say to them, Now are you not then doing a like thing? You lay down in so many terms the doctrine, it may be, of the Lord's Supper, your faith is reposing upon that statement as the truth. To you the statement is the form which you are using precisely as I would use the divine Form itself, in which I think, I am the safest; for I say the truth of the sacrament is in the sacrament, and not otherwise than indicated in any doctrine of the sacrament, and I am sure I have of the Lord a nature which so accepts it. To another class, religion is not a matter of doctrine at all, but of emotion. Their faith will very much express itself in sacred song. The difference between their method and ours, except as they find themselves able to originate a new song with every fresh outburst of feeling, is that they use the liturgy of individual Christian poets, which is not a liturgy, while we would use the liturgy of the Church which is. We freely admit that there is, for the present, a certain strange churchly sound to our ears, in the early forms of the Church, a sound that is sometimes called Papistic, sometimes Episcopal, sometimes it is called Formalism. Let us request such a Christian objector to take the Apostles' Creed, and read, in connection with it, certain of St. Paul's expressions concerning the Church, as in the Epistles to Timothy, to the Ephesians, Colossians, &c. See if they be not within the same region. Or, if he has ever been in the

habit of attending the Episcopal service, I would ask him if a feeling has not come over him when the congregation have come to the Creed, at least of the same indescribable character of unseen grandeur as has been excited in his mind by the reading the inspired references to the mystical Body? Just at this point, we would arrest the present progress of our argument, to ask the same individual, if he has ever entered, say at the close of day, within a Gothic church, such as Trinity, in New York, or better still, St. Mark's, in Philadelphia, and whether the mere architecture of the building has not excited something of the same feeling—something that may be called a feeling of the Church? And furthermore, to ask him whether he ever found that feeling decidedly excited by any other kind of architecture, by the Grecian, for example, or by the Renaissance? It can easily be tested. Let any Christian man of any denomination of Christians pass from Trinity church in New York to St. Paul's, in the same city, or from St. Mark's, in Philadelphia, to the West Arch St. church, in the same city, and his aesthetic Christian instinct will attest to him at once which architecture means the Church.

We may now, upon a wider field and with a more general reference, ask ourselves again the question, Is aesthetic culture to be a part in the process through which the Christian family is to be brought back to unity? Is Christian Art to do some part in promoting true catholicity? And here again we must say, most probably, Yes. We have no right to say that the Lord sent the chosen nation into Egypt to the end they should receive the cultivation of Egyptian art, but we can safely say such was the effect. So that we find it a matter of fact that a part of the work of the preparation of that people for the Mosaic Law, was the influence of Egyptian art and civilization upon them. Here aesthetic culture, even that of a gentile nation, clearly appears as a forerunner of faith. It seems to us that no one who has noticed the number of Egyptian particulars in the ritual which the Lord of Moses enjoined upon his people, can resist the force of the argument. We see no other

way of explaining the fact. And then, in the next place, we find the imagination, the aesthetic man we mean, most forcefully addressed throughout the whole Ceremonial Law—so that aesthetic culture is made both the forerunner and the hand-maid of faith. We find, moreover, that as this Ritual was altered in the progress of the Theocracy, it was altered by adding to its splendor. Assuredly no religion ever possessed a more visibly glorious service than that of the Jews, in the days of Solomon; no religion ever more fully and more profoundly addressed man's aesthetic nature than did that of the old covenant, in type and song and liturgy; so that it is not easy to see how the unimaginative Jew could have lived up to the meaning or the grace of his religion. It is certain, however, that there were few of such, if the writings of the Old Testament be the criterion to judge by, and it is equally certain that under such a ritual there could have been but few of such. Taking the ancient covenant, then, into view, with its sacraments, temple, ritual, and kingly government, we surely find that in the Dispensation of grace it is the same Lord who has clothed the earth with beauty and whose Spirit garnisheth the heavens, and who hath given to men a nature therein to know His love and goodness.

If now we follow the course of history downwards we find the Divine Providence causing to be done over again on a catholic scale for the Church, that which Egypt was caused to do for Israel. The Grecian people stand, by the world's consent, the great national representative of the higher faculties of the natural man. They were manifestly a people in the hand of the Lord, to do their work in preparing the nations for the coming of Christ in the flesh. It is equally manifest, as it respects the character of their part in this work of preparation, that it was that of the education of the finer faculties. They were the high thinkers and the beautifying artists of the world. Their work was, in virtue of the nature of it, the world's contribution to the true work of the Harbinger of faith in turning the hearts of fathers and children towards each other. The

mechanical collecting of the nations was effected by Rome, but there could have been no real fusion had not Rome Hellenized the nations as she conquered them.

This work of collecting and humanizing (we use the word for the same reason that aesthetic studies used to be called humanity studies) the nations on the part of Greece and Rome, seems to be the heathen parallel of that preparative shadow of the true coming which was predicted among the holy nation by Malachi. The rebellious family of man must be brought into one before the Lord came, who was truly to make us one, that is in Himself through the Church. Now that this mission of Greece was a work, mainly done by means of aesthetic culture, no man can deny, unless he deny that there was ever a Greek nation, that the Roman conquerors carried everywhere that nation's art and letters, and that when this work was fully done, the Lord came. In one word, then, men were *civilized* in preparation for the Lord's coming, and it is very certain that no nation ever yet was civilized, except as the Fine Arts mainly did the work. If this does not show the principle, that aesthetic culture is a forerunner to faith, we do not see how history can show anything.

It only remains that we take the Christian Church, having thus received her contribution from the nations, and see if, as in the case of the former covenant, the aesthetic man is not still addressed, so that this kind of culture, here as there, shall remain both the foreruner and the handmaid of faith. Here truly the glory of the latter house transcends that of the former. Theirs were the glorious shadows, ours the glorious substance; theirs the invisible, ours the visible; theirs the typical, ours the real and the true. If the Old Testament, with its visible signs, furnished food for the sanctified imagination of man, much more does the New Covenant, whose manifested Lord is now seated in the heavens, and whose true sacraments, and whose sacramental Body we have upon earth.

We are not of the number of those who imagine that a man may be civilized, or educated, or in any other way

disciplined into faith. It is the gift of God, it is the creation of the life-giving Spirit. Nevertheless, as we see that doctrinal instruction can do much in the way of pointing a man towards faith, so also do we believe that aesthetic culture can do much in the same direction. It will not only help the Christian child to teach him the catechism, it will help him to take him to Church, and also to let him witness the sacrament, when he may be as yet too young to partake it. Nor is it otherwise than plainly to be observed, how, in a more general sense, the aesthetic element in education tends to humanize and render kindly the man. Selfishness, hard-heartedness, an apparent incapacity for the recognition of the obligations of brotherly love, the absence of any real feeling of the unity of mankind—all this, in the Christian state, comes of the over-cultivation of the understanding, which is by its very nature the faculty of isolation and division. It is quite possible to fill a child's head with the calculations of astronomy or the technicalities of geology, to a degree that shall blind his heart to the glory of the stars and of the earth. And so is it possible for the study of political philosophy to alter a man's conception of the human family to that of a herd. Let the education of the boy consist of mathematics and logic; or, to a proper amount of these, let there be added the classics and arts—the supposition involves the whole question at issue. We are no disparagers of science. It is doing a great and noble work for us, not only for the citizen, but for the man; it is most salutary, it furnishes the strengthening ribs of art, and hence it is that science has no meaning which finds not the end of its mission in the form of the truth. Here the synthetic process comes in, and then comes in the work of unity. The previous work was one of definition and division, necessary and helpful when done with a view to reconstruction, unmeaning and most injurious over the whole man, when not. That man will find it hard to have faith and hard to have love.

It is in virtue of man's higher powers, reason, conscience, imagination, that he can be a religious being. Had he not

this faculty for the infinite, the incomprehensible, the mystical, how could he have faith, how charity? It is, accordingly, notorious that a right aesthetic culture does tend to refine, ennoble, expand and make catholic the man. Through these wider powers he realizes a wider world, in the cultivation of feeling and sentiment, he grows humane and kindly. It will by no means of itself, any more than didactic instruction, make a man good or kindly, but it will help him, and if he have the heart, it will greatly help him. It helped David and Isaiah in the olden time—it helps little children now. Let the Christian mother by all means seek to indoctrinate her child into filial confidence, and yet one motherly look is worth the whole of it, and the child comes provided with a faculty, in virtue of which it recognizes the same. And what man ceases thus to recognize all truth, even the highest and holiest, to his life's end, except, indeed, as the hardness of his heart or the prejudices of his head, shut out the light from his spirit? What good man but has felt, under the kindly bowings of the unfathomed sky, or amidst the breathing balminess of a summer's morning, the goodness of God with a power and assurance beyond the compass of all other kind of speech? What good man but has felt the earth and air and all the world witness of the Sabbath, in a way beyond all power of articulate utterance? If the aesthetic man, as such, is not the recipient of truth, if sight and sound in nature, and sight and sound in the Church, are not religious to the good man, then there would seem to be a part of our nature, and that too, if judged by the grandeur and loveliness of its impressions, a most powerful part of our earthly nature, which would seem for the present to be in vain. And as by the culture of this truth feeling faculty I am assisted in rising above the "idols" of place and tribe, am enabled to feel a wider horizon than that of self, opinion, or country, and led by this expansion of my view to a wider sympathy with men; so also by the same am I assisted in my practical intercourse with them, even to trust their looks when their words do not assure me, to repose in their abil-

ity to the sudden demands of an emergency, because I feel the sure presence of a character which the sum total of their previous words and actions would by no means warrant. The ground upon which at last and most we all act in the intercourse of life and charity, is a sacramental (or aesthetic, or liturgic) ground; one man's countenance says a certain thing, another man's heart by the eye interprets it, and the conduct follows. The signs of love, grief, and sympathy, of penitence, forgiveness and reconciliation, are more forceful to all men than their words. The universal heart and reason of man are ever more confident in the exclamations of language, than in any other of its parts of speech. Not having this aesthetic nature, I do not see how I can be a man, a citizen, or a churchman. By it my spirit recognizes virtues, powers, and governments, and by it, through grace, am I kept from denying them.

To the conscientious Christian, who fears to carry this aesthetic part of his being to his Church, we can only say that the sacred Scriptures require him to carry it into his religion, and how he can dare to separate his religion from his Church we cannot comprehend. Those psalms of David which we all sing, and which are so full of worship, drawn from the sight and sound of nature, and which were composed to the tunings of his harp, and which were echoed back from choir to choir by the thousands of singers and instruments of the Temple service—how can the Christian take those psalms to the Church and not feel the appropriateness of taking along with them the responsive music to which they are in their very inspired construction set? Or if his conscience reject the instrument, then why not reject the great organ of nature, of whose notes they are so full, why not erase all nature references from them? Or how indeed can such a Christian sing at all? It would sound strangely should the preacher intone his sermon, but not more strange than singing ought to sound to the man who holds that nothing is for edification in the Christian Church, except the plain didactic service. How any metrical rhythm or musical sound can be made consistent with a theory of

articulate instruction that excludes the organ, it is hard to see. If our brethren of the Church of Scotland would stop to consider that the high-church intoning of the service is far more consistent with their theory than congregational singing is, it might help to startle them away from their persistent and most injurious fondness on this point. Or if, seeing it and adopting it, they should go back to the responsive chanting of the Psalms of David in their churches, then would we truly thank them, and forgive them much as to that which is past.

Again, we would ask the fearful Christian, Do you not feel that your religion often comes to you in this very way, nay, that it always so comes to you when it comes most strongly? We mean, does it not come by faith, which is beyond sense and apparent subjective reason? Are not your religious feelings most powerful when most above this world, when least immediately associated with your self-consciousness, or with any self-conscious process? In a word, are you not most religiously strong when most feeling the powers and realities of the world to come? And is it so that it is your duty to go to a church so naked to the imagination that you must fall back upon a purely self-conscious process in order to beget within you that very feeling which the Church is intended to excite? No architecture, no prescriptive service, no visible sign and witness of the communion of saints? The Apostle, in Hebrews, tells us to what mount we have come, and the Church of all ages proclaims it, and yet we, having not as yet, by architecture, not by ministerial robe, not by creed, response, amen, or liturgy, alas, not even by the Lord's Prayer, or by any other visible sign, except on Communion-day, scarcely a form to invite and help forward our faith to the recognition of the Church; none at least which we use as such, none sufficient to witness and enforce its own use. Not so did the Apostle set in order the things for which Timothy awaited his coming in the Church, the Pillar of the truth.

We are well enough aware that such a statement of the

items of our deficiencies, and the ground on which such statement is made, would startle many. It is not spiritual religion. We reply it is spiritual religion. It is not the Reformed faith, we reply it is the Reformed faith. We could by a mere catena of quotations from the general body of the Reformed symbols, and abundantly from the Westminster Confession of Faith, and from the ordinary sermons of the men who composed it, from the Cripplegate Lectures, for example, without any unfairness, produce language on the Sacraments, baptismal, eucharistic, and ministerial phraseology and usage, which would as much startle the prevalent congregationalism of our Presbyterian Church, as can be fairly construed from any thing we have said in the course of the present discussion. Let two instances from our most high and noble Confession (and the more we study it the more high and noble shall we find it) suffice; the ninth chapter of the Directory, and the 167th question of the Larger Catechism. To which of our congregations has "*the grace of baptism*" come to be a phrase at all, except as it has come in as the adopted stigma of an outside heresy? Which of our Sunday schools, which of our churches show that the children of the Church are really trained in the Apostles' Creed? Is it possible for candor to take the Assembly's Confession and say that the Presbyterian Church of America is really acting and speaking in all respects according to its style and usage? And are not these respects among the most important of all to the Church, as the visible Pillar of truth, seeing they have respect to the sacramental phraseology and usage of faith? Still, upon the ground of the logical mind, we are all but frail and partial truth-seers; even the express word of the Confession will mean to us what we have predetermined. I see a proper sacramental and liturgic element in the Confession. I own that I wish to see it—you see it not. I perceive that you do not wish to see it—where then is our hope of unity?

It lies in a ground above reason, it lies in faith. Where then is the working process of the corresponding region?

Our hope and trust is that it resides in religious Art—that of a silent, unsuspected, homogenous working, which doctrinal discussion can never be till we are perfect, and then there shall be no place for it. We behold a Church containing within its own bosom far greater differences of doctrinal expression than exist among ourselves, and yet that Church is powerfully held to unity by its religious Art, its noble and most scripturally "excellent and beautiful" Liturgy. The Liturgy which holds that Church in one, though its strongest Baptismal phraseology is an authentic Presbyterian insertion, would, the most incipient direct attempt towards it, at present fearfully harass our Church. We cannot get back our inheritance by special suit. It must work its way in equity. Let us recover the feeling of the Church, sacraments, and order (ministry) which are in our Standards, and so will the Liturgy make known its day. Christian Architecture contains that feeling, our hope is that it will help to enforce it. If our views of Art are true, it will. Few Presbyterian Church-sessions would consent, upon this ground, to build a Gothic church; nevertheless we are, some how, beginning to articulate in Gothic; our hope is that the Gothic will begin to articulate in us, so that at last we shall come to the full speech of the aesthetic Church, which is the glorious symbol, organ, and Liturgy of the Cruciform Duomo, the visible house of the Lord for the earthly man in Christ.

We promised to show how the Gothic Architecture is the mystic symbol of the Church. We cannot do it. We must get the pointed Cathedral, and no man shall need the exposition. However, Has any one chanced to attend the Cathedral Service? If not, have you read descriptions of it by those who have? Letters of our countrymen traveling in England furnish us with many such—and the impression seems ever to be one and the same. They will have very different views as to the government, society, and matters and things in general, but here there is a remarkable agreement. There must be something permanent here, something unfluctuating, veritable, and real. Intelligent

Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist clergymen, tell us in nearly identical terms of the deep solemnity of the service, and of the wonderful power with which it took hold of their deepest religious feelings. Now we hold that our language contains a single word which is adequate more than any other to indicate the character of the state of mind thus excited; it is best described by saying, "the service transported me into the region of holy mystery." The principles of this world were fallen, and the powers of the world to come became a presence to the worshipper's faith, became so through the liturgic religious sense abiding in every child of Adam. In that Cathedral *were* the angels and the saints of old, and all that invisible congregation of which the Apostle speaks.

We may, having witnessed the service, assist the mind in reproducing the feeling, or not having witnessed it, may help the mind to a realizing of the description, in some such way as that already recommended in a previous part of our discussion; by recalling the state of feeling resulting from the contemplation of the Gospel, or of some part of the Gospel, in its light of the mystery of godliness. The feeling will be excited by reflection upon the inspired descriptions of the Church, by thoughts of the heavenly powers and hierarchies, by continued meditation on the "Communion of Saints." In favorable states of mind and heart we will experience it upon meeting the single phrase "the Holy Catholic Church," but still more powerfully feel it by pronouncing the creed at such a time, or by overhearing a child saying it. Those gloriously awful words seem to come to our inner sense as the one voice of the innumerable Host, the countless generations, the unseen, yet present Body of the Church, repeating even as the all-conquering undertone of the boundless and ever-living flow of mighty waters, "I believe in God." There is a sound to the words of the Creed that is contained in no other language of men. When said together in the Church, it is said even with a tone which no other part of the Liturgy has begotten for itself. You may explain it as you choose;

that it is because so many millions of believing men, women, and children have for so many generations been saying these words; that it is because the words are so simple and the things contained so unspeakably grand and glorious—we do not, however, accept any explanation. What we say is that it is a fact, that the pronouncing of the Creed does at times produce the state of feeling of which we are speaking, a state of feeling which our language describes by no other word except that of mystical.

And here we say that the same feeling, as to the character of it, is excited in the heart of the Christian man by the Cathedral itself. And this is our meaning when saying that the Cathedral embodies the Creed, that it is the place in which to say the Creed, the place which shall echo and rëecho its authentic amen. And herein it is the place and symbol of the Catholic Church. The feeling with which you find yourself in the midst of the true Christian Architecture, is the one paramount feeling of the holy and saving mystery of the Faith. It is exhibited by no other Architecture. It is approached in the Byzantine, it is nearly overcome in the later Gothic, it is not only lost, but thrice dead in the this-world stare of the carnal Renaissance. You may object that the feeling is not in the thing, that we put it there. Still our answer is, The Cathedral was built by the Church. But if it is *not* in it, then the love that the child has felt in its mother's voice, is not in it; the godly sorrow which you have seen in the face of the poor penitent in your congregation, is not in it; the goodness of the Father, which the Psalmist encourages us to find in earth and sky, is not in them. And, in fine, I ask, What *is* the thing that you yourself do feel under the Gothic nave? Seeing you subjectively deny it, of course *you* cannot subjectively make it, and hence one of the most overpowering feelings you ever had on earth is a nonentity!

As it respects the feeling of the Church, excited by Cathedral Art, it is easy enough to make out a private explanation of the modus operandi; as to which we have to say

that here, as in the instance of the Creed, and as in the interpretation of such mystic incidents as the woman in the Gospel touching our Saviour's garments, the anointing the eyes of the blindman with clay and spittle, the breathing upon the Apostles before the ascension—every one has a right to his own interpretation; the thing which is of importance, is the continued acknowledgment of the mystic nature of the facts. Had this rule been kept in mind, the modern exegesis would have been saved from some of its distressing, in certain cases most profane, interpretations. In the case of the Cathedral, as indeed in the case of every mystic fact, all men feel the thing; the rationalist even, who is vexing the heart of faith with his unholy inquisitiveness near the very Cross, must, if he have a heart, at some moment have felt the mystic holiness and awfulness of that which followed the piercing of our Saviour's side. If his explanation deny the mystery, let him keep it to himself; there yet may be warmth enough in his heart to neutralize the dreary poison of his mind.

That which we can say, then, of Christian Architecture, is, that it is, according to its own way, a Form of mystery addressed to the mystical sense of the Christian believer. Its effectiveness, as such, is *not* due to its cruciform plan, though that is doubtless a part of it. It is a part of it inasmuch as this form lies at the foundation of the faith, and with this form the faith finishes. The Christian child takes up the Cross at the commencement of its life, and the Christian man is found holding it toward the Lord, as he is departing. So the Cathedral is founded in the Cross, and bears the Cross everywhere, not always specifically, yet always contains it, and finishes in the Cross at last. Upon mere abstract grounds, also, is the cruciform plan an integral element of the style, inasmuch as this religious arrangement so immeasurably adds to the artistic vastness, and the linear power of the interior. Nor is it due to the pointed arch, though this too is assuredly a part of it, both as that form cöoperates with the universally aspiring character of the style; as well as in the deeper sense, that at

that arch-point there is ever brooding a characteristic Gothic expressiveness, by reason apparently of causes too ultimate to be approached, except in a treatise which should discuss the difficult subject of linear phenomena in some of its most abstruse bearings. He that can tell us how it is that the base-line of the human figure, which is a geometric right line, can take on the myriad grace and beauty of the endless flow of line which clothes the body, and yet itself never be absent from the whole man, never seen as a right line and yet always present as such, in the strength, the bearing, and the equilibrium of the system, producing an immediate sense of distortion the moment that equilibrium is violated;—or that can tell us how it is that beneath the arch-way of the human brow, or in the outline of the facial angle, resides an entity of expression which is recognized and felt by every man and by every age of man —even he may tell us how it is that the converging lines of the pointed arch bear upward and deposit a certain entity of expression at the arch-point, which is different in character from that made by two converging right lines, and the like of which is found no where so much as indicated throughout the course of the circular arch. Doubtless the final meeting of those high curves in the point of the true Cathedral arch, makes a churchly spot, makes a place at which dwells somewhat of the power of this great mystic fact, and that is all we have to say about it.

So neither is the full rounding of the mystic phenomenon of Cathedral Art, made out in the deep and dark channellings of the piers and arches, where the endowed and haunted atmosphere of the place finds a local habitation; nor yet in the darkening of the light, which helps to make the whole interior space a consenting presence filled with the one same spirit; these doubtless also constitute a part in the sum total of the effect. The fact is here. It remains for all Christian men. Stand beneath the nave arches of the Christian Cathedral, and your heart attests that you are in the very place of worship. Here is somewhat that is worshipping with you and for you. Here is

the manifest creation, yea, here is the one body bowing the knee to Christ. Here is the visible organ of the invisible Choir, whose notes are heard in being seen. Here you feel the inspired descriptions of the Church. Here you can indeed say the Creed. Here, in a word, with a powerfulness not elsewhere often felt, do you seem to realize in your heart and spirit the meaning of that vast word, the Church. Here, if you wish further to revolve the feeling, here you behold the Catholic faith in the manifest light of the great mystery of godliness, "though still uttered in words so vast to the sense that we catch but the shadow of their grandeur and are overwhelmed by that."

The most obvious objection to the argument for the spiritual-real Presence, or which is of course the same thing, the spiritual-real unity of the militant Church, as inferred from the fact of the resulting invisible unity of Cathedral Art, is that that very Cathedral was itself wrought out by the militant Church as constituted under a visible representative of unity. Our reply to this is, that such a constitution was necessary both for the time and for the work itself. Had it been intended that that visible sign of unity should be a permanent order, then would the piers and the arches and the ceiling of the great building have continued in the solid. The Byzantine would never have taken on the spiritual glory of the Pointed Cathedral. The architectural answer, therefore, to the objection does but bring out the greater force of the architectural argument. The Church, the true Church, the Church that was blessing the nations *is* the identical Church that developed the Cathedral, and that Church at the period when the work was done, was constituted under a visible executive head and representative of unity. We find no difficulty in acknowledging it as the Lord's doing, any more than we have in seeing the hand of Providence in the centralizing of the old covenant under the Theocratic King. We should feel sorry to have any difficulty in recognizing the Church that completed the Cathedral as the true Church of Christ, and for the same reason, we do as clearly see and feel that when

that work of the ages was done, when the Church had at last uttered herself in a form of Art which gives the grandest conception of all earthly things to the Christian man for his creed, which constrains him to feel the force of heavenly things by looking away from all earthly things—then am I sure that the work of the central executive is done. The old Roman bishopric we reverence as the elect instrument of Divine Providence in guiding the Church through the great work of its aesthetic evolution, and had the bishop of Rome handed over that Cathedral, into which it was his appointed work to lead the nations, we would reverence him. Under the sanctions of this Christian Art the protestant will meet him still, and will listen to his words in unison with all the equal rulers and pastors of the Lord's flock, together holding the Head, from which all the Body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God. But for the protestant to yield any acknowledgment of that bishopric as a divine centre of unity which has degraded the invisible majesty of Christian Art into the Heathenish worldliness of a Roman-Greek Italian palace,—we, in the light of our subject, cannot see how it is possible without danger of a denial of the faith. There can be little hope in this quarter till the pope gets out of St. Peters.

The encouraging import of our subject as it respects the restoration of unity, lies in the fact of the organic, ever-germinating progress of the aesthetic man. Correct views of the Sacraments will bring back the Creed, the Creed will bring the Church, and the Church will find the Cathedral. May we not also hope that Cathedral Art will make known the Creed and Liturgy to those who are now beginning to use it without them?

W. A. D.

ART. IV.—THE FIRST LITURGY FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER IN THE REFORMED CHURCH.

Order of administration for the Lord's Supper, in remembering or giving thanks to Christ, as it was practised in Zurich in the year, as we count, MDXXV.

It may be interesting to the readers of the Review to see the form which was used for the celebration of the Holy Supper in Zurich, and throughout Reformed Switzerland, at the very beginning of the Reformation. The form we translate was "printed in Zurich by Christophorum Froschouer on the 6th day of April, 1525," and is evidently the first one ever used in the Reformed Church. It is preceded by an introduction and a preface, in the first of which Christians are congratulated on account of the disappearance of error in the Church, and in view of the restoration of Christian worship to its purity and simplicity; and in the second, a number of directions are given in regard to the proper celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper:

After the title the introduction is as follows:

"Christ, Matth. xi: 28:

Come unto me, all ye that labor, and are heavy laden, and I will give ye rest.

We greet all true believers who are devoted to the word of God in Zurich, and all Pastors, and wish unto them grace and peace from God.

After a long season of error and darkness, dearly beloved, we rejoice in the true way and the true light, which God our heavenly Father, through his grace, has opened unto us; which mercy we esteem the more, and receive and embrace with greater desire, as the error has been dangerous and injurious to us. Though numberless errors have hitherto prevailed to the injury of faith and love, yet we think not the least one has been the misuse of the Holy Supper. This, after a long captivity, like as the Passover among the children of Israel in the days of the kings

Hezekiah and Josiah, we have, as we hope, by the help of God, reconquered and restored to its proper use. This has been done at least so far as pertains to the substance of the sacrament itself. In regard to the ceremonies that accompany it, what we have done may perhaps be regarded by some as too much, and by others as too little. In this, however, every congregation is free to enjoy its own opinion; for in regard to this point we will not dispute with any. For what injuries and defections from God have till now grown out of many of these ceremonies all believers no doubt well understand. For this reason we have thought it good, in the use of the Holy Supper, to prescribe to our people as few ceremonies and as little church pomp as possible, so that the old error may not in time creep in again. The Holy Supper is itself a ceremony—though one instituted by Christ Himself—which is sufficient. Still, in order that the ordinance may not be celebrated in a way too bleak and bare, and that something may be yielded to human weakness, we have as in this form, accompanied its celebration with such ceremonies as we believe to be suited in some measure, to excite devotion, and prepare the heart in a spiritual way to remember the death of Christ, to increase faith and brotherly love, to promote holiness of life, and to subdue vice in the hearts and lives of men. In so doing, however, it has not been our design to set aside for other congregations any such ceremonies as have perhaps been promotive of devotion among them, such as singing and some others of the same nature; for we entertain the hope that all pastors in all places are sincerely concerned in every way to build up God's people and to win many to his service. Since this remembrance of the passion of Christ, and this thanksgiving for his death is to be a communion for Christians, and is to follow an innocent and pious course of life, we have also directed, in accordance with the divine will, that all who by an improper mode of life mock and pollute it, be excluded from its participation. The way, however, in which this is to be done—since time fails us to do it now—will hereafter be presented in a little book by itself. The grace of Christ be with you all!"

Then follows what is called (Ein Vorred)

"A PREFACE.

Since it has been shown from God's word that for a long time the Lord's Supper has been misused, it will be necessary to separate from it every thing that does not agree with the divine word. And since this remembering is a thanksgiving and a rejoicing before Almighty God for the act of goodness which He has shown towards us through His Son, who in this festival repast or eucharist doth appear, and show to those who believe that they are redeemed by the death and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ—on Maunday Thursday the youngest of those among the people who are believers and have come to the knowledge of God and His word, and who desire to celebrate this Eucharist or Supper, shall come into the level space between the choir and the passage, the males on the right and the females on the left hand; the rest shall take their places under the arch, on the galleries and in other places. When the sermon is over,—bread and wine in their natural state,* having previously been placed upon a table in the space between the choir and the passage—the mode and manner of celebrating this act of the remembrance of Christ, as He himself has instituted it, shall be rehearsed with open, intelligible, German words (as in the manner following). Then those properly set apart to the holy office shall bear the bread, in broad wooden plates from one seat to another and so permit each one with his own hand to break off a piece, or mouthful, and eat it. The wine shall be borne around in the same way; so that no one in partaking need move from his place.† When this has been done praise and thanksgivings shall be given to God with public words,

* "Ungeheblet brot und wyn," &c. That is these elements shall not be specially prepared by any change, or mixture of other things with them; but shall be the same in kind as they are in common use.

† Bullinger informs us that the eucharist was celebrated through the whole country in the same way as in the town of Zurich, "except that in many places the sacrament is not carried around in the church—because there is a scarcity in officers to attend to this—but the people go up to the Lord's table. In other respects it is every where one and the same." See note in Codex Liturg. by Herm. Adalb. Daniel. Tom. III. p. 145, 146.

and with a loud intelligible voice; and at the close all the people and the congregation shall say: "Amen."

On Good Friday the middle aged shall come into the same place above-mentioned to commune, and the Eucharistic services shall be conducted in the same way, but the men and women shall be separate as already directed. On Easter the aged shall commune in the same way. The plates and cups are of wood so that the old pomp may not return again. This order, as far as it shall meet the approbation of our churches, we shall follow four times a year, namely, at Easter, Whitsuntide, in Autumn, and at Christmas."

Here follows the form or order for celebrating the Holy Eucharist, of which we here present a literal translation.

LORD'S SUPPER.

(Zurich, 1525.)

[The minister turning towards the congregation, while all stand, says the following:]

PRAYER.

O Almighty and eternal God, whom all creatures honor, worship, and praise as their Creator and Father: grant that we—poor sinners—may fulfil, with true sincerity, faith and gratitude, what thine only begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, has commanded all believers to do in remembrance of His death: through the same Lord Jesus Christ thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost one God throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

[Then the minister shall say:]

What will now be read is recorded in the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, 11: 20–30. "When ye come together, therefore, &c.

[The minister and the congregation shall say:]

God be praised.

[Now the minister and people shall speak the following song of praise:]

Minister—Glory to God in the highest.

Men—And on earth peace.

Women—Good will towards men.

Men—We praise Thee, we bless Thee.

Women—We worship Thee, we glorify Thee.

Men—We give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

Women—O Lord, the only begotten Son, JESUS CHRIST.

Men—O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that taketh away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Women—Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Men—Thou that takest away the sins of the world,

Women—Hear our prayer.

Men—Thou that sittest on the right hand of God the Father,

Women—Have mercy upon us.

Men—For thou only art holy.

Women—Thou only art the Lord.

Men—Thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father.

Men and Women—Amen.

[Now the minister shall say:]

The Lord be with you.

People—And with thy Spirit.

[Then shall the minister say:]

That which will now be read is recorded in the Gospel of John, 6: 47–64.

People—The Lord be praised.

Minister—Verily, verily, I say unto you, &c., &c.

[Then the minister shall kiss the book, and say:]

For this let the name of the Lord be praised, who according to His most Holy Word, forgiveth all our sins.

People—Amen.

[Then shall the minister begin:]

I believe in God,

Men—The Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.

Women—And in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son, our Lord;

Men—Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost,

Women—Born of the Virgin Mary,

Men—Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried;

Women—He descended into Hell;

Men—The third day he rose from the dead;

Women—He ascended into heaven,

Men—And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty;

Women—From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

Men—I believe in the Holy Ghost;

Women—The Holy Catholic Church;

Men—The communion of Saints;

Women—The forgiveness of sins;

Men—The resurrection of the body,

Women—And the life everlasting.

Men and *Women*—Amen.

[Then the minister shall say:]

Now, dearly beloved, let us according to the command and institution of our Lord Jesus Christ eat of this bread and drink of this cup, which he has commanded us so to use in remembrance of Him that we may bless and give thanks unto him because he has suffered death for us, and shed his blood for the remission of our sins. Therefore let every one ask himself, according to the words of Paul, what comfort, faith and assurance he has in the Lord Jesus Christ: so that no one may call himself a believer who is not such in truth, and thus become guilty of the body and blood of Christ; also that no one may sin against the Christian Church, which is the Body of Christ. Thus let us kneel down and pray:

Minister—Our Father who art in heaven, &c.

People—Amen.

[Then the minister shall farther pray, saying:]

O Lord, Almighty God, who through Thy Spirit, hast made us one body in the unity of the faith: which body Thou hast commanded to give praise and thanks unto The

for thy good and free grace, in giving thine only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ for our sins to suffer death: grant that we may worship Thee in sincerity, that we may not by hypocrisy or falsehood offend against the truth. Grant also that we may live in such innocence as becomes Thy body and Thy children, so that the unbelieving may also learn to honor Thy name. Lord protect us, that no love of life may weaken our love to Thee. Lord increase always our faith and our confidence in Thee, who livest and reignest God forever and ever. Amen.

[Then the minister shall say:]

The Lord Jesus, the same night, &c. 1 Cor. 11: 23–27.

[Here the elements are distributed. After all have partaken, the congregation shall return thanks, after the example of Christ, using the Cxiii Psalm. The minister shall begin thus:]

Minister—Praise ye the Lord. Praise, O ye servants of the Lord, praise the name of the Lord.

Men—Blessed be the name of the Lord from this time forth and forever more.

Women—From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, the Lord's name is to be praised.

Men—The Lord is high above all nations, and his glory above the heavens.

Women—Who is like unto the Lord our God, who dwelleth on high; who humbleth himself to behold the things that are in heaven and in earth.

Men—He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy that are fallen.

Women—Praise ye the Lord.

Men—Blessed be the name of the Lord from this time forth and forevermore.

[Then the minister shall say:]

Lord, we give thanks unto Thee for all Thy gifts and mercies, who livest and reignest, God blessed for ever.

People—Amen.

Minister—Depart in peace.

Lancaster, Pa. H. H.

Art. IV.—HUGH MILLER AS A GEOLOGIST.

The Testimony of the Rocks; or *Geology in its Bearings on the Two Theologies, Natural and Revealed.* By Hugh Miller. Author of "Old Red Sandstone," &c. With Memorials of the Death and Character of the Author. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1857.

The Footprints of the Creator; or *The Asterolepis of Stromness.* By Hugh Miller. Author of "Old Red Sandstone," &c. With a Memoir of the Author by Louis Agassiz. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1856.

The Old Red Sandstone; or *New Walks in an Old Field* By Hugh Miller. Author of "Footprints," &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851.

First Impressions of England and its People. By Hugh Miller. Author of "Footprints," &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1857.

The Bible and Astronomy; *An Exposition of the Biblical Cosmology and its Relations to Natural Science.* By John Henry Kurtz, D. D., Professor of Church History in the University of Dorpat, &c. Translated by J. D. Simonton. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1857.

The Six Days of Creation; or *The Scriptural Cosmology with the Ancient Idea of Time-Worlds in distinction from Worlds in Space.* By Tayler Lewis, L.L. D., Prof. of Greek in Union College. Schenectady: G. Y. Van Debogert. 1855.

The Bible and Science; or *The World-Problem.* By Tayler Lewis, L.L. D, Prof. of Greek in Union College. Schenectady: G. Y. Van Debogert. 1856.

The Theological and Literary Journal. Edited by David N. Lord. No. XXXVII, July, 1857. page 97, Art. III. "Miller's Bearing of Geology on Natural and Revealed Religion."

Notice of Some Remarks by the late Mr. Hugh Miller. Author of the "Testimony of the Rocks," &c. By William Parker Foulke, Esq. Philadelphia: 1857.

It is exceedingly interesting to observe the order in which the sciences have claimed the attention of mankind. Earliest of all, in its beginnings, is astronomy, the objects of

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In the present article we confine ourselves to the history and results of Mr. Miller's scientific pursuits,—having in a former article, page 286, of the present volume, endeavored to unfold his personal life-history. Wishing to be fully understood by the general reader, we shall avoid as far as possible the use of scientific terms. In some cases their use is unavoidable.

which were *farthest off* from the denizens of earth. Men began at the periphery of their vision. Next came the *exact* and the *abstract* sciences, the sciences mathematical and metaphysical,—the former having for their objects the relations of magnitude, form and number, and the latter the occult laws of thought, and those entities, relations and phenomena of being of which the mind takes cognizance. Men still occupied themselves with what was either relatively far off, or deep within them. The things their feet trod on, and their hands handled, and their lungs breathed, and their eyes saw immediately around them were latest in claiming their thoughtful regard. What are now termed the *natural sciences* come last upon the stage, and amongst the latest of all appears Geology, the science of the earth. The metaphysics of Aristotle roused and stimulated the human mind for ages, whilst his physics fell almost still-born. We are told indeed that Solomon "spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes." This indeed would seem to describe a Linneus or Cuvier come before his time. But even if this knowledge was detailed and classified, which probably it was not, it appears to stand isolated and fruitless in Jewish history. We have no reason to believe that any such development and classification of the natural sciences as the last two hundred years have produced, ever took place before in our world's history.

And yet when we look at particular cases it is difficult to understand why these sciences should not have taken root in the mind of the race sooner,—unless we attribute it, along with a kindred class of facts, to those great, specific, dominant ideas which rule each their ages. For instance, it is difficult to understand for aught that Hugh Miller received in the way of aid from the scientific achievements of the age, why a similar man might not have arisen a thousand or three thousand years sooner. There were stone-masons then; they worked in quarries amid strata and

water-worn boulders, and the blows of their hammers laid open the well marked fossils, and why should the men like Mr. Miller, who pause to observe, and reflect, and interrogate, and classify the results of their observations, and record their reflections, and answer their own interrogatories, be reserved for the nineteeth century? The question is easily asked and the fact easily stated,—the answer would involve a wider reach of philosophy than we can now pause to attempt.

And it would seem to be widely removed from the anticipations of former ages, that that science which refers particularly to the structure of the earth, which all the generations of men have trodden—the high-soaring minds among them treading it with up-turned gaze as something base and ignoble—and with whose soil they have mingled their dust,—should prove amongst the most sublime, and far-reaching and wonder-inspiring in its inferences, and reasonings, and deductions, of all its kindred sciences. The youngest sister, in these respects, yields nothing even to that eldest sister, who now in her maturity turns her gigantic telescopes toward the starry empyrean. The conceptions of vastness in time, which the geologic ages afford us, are equalled only by the conceptions of vastness in space which are given to our minds by the astronomic parallaxes. And the diversified and wonderful forms of the creative agency sepultured in the long hidden and more than royal mausoleums of our own planet, suggest to our minds the possible diversity and magnificence of the forms of life distributed over that universe whereof astronomy has as yet failed to find the boundaries.

Another note-worthy peculiarity in the progress of science, is that almost every new advance in the path of discovery has been regarded with suspicion and alarm by many among the believers in, and expounders of, revealed religion. Assuming a given interpretation of the Scriptures to be a fixed and known quantity, their particular solution of the great problem of Revelation has been disturbed and thrown into confusion by every new fact of

science which conflicted with that interpretation. And foolishly insisting that every question, astronomical, geographical, or geological, must be settled *biblically*, they have branded with the stigma of infidelity all those who refused to determine the teachings of science by this test. And perhaps many among the sons of science, accepting from the theologians their interpretation as the only true one, have been driven thus into real unbelief of a written revelation. Every new fact of science which infringed upon a traditional understanding of the Scriptures has had to struggle up to its place among recognized facts, amid the strife and violence of heated and imbittered controversy, and has gained at last its place among recognized facts only by the inexorable force of those great laws which control human belief. Furthermore, it has so turned out thus far, that these facts of science, after commanding and securing recognition as such, have enlarged our field of view of the Divine character and doings, and left unharmed the evidences of Revealed Religion. They have modified interpretation, they have not vitiated inspiration. The needle will always adjust itself to its true meridian though the dial-plate of the compass may be shifted.

Owing to the "Bible and Science" controversy through which Geology has been called to pass, Hugh Miller, as a Geologist, appears before us in two aspects: first, as a scientific man simply, and second, as a mediator between the contending parties, endeavoring so to adjust the principles of interpretation and the findings of Geology, as that the contestants can come honestly and amicably together —an office for which he was admirably fitted by his thorough scientific, and scarcely less thorough theological acquirements. His best scientific efforts have been put forth to remove the apparent quarrel between Geology and the Scriptures, and to bring about an adjustment between the new science and the old belief. Of his thoroughly earnest and enlightened Christian spirit no reader of his works can doubt, and his readiness honestly and fearlessly to avow any fact, which his science finds to be a fact, regardless of

consequences, no scientific man will be disposed to question. He enjoyed largely the confidence of the best men in both spheres, scientific and theological.

Under the two aspects just referred to, and in the order mentioned, we shall view him in this article.

His scientific education, as we have already intimated, was strictly self-developed. He was led to these pursuits apparently by the force of a strong native instinct. Long before he entered on his calling as a stone-mason, whilst he was playing truant from the village dominie's school, or in the leisure hours of his evenings whilst his schoolmates were playing marbles or watching cock-fights, he was rambling about, hammer in hand, filling his pockets with specimens of shells and minerals. On the beach and hill of Cromarty he learned his first lessons. An antique-fashioned hammer "of which the temper was excellent and the haft firmly set," which had belonged to his buccaneering ancestor, old John Feddes, more than a hundred years before, was his constant companion in his daily walks, and many a sturdy blow he dealt with it on the coarse granite, laying open sheets of beautiful black mica, and many were the handsome crystals of garnet he found embedded in mica schist, which he was sure were identical with the "precious stones" set in his mother's gold brooch. Some things he found fired his imagination. In iron pyrites he thought he had found, if not gold, at least the "mother" of it, and in some fine cubes of galena he thought he saw excellent promise of silver, and he lay down at night to dream of Aladdin palaces, and more than baronial riches. In a short time he learned to distinguish by sight, though not of course by name, the porphyries, granites, gniesses, quartz-rocks, clay-slates, and mica-schists, which every where strewed the beach. These he designated by numerals, and their compounds by the respective numerals written as fractions. As he extended his researches he found out a deep ravine in a morass, some half-mile from his native town, in which, after much digging and bemiring himself, he found at the distance of many feet under the soil hazle-

nuts black as jet, and twigs and leaves of oak, beach, and hazle, and at length, on one happy morning, a huge fragment of an extraordinary-looking deer's horn, which uncle James pronounced to belong "to no deer that now lives in this country." Thus he was getting on.

One of his reasons for choosing the trade of a mason was that it would enable him to explore much, and hunt up curious specimens of stones and minerals. And from the first day of his work as an apprentice, his geological observations began, and were carried forward with ever-increasing zest. He saw first ripple marks on the blocks of sandstone deep down in the quarry. He rolled out the water worn boulders from beds of clay hundreds of feet above water mark. "How did that get there?" he asks himself. "Did God make it so? No workman ever makes a half-worn article!" A blow of his hammer on a mass of nodular lime-stone laid open the beautiful ammonite. Within others he found bivalve shells and decayed wood. "How did these get here?" he again asks. Uncle David could not tell him. He took advantage of his first half-holiday to visit a locality some distance from his quarry, in which it was said *thunderbolts* were found in unusual abundance, and which were used by the Highlanders as an unfailing remedy for bewitched cattle. He found several of the thunderbolts, but on examination perceived they bore marks of having been once organic, living creatures, and they finally turned out to be the fossil remains of *belemnites*, a species of cuttle-fish long since extinct. His wandering life as a mason led him over the greater part of Scotland, and wherever he went he took ever increasing care to observe the character and relative position of the various kinds of rock, and compare and classify their respective organic remains. By and by he was able to obtain some assistance from books and the labors of scientific men; and was thereby enabled to make the more rapid progress in comprehending and arranging the facts and materials of his own gathering. After he exchanged the mason life for that, first, of accountant in the bank at Cromarty, and afterwards as editor of the

Edinburg Witness, he still pursued in his leisure hours, with unabated vigor, his favorite studies, and at the time of his death had collected a museum of geological and palæontological specimens, perhaps unsurpassed as the result of the personal labors of one man.

We have thus led the reader, very hastily, through the opening scenes, and over the general course of Hugh Miller's scientific education. We have not attempted to unfold its details as they occurred, preferring, as more suitable to our present purpose, to dwell more particularly upon the *results* of his labors,—to point out the things he really accomplished, the contributions he made, personally, to the science with which his name is associated.

Soon after taking charge, editorially, of the Witness newspaper, he commenced the publication of a series of geological articles, giving the results of his personal observations, which from the lively style in which they were written, and the rich fund of scientific fact they contained, and also from the fact that they were widely copied and commented upon, at once revealed him to the view of the general reading world as an accomplished geologist, and greatly extended his correspondence and acquaintance among scientific men. These articles, amplified and amended, and illustrated with original drawings, have since been published in a volume entitled, "The Old Red Sandstone." The title of the book was derived from the fact that the observations detailed in the articles were confined chiefly to the Old Red Sandstone formation. This book may be regarded as having settled two things: first, that the Old Red Sandstone *is* a distinct formation, of great thickness and importance, and, second, that it is *richly fossiliferous*. Both these were considered doubtful before the publication of Mr. Miller's articles. The Old Red Sandstone was merged in the Carboniferous System, until its separate character was suggested by Sir Roderick Murchison, and faintly acknowledged by Lyell, and it was regarded by geologists generally as peculiarly barren of fossils. Mr. Miller, by his extensive researches in the Old Red Sand-

stone, fully established its claim to rank as a distinct formation in the geological scale, and his published plates of fossils found by himself, equally surprised and delighted all scientific circles. The first fossil specimen described by him in the "Old Red Sandstone," is that of a winged fish, found about the year 1831, and submitted to Murchison and Agassiz about 1838. Both these distinguished naturalists pronounced it to be of a species before undiscovered, and the latter appropriately named it *Pterichthys Milleri.* During a subsequent visit by Agassiz to Scotland a number of excellent specimens were found, and the *Pterichthys* now has its place in the palæontological chart, and will bear down with it to the scientific men of coming ages the name of the stone-mason of Cromarty. Mr. Miller also found and described, and has given excellent plates of a large number of other fossils, especially fish, which had been found by others in different parts of the world, such as the *Asterolepis, Coccosteus, Osteolepis, Dipterus, Diploterus, Cheirolepis, Glyptolepis, Cheiracanthus, Holoptychius,* &c. In some instances by his more accurate knowledge he was able to correct the erroneous opinions and prints of other palæontologists, and his corrections are now accepted as accurate. And in a multitude of instances his observations confirmed the results of the independent labors of others. Had Hugh Miller lived, and enjoyed the vigor of his faculties for twenty years longer, it is probable that his publications would have exhibited the results of a larger measure of personal and original observation and research, than can be claimed for any one man.

The publication of the "Vestiges of Creation," by a countryman of his, turned Mr. Miller's studies for a time into a particular channel. He had found the theory of development and the metamorphosis of species which is so earnestly advocated in that plausible and popular book, first broached in the *Telliamed* of Maillet, a little book which came into his hands whilst a boy, and he subsequently examined it more thoroughly in the works of Lamarck and Oken. It is a theory which at once arrests the atten-

tion of a thinking mind. It startles and astonishes by the boldness and novelty of its conceptions, and it fascinates by the plausibility of the significant facts which it is able to adduce, and its general correspondence with the ascertained order of creation. It has taken powerful hold in whole or in part, of the scientific mind of the age. It is one of those great seed-thoughts which, at intervals of centuries, are dropped into the soil of human knowledge, and which for ages modify the thinking of mankind. The investigations of science, whether amid the nebulæ of the heavens, or the rocky strata, and forms of life, past and present, of the earth, all tend now to the unfolding, modifying and correcting of the stupendous *guesses* of La Place and Oken,—and the end is not yet. We may be sure that any such germinant seed-thought is not without its modicum of truth, though the human mind in its first eager joy may play wild gambols with it. Hugh Miller saw and felt the power of this development theory, and he determined to interrogate nature and get if possible a clear answer respecting it; and from what we know of the man, we have no hesitation in saying that had his findings honestly required it, he would have declared for the theory. The results of his investigations he has given in the "Footprints of the Creator," and they are against the theory so far as it includes the transmutation of species, and the development of the higher forms of life from lower. Its eager reception by many of the savans of the age, he attributes to that "species of superstition which inclines men to take on trust whatever assumes the name of science," and which he seems to regard as a reaction on the old superstition that had faith in witches, but none in Sir Isaac Newton, and believed in ghosts, but failed to credit the Gregorian calendar.

It is true that he approached the theory with a bias against it,—a bias resting on strong moral grounds. He regarded it as incompatible with the doctrine of the immortality of the human soul, unless we take with it the immortality of the whole chain of inferior existence, through

which man has arisen,—incompatible also with human responsibility seeing that if there is no future life there will be no future judgment,—and incompatible with the specific doctrines of Christianity as gathering round the fall, and the Incarnation. Taking this serious view of what he supposed to be the inevitable moral bearing of the theory, he justly held that it required an unusual amount of unusually clear scientific proof to warrant its reception. But such proof he did not find, or he would have yielded to it, as he did to the proof against the literal scientific truthfulness of the Mosaic history of the Creation and Deluge.

The development theory of Oken and his disciples may be briefly stated:—"There are two kinds of generation in the world," says Oken, "the creation proper, and the propagation that is sequent thereupon;—or the *generatio originaria*, and *secundaria*. Consequently, no organism has been created of larger size than an infusorial point. No organism is, nor ever has one been created, which is not microscopic. Whatever is larger has not been created, but developed. Man has not been created, but developed." "All life," says Oken further, "is from the sea. Where the sea organism, by self-elevation, succeeds in attaining into form, there issues forth from it a higher organism. The first organic forms, whether plants or animals, emerged from the shallow parts of the sea." Creative power energizing thus only for the production of microscopic organisms, science is able, according to the assertors of this theory, to indicate the path of progressive development until the higher organisms are reached. "It is a vertebral column!" exclaimed Oken one day as he stood contemplating intensely a beautiful blanched skull of a hind picked up on the Hartz mountain. The skulls of all the vertebrata, including man, are actually composed of vertebræ. And high authority in comparative anatomy has confirmed this view—at least that the vertebra is the "ideal exemplar" on which the bones of the head are constructed. The microscopic brain, say the development philosophers, the gelatinous monad probably struck into life by the action of electricity, first

encased itself in a vertebrate skull; from this other vertebræ developed themselves, forming a column, and under certain circumstances throwing out limbs at particular points, and thus through manifold and ever varying transmutations the human skeleton was at length reached. *Nature*, according to this view, has from the beginning been pregnant with the human race, and the long geologic ages are the cycles of its embryonic development. This view they say, receives striking confirmation from the extraordinary fact that the brain of the human foetus passes through the transformations of almost the entire animate scale. First it grows up into a brain closely resembling that of a fish, next it becomes a brain undistinguishable from that of a reptile, further on it assumes the perfect appearance of the brain of a bird, then it develops into a brain like that of a mammiferous quadruped, and finally it assumes its unique character as a human brain. Man thus, say they, retains in the very seat of his intelligence the ineffaceable traces of the path by which he has come, and reveals himself a *microcosm*,—the "sum total of all the animals."

Such is the bold and startling theory which Hugh Miller set himself to examine and test by the findings of Geology —a theory indeed which the whole scientific world has been examining since the publications of Oken, and in the examination of which a vast amount of most important knowledge has been elicited as to the *order of the creation*, and the *types* or "ideal exemplars" which prevail in it. And it will be seen at once that in examining this hypothesis, Geology is a most important auxiliary. If creation has passed through such a development it is indispensible to have the aid of that science which reads the "Testimony" of by-gone ages on the stony tablets of the earth, in order to trace its path. If there has been no such development, it is indispensable to have the reading of the rocks to ascertain that fact,—as a matter of science.

Mr. Miller rests his verdict against the development hypothesis mainly on four general facts: first, that there is *no trace* any where among fossil remains, or living organ-

isms, of *transmutation of species*. As those who have been engaged in studying the natural history of living animals, have never yet been able to detect, in an actual specimen, one species in the act of passing over into another, so the palæontologists have never yet been able to detect among the fossils of the earth, any species arrested on the path of its transit or metamorphosis into another species. And when we remember that the fossils already discovered embrace a very great number and variety of the forms of life, both existing and extinct, and stretching back probably to the very beginning of animal life on our planet, and that they embrace also almost every possible state and condition of the several species from the embryo to the mature form, it must be conceded that the negative evidence is very strong. The same is true of vegetable life. And as Oken had declared that "all life is from the sea," Mr. Miller took special pains to examine the two floras, marine and terrestrial, in such localities as, owing to the tides, afforded instances of their overlapping on the same soil, and his unequivocal verdict is that in no case could he detect any evidences of marine vegetation passing over into terrestial. And not only is there this absence of positive evidence of the transmutation of species, but the distinct type, or pattern, or "ideal exemplar" of each species, among fossils, is most carefully preserved throughout all its varieties and ramifications, descending in the case of fishes even to the microscopic structure of their teeth. This is very strong positive evidence against the hypothesis in question. Mr. Miller justly remarks that the transmutation of species would involve the same sort of problem as the making of two houses alike which differed from each other not only in external form but in internal structure, so that every brick would have to be taken down and every beam and bolt and nail removed.

The second general fact on which Mr. Miller bases his verdict is what he calls the *history of degradation*. By comparing the specimens of the several species which sweep across certain parts of the geological scale, he discovers

that the finest and best individuals of the species appeared first, the inferior afterwards. The act of creation, in each species, was like a ball started at its maximum velocity and which became gradually spent until it ceased altogether. Instead of developing upwards into the higher forms of life, each of the extinct species deteriorated in the exemplifications of its own type, until it finally disappeared. This general position he illustrates by many instances, especially by the *Asteroleps*, a huge Ganoid of the Old Red Sandstone, and which he demonstrates to have been a fish high in the scale of organism and intelligence (piscatory) and yet found at the bottom of the oldest palæozoic system of Scotland. He also discovers that during a geologic epoch, or cycle, not only do the inferior *individuals* of certain types appear subsequent to the superior ones, but that the inferior *types* appear in the same order. This he thinks does not indicate an ever upward-tending development, but the stated incomings of the creative fiat.

The third general fact which he adduces is that the fossil remains of past ages do *not* indicate that the skulls of all the vertebrata are composed of vertabræ. In many of the earlier fishes the skull is a simple cartilaginous box, and in others exhibits considerable variety of structure. And though the discovery of Oken may hold good of many of the higher vertebrate animals, no geologist will believe that it has been a universal fact of vertebrate existence.

Mr. Miller's fourth general fact is drawn from a comparison of the bulk and structure of the *brain* in the various orders of animate existence. He properly holds that the *brain* is the true criterion by which *highness* or *lowness* in the scale of being ought to be determined. And he shows conclusively that the development of brain in the past history of the earth has not been that of a steady progress; that it exhibits many gaps and sudden starts, and during geologic cycles seems to follow the same law of degradation which appears to govern organization. He also argues that the chasm between the human brain, and that of the form of existence next below, is too great to be bridged by any

hypothesis of development. The average brain of the fish bears a proportion to the spinal cord of not more than two to one. The average brain of the reptile, a proportion of two and a half to one. The average brain of the bird, a proportion of three to one. The average brain of the mammal, a proportion of four to one. Whilst the average human brain bears a proportion to the spinal cord of *twenty three* to one. This is too wide a leap for that law of development which, if it moves at all, moves by almost infinitesimal gradients.

For these general reasons, and other minor ones growing out of them, Hugh Miller, as a man of science, was compelled to decide that the theory of Maillet, Oken, Lamarck, and the "Vestiges of Creation," receives no confirmation, in its most essential features, from Geology.

Whilst thus rejecting the radical idea of the development hypothesis, he by no means ignores the sublime results which science has revealed, whilst investigating that hypothesis, pertaining to the order of creation, and the prevalence of type. He fully recognises the fact that there has been a *general progress* from the lower forms of life to the higher, that the work of the creation has been a stately march, ever pressing onward and upward towards its present terminal stadium, and that the types, or patterns, or ideal exemplars existing in the Divine mind, and most fully exhibited in man the crowning work of all, have been foreshadowed, "manifest in the flesh," in the types of vertebrate existence from the beginning. He recognises the fact that in the order of existence the dynasty of the fish preceded that of the reptile, the dynasty of the reptile preceded that of the mammal, and the dynasty of the mammiferous quadruped preceded that of man, but he asserts that science does not find that the reptile grew out of the fish, the mammal out of the reptile, or man out of the mammal.

Scattered throughout his works which discuss particularly this development theory, there are many high-toned thoughts and deeply suggestive reflections, of a semi-moral, semi-philosophical bearing, as also many highly imagina-

tive and poetical conceptions. And as the theory of development is one which particularly charms and fascinates minds of a highly imaginative cast, it is perhaps well for the cause of truth that one of the ablest opponents of the theory had a large share of imagination in his composition. It is a great mistake to suppose that a strong imaginative faculty is incompatible with the strict severities of inductive science. The imagination of Newton or Galileo took a loftier flight than that of Milton or Dante. We know no more inviting and legitimate field for the best efforts of the imagination than that which is laid open by modern science.

We come now to consider the offices of Mr. Miller in endeavoring to remove the apparent discrepancies between Geology and Genesis.

It was impossible for him to avoid giving his attention largely to this aspect of his favorite science. He would have been untrue to his strong religious convictions, and his deep-seated traditional reverence for the Scriptures—untrue to the blood of Donald Roy—had he failed to do it. It is well known that so soon as the leading discoveries of Geology were made—long before the array of facts and phenomena had reached its present extent—a flagrant discrepancy began to be suspected between its necessary inferences and deductions, and the literal rendering of the first chapter of Genesis. And every additional discovery, every new advance in the science, has only served to strengthen the suspicion and transform it into certainty. The difficulties that have appeared are mainly two, the first pertaining to the *time*, the second to the *order* of the creation. It is held by Geologists that an incalculably longer *time* than is afforded by the Scripture chronology, was required for the production of the phenomena of the earth's crust. It has been objected by theologians that this lengthened chronology does violence to the plain meaning of the inspired record. It is held also by Astronomers and Geologists that the first chapter of Genesis is untrue to fact in its record of the *order* of the creation, making the creation

of the earth to precede that of the sun and stars, and the creation of a multiform and highly organized vegetation to precede the appearance of animal life—that is to say, untrue on the interpretation of those literalists who unfortunately, and with more zeal than knowledge, insist that what they call the "obvious meaning," is the only meaning. Other difficulties have been felt by certain classes of theologians, as for instance, the existence of death among the animal tribes before the fall of man. And many scientific men have found insuperable difficulties in the way of accepting the universality of the Noachian Deluge. Grave and sore controversy has been the result of the introduction of these novelties of science. It has constituted one feature of the battle of the evidences in these latter ages. Many have been the mediators, interpreters and peace-makers who have risen up to negotiate between the belligerent parties, and bring about an amicable adjustment. Some have offered the supposition of an indefinite interval between the first verse of Genesis and what follows. Others, on philological grounds, have pronounced the length of time indicated by the word "day" to be indefinite. Others have gravely suggested that the fossil remains of the earth were never the forms of living things, but are mere *lusus naturæ*, created as they are by the power of God; and they have advised Geologists, instead of making such an ado about them, to give them for toys to their children. Others have proposed to regard the narrative in Genesis as an optical description, and as such not to be construed according to the strict requirements of science. The parties to the controversy have been many, each one differing from the other by a shade of opinion; and meantime the science has gone steadily and rapidly forward, strengthening, modifying, or abandoning its former conclusions. But few Geologists have felt themselves called upon to reconcile their discoveries with any pre-existing opinions, or beliefs. They have thrown them out simply as facts, and left them to take care of themselves. Their labors have been purely in the interest of science for its own sake.

As before said Hugh Miller could not avoid entering on this debatable ground; and he entered it as a disputant with his best energies, and with the conscious bearing of a man who was persuaded that the truth was ascertainable, and that when ascertained ought to be fearlessly accepted. His fullest deliverances upon the controverted points are found in his "Testimony of the Rocks,"—his dying legacy—and we may say here summarily that despite the croakings of such ill-starred defenders of the faith as the "Theological and Literary Journal,"* it is a legacy for which the Christian Church ought to embalm his memory. It is the herculean effort of a gigantic mind; and comes nearer securing a full and perfect harmony between science and revelation so as to preserve intact the fundamental idea of inspiration, than any thing which has yet appeared in the English language.

It is worthy of remark that Hugh Miller arrived at the conclusion of the vast antiquity of the globe on the basis of his own independent researches, and had held it for some time before he was aware that a single fellow-being held the same doctrine. Glimpses of the necessity of a greatly

* The article which we have quoted at the head of this paper is one of David N. Lord's most characteristic productions. It abounds in the most absurd protestations of Mr. Miller's ignorance, imbecility, conceit, want of mastery of his subject, superficiality, unfairness and malignity towards his opponents, put forth in a style and manner which exhibit very conspicuously the greater part of these qualities. It abounds also in the grossest misstatements and misconceptions, and generally takes issue on that phase of a point in question which is of least importance. So far as really meeting any of the issues raised by Mr. Miller is concerned, it is unusually feeble. It is little better than raving. It harps perpetually, as its writer always does when treating of geological subjects, upon the "hypothesis of Geologists," that the Geological phenomena "are universally the product of causes the same in kind, *energy and rapidity of action* as those that are now working like effects in the earth's surface," just as if any decent Geologist holds such an hypothesis, or as if it was necessary to the deduction of the great age of the earth. It is certainly amusing to hear a man who probably never struck a blow with a geologist's hammer, call Hugh Miller an ignoramus in Geology, It is quite as amusing as to hear the owl hooting its contempt for the music of the nightingale. We have never yet been able, after a pretty full perusal of David N. Lord's geological lucubrations, to detect any trustworty evidences of a practical acquaintance with the science. After reading his account of Mr. Miller's "ill-digested crudities," how refreshing to find Agassiz saying, "His (Hugh Miller's) generalizations have nothing of the vagueness which too often characterizes the writings of those authors who have attempted to make the results of science subservient to the cause of religion."

lengthened chronology often flashed across his mind in the earlier years of his scientific investigations, as he would from time to time lay open some strange fossil far down in its rocky bed, and as he came gradually to observe the regular order of succession in which the strata occurred. But whilst engaged at Cromarty in the lighter occupation of lettering grave stones, after his health had become impaired by his labors as a journeyman mason, he investigated particularly the phenomena of the coast line of the north of Scotland which is finely developed in that neighborhood. He found the present coast line to contain a series of caves evidently hollowed out by the waters, and the average size and extent of which he was able, at low tide, to ascertain. Some twenty feet above these he observed another line of similar caves, into which the sea now does not enter at all, and on exploration he found that these upper caves were on an average, about one third larger and deeper than the lower ones. He found the historical evidence conclusive that the sea has stood against the present coast line at least two thousand six hundred years, and he considered the probability very strong that it has stood there much longer. If then, he argued, it has required *at least* two thousand six hundred years for the sea to hollow out these caves of the present coast line, it must have required *at least* three thousand nine hundred years for it to hollow out the caves of the old coast line. These sums more than exhaust the Hebrew chronology; but what a mere beginning are they of geologic history! The organic remains which he procured in the soil below the *old coast line* were nearly all those of *existing* species, whilst in these strata themselves and far below them, were the fossils of the almost countless numbers of the *extinct* species. And how shall the years of these be brought into the historic period?

We adduce this as a specific instance of the methods in which, and the data from which, Geologists reason with regard to the age of the earth. It is but one instance out of many. The kind of data here given is but one out of

many kinds all having the same general bearing. Hugh Miller loved and reverenced his Bible, but such is the structure of the human mind, that, save when blinded by passion or warped by prejudice, it must yield an involuntary consent to the force of evidence. The dogmatism which would have forbidden his belief in what thus so clearly demanded it, would have incapacitated him from believing any thing. And he assures us, after his investigations had proceeded much further, that the conviction of the necessity of countless ages for the production of the phenomena of the earth's crust, ever grew deeper and stronger. And we unhesitatingly join him in the prophecy that fifty years hence, no intelligent sane man will dispute it.

In his first examination of the subject he was inclined to hold, with Chalmers and others, the supposition of an indefinite internal between Gen. 1: 1, and the subsequent verses. But this he was obliged, as Geologists generally have been, to abandon, chiefly from the facts that the order in which the deposited strata occur, and the connection between their organic remains show a continuous series of animal and vegetable life from the beginning; and that the organic remains of some of the *existing races* of animals are found far back in the geological scale. The narrative in Genesis, subsequent to the first verse, cannot be taken as a truthful record of the *time* and *order* of the existing creation, *if* the days are understood as natural days of twenty-four hours each, and the date is assigned from the historic chronology. And after observing that many unhappy efforts have been made, during the progress of theological controversy, to pledge the Scriptures to false science, geographical, astronomical and geological, he justly remarks that the *reading* of what is called the Biblical teaching in matters of science, cannot be the true one if it commits the Scriptures to what he as a geographer, astronomer, or geologist, knows to be a monstrously false geography, astronomy, or geology. He rightly avers that questions in arithmetic must be settled arithmetically, questions in geography, geographically, questions in astronomy, astronom-

ically, and questions in geology, geologically. Neither of them can be settled Biblically apart from an inductive knowledge of the facts; and the author of Scripture, wise above all the ages, has given it to the world in such a *form* that it is pledged, irremediably, to no falsehood whatever.

In the fourth Lecture of the "Testimony of the Rocks," entitled "The Mosaic vision of the Creation," Mr. Miller gives us the *principle* of interpretation which he adopts with regard to the first chapter of Genesis, and which indeed has a manifest application to many parts of Scripture, and which, alone, he thinks, will allow the findings of science to come into harmony with it. It is, that the narrative possesses the character of *optical* description. It is a record of what *appeared* in an inspired *vision*. The writer describes *appearances* as seen from some station above the surface of the earth, and describes each scene by its leading characteristics. Each period of darkness and of light as it rose before the eye is called a *day*, which in the case carries only the cyclical idea. It does not measure, or otherwise limit; and the actual time occupied by the vision may have been but a few hours. Hence the record is not to be tested by its rigid truthfulness to scientific fact, but only its truthfulness as *an order and succession of appearances*. And as such Mr. Miller thinks it is confirmed by Geology.

This principle he derives from Dr. J. H. Kurtz, Professor of Theology at Dorpat, who states it at length in his "Bible and Astronomy." "The source of all history," says he "is *eye-witness*, be it that of the reporter, or of another whose account has been handed down." And as man can see only *the present*, he can record the unknown *past*—i. e., which lies before all *eye-witness*—and the future, only by prophetic vision, unfolding to the eye of the mind what is shut out from the eye of the body. He regards the scenes of the first chapter of Genesis as prophetic tableaux, each containing a leading phase of the drama of creation. "Before the eye of the seer," he says "scene after scene is unfolded, until at length in the seven of them, the course of creation in its main *momenta*, has been fully represented."

The Mosaic narrative then is simply *prophecy* described backwards; and as prophecy can be interpreted accurately only in the light of its fulfilment, Mr. Miller holds that this prophetic vision of the creation can be interpreted accurately only in the light of the findings of science.

Of this work of Dr. Kurtz, which has been translated in this country, we may say briefly that its chief value consists in its elimination of some important general principles —which value is confined to a small part of the book. In its attempt to give a detailed analysis of the "Biblical theory of the World," and to adjust this theory to the discoveries of natural science, it is wholly worthless. It is a mere tissue of grotesque speculations. Its author appears to be wholly destitute of practical acquaintance with science, and much of its conjectural cosmology belongs to that "cloud-land" in which so many of the speculative Germans make themselves so peculiarly at home. Whether the earth during the geologic ages was the prison-house of the fallen angels, condemned to fellowship with winged dragons, grinning horribly, and huge iguanodons,—whether the angels are corporeal, and the fallen ones irredeemable,—whether the former inhabit the "morning stars," and the latter now the air,—whether man was originally created without sex, and "observing in the animals the development which was wanting in himself," conceived the desire of a helpmate of his own kind, to meet which desire God gave him woman and a sexual character,—whether the serpent in the temptation was a real serpent possessed by the devil,—these, we submit, are questions which have nothing to do with the Bible *and Astronomy*. The real value of Dr. Kurtz's work is greatly marred by the introduction of such extraneous matter, and we read it with that sort of feeling of bewilderment which the mind experiences when the mental images which pass across it seem to be half reality and half phantasmagoria.

The principle of exegesis which Mr. Miller adopts has been far more ably and satisfactorily elaborated by Prof. Tayler Lewis, LL. D., of Union College, in the two works

placed at the head of this article. In patient and laborious scholarship, in profound and comprehensive thought, in honest and intense earnestness, in intelligent and vigorous grasp of any subject germaine to his mind, Prof. Lewis has few equals and perhaps no superior in this country. He has grappled with the question of Biblical interpretation with the consciousness of the life-and-death nature of the controversy, and he puts the issue on a far higher and broader platform than that of literalists generally; and we instinctively feel as we follow him through its elaboration that the solution, on its biblical side, must come from the general region which he has mapped out. On the title page of his first work we have the announcement of the seminal ideas which control his exegises, and which he thinks will put the scriptural cosmogony beyond all successful attack from the side of science; and in a supplementary work, "The Bible and Science; or the World Problem," the same ideas are more fully expanded and vindicated against polemic misrepresentation and attack. He is a literalist; but his literalism is that, not of the English version with modern ideas attached, but of the old generic Shemitic words, with the old Shemitic space-and-time conceptions which he apprehends them to have conveyed. We hesitate not to say that Prof. Lewis has originated a new order of speech amongst the learned on these subjects,—has sprung a new mine of thought,—new at least in this country,—and has vindicated for himself a position among the original, creative thinkers of the time. No philologist, henceforth, can venture safely to ignore the results of his philological labors, in this particular sphere. He is not, indeed, as he says, "a man of science,"—and this is his chief defect,—but only "having some general information upon such subjects." He does, moreover, bear himself at times somewhat haughtily towards the claims of science. His maxims are that the Bible must be *interpreted*, not reconciled with any thing,—that it must be interpreted *from itself*, not forced into a meaning by the outside pressure of

science,—that science and the Bible have nothing in common,—that, the fair meaning of the text once ascertained, if science agrees with it, so much the better for science, if science does not agree with it so much the worse for science. He has no idea of "Biblical men ever putting ahead their hermeneutical landmarks every time science chooses to change her oft-shifting positions." Accordingly he goes to work to ascertain precisely what the Scriptures do, and do not, teach, on cosmological matters, uninfluenced, *as he supposes*, by the necessity which science has forced upon the thinking of the age.

This supercilious bearing is unfortunate, and unnecessary. Some of his general positions, also, which have a scientific bearing, are faulty; and in other parts of his works there is perhaps an excess of idealism, high-toned though it be, and eloquently put. But, withal, Tayler Lewis has done vast service for all parties interested in these subjects. His philological or verbal exegesis is infinitely more worthy of respect than the more narrow literalism, and it opens up a much wider field of possibility for the ultimate harmony of the Bible and science. We think he has shown beyond all successful contradiction that the primitive ideas represented by the time-words used in the Mosaic cosmology, were ideas of vast, undefined duration, or great cyclical periods,—that the dynamic words used are not those which convey the idea of creation out of nothing,—a doctrine which he boldly asserts is neither affirmed nor denied in the Scriptures,—but the ideas of formation and building out of previously existing chaos, and the ideas of generation, birth, growth of successive creations through successive time-worlds, or ages,—and that the language in general is not scientific but phenomenal, describing appearances as they might truly be conceived alike by the earliest and the latest human thinking. We think he has shown that, whether true or false, the thoughtful Shemitic mind had these ideas, and that they have naturally and inevitably embedded themselves in the Scriptural cosmology.

And for his profound elaboration of the doctrine that *nature* is not only a growth, but a power,—that it is a real, divinely originated order of existence, having its implanted laws and forces, and made to "go of itself,"—for his equally profound exposition and vindication of the Platonic doctrine of ideas and types,—for his liberal speculations upon the probable extent of the universe in space and time,—and for his earnest pleading for the existence of a higher order of truth than that which lies within the domain of the so-called natural sciences, we consider the age laid under an incalculable amount of obligation to him as a contributor to the material of its present and future thought. We can only commiserate the shallow empiricists who sneer at his "Platonic dreaming."

The Professor's chief, and in his own view, most valuable position is identical with Hugh Miller's, viz: that "*the Mosaic creation was an order and succession of appearances.*" This is kept steadily in view throughout his whole discussion; but not being "a man of science," he is greatly at a loss to give us any accurate and well defined ideas of this order and succession, and hence he is often unsatisfactory in his details, or the application of his general principles, and guilty of gross omissions in his statements of scientific difficulties. He is often obliged to expend an amount of ingenuity in reconciling this order and succession of *appearances* with facts, or with the recognized theory of the structure of the universe, which impairs the reader's confidence, and which thorough scientific knowledge would have rendered unnecessary. These defects in Prof. Lewis' works are admirably supplied by the great scientific attainments of Hugh Miller, in his "Mosaic Vision of the Creation." He gives us a magnificent panoramic view of this "order and succession of *appearances*," basing his conception of it upon the revealed facts of geology, and the laws of nature. Being able by the aid of the revelations of geology, to conceive of the state of the earth and atmosphere during any great geological era, he is able to project, as it were, upon the canvass of the imagination the *appearance* it would pre-

sent, in such era, to the mind of the seer before whom it was supernaturally brought. In bold grasp of imagination, in felicitous description, and in eloquent richness of diction we have not found the fourth Lecture of the "Testimony of the Rocks" surpassed in our recent reading.

Keeping in view his adopted principle of interpretation, Mr. Miller, as a *geologist*, feels called upon to account for the appearances of but three out of the six great creative days: and hence, whilst he suggests to us enough to enable us to conceive how the inspired record of the first, second and fourth days may be a record of actual appearances, he undertakes only to detail the geological evidences of the general truthfulness of the record of the third, fifth and sixth days' work,—the period of plants, the period of great sea monsters and creeping things, and the period of cattle and beasts of the earth. All geologists, he tells us, agree in holding that the vast geological scale naturally divides into *three* great parts. There are many lesser divisions,—divisions into systems, formations, deposits, beds, strata; but the master divisions, in each of which we find a type of life so unlike that of the others, that even the unpracticed eye can detect the difference, are simply three, —the Palæozoic, or oldest fossiliferous division, the Secondary, or middle fossiliferous division; and the Tertiary, or latest fossiliferous division. He then goes on to point out in a graphic and highly picturesque sketch the prominent features of these three great divisions. The leading characteristic of the first, which he considers to be indicated by the third of the Mosaic days, was its rank and gorgeous vegetation. It had its forms of animal life, corals, molluscs, fishes, and in its later formations a few reptiles. But its prominent feature, that which would strike most obviously the eye of an observer, was its gorgeous flora. "In no other age did the world ever witness such a flora; the youth of the earth was peculiarly a green and umbrageous youth,—a youth of dusk and tangled forests, of huge pines and stately araucarians, of the reed-like calamite, the tall tree-fern, the sculptured sigillaria, and the hirsute lepi-

dodendron. Wherever any land, or shallow lake, or running stream appeared, from where Melville island now spreads out its ice wastes under the star of the pole, to where the arid plains of Australia lie solitary beneath the bright cross of the south, a rank and luxuriant herbage cumbered every footbreadth of the dank and steaming soil." Of this extraordinary age of plants we have our exhaustless remembrancers in the vast coal fields of the earth.

In like manner Mr. Miller shows that the prominent feature of the second great division, represented by the fifth of the Mosaic days, was found in its reptilian forms of life,—its huge creeping things, its enormous monsters of the deep, its gigantic birds, its reptilian whales, its lizards and crocodiles. It had its herbs and plants also, of course, and its corals, molluscs and fish, but the feature which distinguished it from the former period, was that just indicated,—even as the distinguishing feature of the fourth Mosaic day—the most marked *appearance*—was the partial breaking and dissipation of the thick garment of cloud previously sent up by the warm and steaming earth, and the appearance of the luminaries in the heavens. The leading feature of the third great division of the geologist,—the sixth Mosaic day—consisted in its extraordinary mammalian existences,—its immense beasts of the earth,—its mammoths, its mastodons, its rhinoceri, its hippopotami, its elephants, its enormous dinotherium, its colossal megatherium, its great oxen and elks, its hyenas, tigers and bears. These have left their huge remains in the rocks, and they tell of the work of the sixth day, at the close of which man comes upon the stage, to work out his history on the seventh, during which God rests, save in the work of his redemption.

Such is Mr. Miller's method of collating the two records. And it will be seen at once that it affords a wide margin for the removal of some of the most stubborn difficulties of the literalist. Take a single instance. If geology teaches us any thing, if it gives us any one fact as indisputable as the Copernican astronomy, it is that animal life was as early,

at least, if not earlier, on this planet, than vegetable life. And this fact raises an obstacle in the way of the literalist which he cannot surmount. But regarding the Mosaic record, not as that of an order and succession of facts strictly construed, but an "order and succession of appearances," and each vast period, as that represented by the third day, described by its *prominent* feature, the difficulty is at least very much lessened.*

We cannot refrain from giving a condensed view of Mr. Miller's enlarged speculations—thought-graspings we might call them—upon the general drift and terminal results of the magnificent progress of creation which Geology reveals. Each of the great forms of animal life, the fish, the reptile, the beast of the earth, has had its dynasty upon the earth, and its dominion has passed away never to return. The present historical period is the dynasty of man. But is that all? No! His dynasty is passing away. It cannot last forever. And what is to be the next advance? Shall there be a new creation, and man be again placed upon the earth to enact a new probation and a new history? No! God's works never thus merely repeat themselves. No departed dynasty ever returns. The clue he thinks is found in the *new creation in Christ Jesus*—a crea-

* It is perhaps too much to say that for all minds the difficulty is *wholly* removed; for it is not the fact that the Palæozoic division can be represented truly as characterized *throughout its entire extent*, by a luxuriant flora, nor does it seem to have been Mr. Miller's intention so to represent it, though in the use of his general terms he is perhaps not careful enough to avoid leaving this impression upon the mind of the general reader. To this point Wm. Parker Foulke, Esq., of Philadelphia, called the attention of the Academy of Natural Sciences, in May, 1854, and again more fully in May of the present year, and has embodied his remarks and explanations in the pamphlet which we have named in our prefacing list. Mr. Foulke justly remarks, that it is proper to maintain a strict scrutiny of the logic of the natural sciences, and to allow no generalization to be used improperly "for a purpose." It is true, as Mr. Foulke states, and Mr. Miller admits, that it is only of the "carboniferous era" of the Palæozoic division, that an exuberant vegetation can be predicated, and that this era falls far forward in the series; and the harmony of Mr. Miller's position with the Mosaic record can only be maintained by supposing that the "carboniferous era" was the period chosen for bringing the "vision" of the third "day" before the mind of the prophet. We happen to be acquainted with Mr. Foulke, and know him to be a high-minded, honorable and accomplished man, and regret the asperity with which Mr. Miller repels his criticisms.

tion already begun, but reaching forward into immortality —a divine seed already implanted in the bosom of humanity to ripen in a future eternity. The dynasty of the Future is to have glorified man for its inhabitant—man glorified by his union with Deity—man "created anew in Christ Jesus." And the kingdom, the monarchy of this future, is to be that of God in the form of man. In the doctrine of the two natures of Christ we find the point towards which all creation has been tending, and beyond which it cannot go. The long ascending line from dead matter to man—a line conducted not by "development" alone, but by the incomings of the creative fiat,—has been a progress God-wards, and in the Incarnation it finds its terminal point. And in *Him*, true God and true man,—*Him* who is our risen and adorable Redeemer,—*Him* who wears our nature in glory upon the throne of the universe,—*Him* who shall put all things under his feet,—in *Him* let the world recognize the adorable Monarch of all the Future!

Besides thus attempting to harmonize the Mosaic record and the findings of Geology, Mr. Miller expends two lectures on the Bearing of Geology on the two theologies, natural and revealed, in which are some very original and valuable suggestions. Especially admirable and ingenious are the uses which he makes of the evidences of Geology against the old atheistic idea of an "infinite series" of beings,—against the argument of Hume from the "singularity" of creation, as a result standing alone and affording no ground for inference with regard to the character of its Creator beyond what it alone, as an effect, reveals,—against the infidelity of Bolingbroke grounding itself on the position which man holds in the scale of creation,—and also against the Lamarckian hypothesis to which we have already referred in his "Footprints of the Creator." Another ingenious line of argument which he pursues is that in which he traces what he calls an identity between the Divine and human methods and devices, showing that some of the most remarkable triumphs of human skill and ingenuity had been anticipated by the Divine Architect,—or rather that

in both we see the outworking of the same Divine wisdom. Thus the ribs and grooves lately introduced into metallic roofs and boats for purposes of strength, he finds anticipated for like purposes in the shells of the old ammonites: some of the most graceful ornaments of the Ionic and Corinthian orders of architecture in the whorled shells of the Old Red Sandstone; and some of the most popular calico patterns in the corals of the same formation. Probably his brief hints, here, may open a field of interesting discovery which may be turned to some practical account.

The two lectures in the "Testimony of the Rocks," which are in some respects the most remarkable, and the most likely to conflict seriously with the common traditional opinions of this country, are those upon the Noachian Deluge. He finds himself forced to accept the hypothesis of a partial or local deluge. He finds the physical difficulties in the way of a universal deluge, in the circumstances in which it is narrated in Genesis, utterly overwhelming. His statement of these is incomparably the strongest we have any where seen. He shows that to make the ark, taking its largest known measurement, contain species of all the existing animals and birds, with food for a twelvemonth, would require an amount of miracle equal to that of contracting their size, so that an elephant might be no larger than a rat.* He shows that to get the various species of animals to and from the ark, bringing them from and returning them to their several centres of distribution, would require an amount of miracle equal to that of transporting them through the air. He shows that a twelvemonth's inundation would destroy all the fresh water fishes and a great part of the flora of the earth. And, further, he thinks the evidence conclusive that neither Europe, nor the British isles, nor the continents of North and South America, have been submerged beneath the waves within any such period as that which has elapsed since the times

* We commend to David N. Lord this form of miracle as solving the difficulty. It would compare favorably with a number of others accepted in "Geognosy."

of Noah. His own theory of the Deluge he gives, of course, as mere conjecture; and we are not prepared to say that it is satisfactory. The subject is one for future settlement. He thinks that the population of the antediluvian world, owing to its violence and bloodshed, was not as numerous as is generally supposed—that they were all living on that *sunken* portion of the continents of Asia and Europe, now drained by the Volga, the Oural, the Sihon, the Kour and the Ainoo, and that there they were submerged and destroyed; and that the narrative is given according to the *appearance* of the catastrophe to those who witnessed it. The subject deserves, and will doubtless receive further consideration.

After an admirable lecture on "the Discoverable and the Revealed," Mr. Miller closes the semi-controversial portion of his volume with a scathing *expose* of the Anti-Geologists. It is done in a manner in which he only could do it. Instead of revealing, according to the *Theological and Literary Journal*, "a morbid sensitiveness and irritability," and "a splenetic and vituperative temper," it is calm, deliberate and unimpassioned, and its only virulence consists in exhibiting the class of writers to whom it refers, "as they have exhibited themselves." We think no sensible man after reading it, will expect ever to see the strong positions of science shaken by the absurd subterfuges of non-scientific men, who think that thereby they are doing God service. We had only two regrets in our perusal of it, first, that most of the Anti-Geologists whom he is obliged to put in the pillory, are clergymen, who have a zeal for Scripture, but "not according to knowledge," and second, that Mr. Miller had not read "Geognosy," and sundry articles in the Theological and Literary Journal.

The two opening lectures of the book on the Palæontological history of Plants and Animals, and the two concluding ones on the less known Fossil Floras of Scotland, are rich in interesting scientific matter, and show that the lamented author up till a short time previous to his death, was pursuing his favorite investigations with unabated vigor.

We have thus completed our *resumé* of the scientific labors and studies of Hugh Miller. In doing so we have been led through a field as rich in material as it is exhaustless in interest. We shall have done much if we succeed in inducing a goodly number of our readers to enter that field themselves, and to acquaint themselves more fully with the works of one of the most extraordinary men, and remarkable writers of the present age.

We venture, in conclusion, a few remarks on the present posture, and the present demands of this new phase of the "battle of the Evidences." The "Bible and Science" controversy of the age cannot be ignored. It may be the herald of a new phase of faith, or want of faith, as potent as any which have gone before it. And let not the Church despise the offices of such honest and able mediators as Hugh Miller, whilst at the same time she endeavors to pursue the cautious and safe *viam mediam*. It is a dictate of common sense that received, or so-called established truth, ought not to be rashly impugned, or for slight reasons discarded. Changes of opinion, especially of religious opinion, to be healthful, ought to be slow. Accepted truth, or truth held to be established, has always an acquired claim to respect, and that claim can only be made legitimately to yield to the fullest and clearest demands of evidence. But let not such evidence be foolishly outlawed. Let not the Church "kick against the pricks." Let her accept all the aids of a cautious, Christian science. It is wholly gratuitous to assume that such men as Hugh Miller wish to prove the Bible untrue. Their *so-called* "infidel" tendencies are not of their own choosing. Their stubborn facts are not made, but found; and nothing can be more suicidal in our theological disputants than to attempt to overwhelm with the *odium theologicum* men whose hearts honestly revolt against, and whose whole lives are standing refutations of, the base motives imputed to them. Let the age seize these questions with tenfold ability and zeal. Let the ablest and most earnest men lay hold of them in their most urgent aspects. Let there be discussion, frank,

open, fearless, charitable. Let none be afraid of the truth, whatever it may be. Let not timid religionists or haughty bigots suppose that by an outcry over the horrors of infidelity, or the blasphemies of German rationalism, they can drive back a spirit of inquiry which is strong in learning, conscious of moral integrity, crested with genius, strenuous, yet calm in progress.

Chambersburg, Pa. J. C.

ART. V.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

SLAVERY AND THE REMEDY: OR THE PRINCIPLES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR A REMEDIAL CODE. By Samuel Nott. Fifth Edition; with a review of the Supreme Court in the Case of Dred Scott. New York: D. Appleton and Company. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. 137 pp. 1857.

The general position and design of this work may be gathered from the following extract from the Introduction: "We meet Slavery as a fact, not as a proposal. We have to do with slave-holding, not with slave-making. We seek not what should be done if there were no slaves, but what is right and best now that there are three millions.

"Admitting the evil of slavery, and the imperious demand for a Remedial Code, but denying slave-holding as a sin *per se*, and immediate abolition as the remedy;—asserting that the African race is fixed, and must be provided for chiefly on our soil, and yet approving heartily colonization in Africa;—claiming that the climate and productions of the South, and the original and actual condition of the enslaved race, forbid the methods of the North and the Anglo-Saxon race;—turning the question from *mere* abolition and *mere* slavery, to the *well-being* of a people providentially on our hands;—and, lastly, fixing the responsibility upon each slaveholding State separately, and denying it to the United States;—*a remedy is sought suited to the peculiar case*—a REMEDIAL CODE, at least an experiment of relief and benefit, which wisely and successfully made by any single State, might lead the whole sisterhood in her train."

He then lays down a fundamental proposition which becomes the ruling idea of the whole discussion, namely: "*A Christian State, philanthropic, patriarchal, is bound to abolish just so much of Slavery as is injurious, and no more; to retain just so much as is beneficial, and no less. The Christian patriarch and Christian philanthropist need not be at variance, if they will but unite in the simple attempt to promote the well-being of the slaves in and with the well-being of the whole people.*"

The proposed Remedial Code, the author continues, must aim at the following purposes: 1. To provide for the slaves as a mass, something better than freedom; 2. To provide for the masters something better than "Slavery as it is;" 3. To provide for the free blacks, and for those becoming free, something better than the present condition of their class; 4. To satisfy the conscience and philanthropy of the country, not merely by the "happy medium" between evil extremes, but to give full scope to the truest benevolence, the most faithful duty, the most earnest Christian charity; in which the South, taking the indispensable lead, shall welcome with the whole heart the aid of the North.

To solve these momentous problems is a grave and difficult undertaking, a fact of which Dr. Nott seems to be deeply sensible. But he addresses himself to the task in a calm and earnest spirit, and conducts the discussion with much dignity and ability. We do not, however, propose to follow him by way of review or criticism, our aim being simply to exhibit, in a few words, the plan and general principles of the work. The conclusion at which the author arrives is, that if, whilst the relation of master and slave still remains, namely, whilst the master is still "held" to provide rations and privileges and the slave is still "held to labor," marriage be established in its sacredness, and the domestic relations protected; if education and religious worship be provided for; if the slaves be legally capable of acquiring, holding and transmitting property, and equally with their masters under the protection of the law; and if all these exist with opportunities of freedom, and methods for the free, we shall then have a *Remedial Code* in progress and perfecting by experience, suited to the whole case of Africa in America.

E. V. G.

GUIDE TO THE ORACLES; OR THE BIBLE STUDENT'S VADE-MECUM. By Alfred Nevin, D. D., author of "Spiritual Progression," "Churches of the Valley," etc. Lancaster, Pa.: Murray, Young & Co. 1857.

The author states in the Preface, that this book is "not intended for learned theologians, or for students of Biblical science

who have access to large libraries, but for the Sabbath-school and Bible-class Teachers and Scholars, and others who feel the need, as it is believed many do, of a convenient and compendious volume, to which they can at any time turn for information to aid them in understanding and defending the Word of God. It has been prepared to serve in this direction as a manual, to which recourse can be had with confidence and comfort, for explanations which might be found elsewhere, but only after research involving a greater expenditure of time and means."

The design of the author is a very good one. To the student of the Sacred Scriptures numerous questions present themselves continually which must be answered in order to render his studies profitable. And although there are books treating on all these important subjects, both scientific and popular, there is room, nevertheless, for a work constructed like the one before us. In addition to a number of short dissertations on the Preservation, the Unity, the Freshness, the Literature of the Bible, etc., it collects from different authors a great deal of information, the result generally of careful study and critical research, within a small compass and in a convenient form for daily use. The design has in the main been well executed; and we doubt not the book will prove to be a valuable help to youth and to Christians in general, and even to ministers who may not have access to other and larger works.

It is not free, however, from what we must regard as inaccuracies. The list of "Names and Titles given to Christ," inserts, for example, the phrase, *fatted calf*, (Luke 15 : 23) as a *name* of Christ; and omits *Word*, a title of peculiar and profound significance given to our Lord in John 1 : 1, et seq. We can not appreciate the force of the exegesis that does either. The list has *God* as a name of Christ, and refers to the passage just quoted from St. John's Gospel. The term *God* is indeed a name applied to our Lord in the New Testament, but it is not applied to Him in this passage. The title *Word* is applied to Him here; and the Evangelist affirms the *Word* to be *God*. The name *God* being used to designate the Supreme Being, he predicates Divine Essence properly of Him whom he calls the Word.

Notwithstanding these, and other inaccuracies, to which space does not allow us to refer, the work possesses positive merits, which commend it to our regard. It is an important manual for convenient reference, containing trustworthy information on a great variety of Scriptural subjects.

E. V. G.

THE DIVINE LIBRARY; OR, CYCLOPEDIA OF INSPIRATION. The Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ according to St. Matthew. Received Version in paragraph Form.

Rev. Mr: Stockton has undertaken the publication of what he calls the Periodical New Testament, that is of the several books of the New Testament in separate successive volumes, appearing every ten days or two weeks, so as to complete the whole by the coming in of the New Year. The First Number contains the Gospel by St. Matthew, to which is annexed a table of the chapters with their contents; the Introduction of Bishop Horne to Matthew as revised, corrected and improved by Dr. Tregelles; and several very beautiful plates. The type is clear; the paper fine; and the whole book very neat. We welcome the volume cordially, and commend it to general favor.

We think, however, that if Mr. Stockton had adopted the duodecimo form, this publication would have been more beautiful and more acceptable, both in its parts and as a whole.

Price 50 cts., Post-Free.

E. V. G.

THE PROTESTANT THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA: Being a Condensed Translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia: with additions from other Sources. By Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D., assisted by distinguished Theologians of various denominations. Part V. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1857. pp. 513—640.

We are very much gratified at the regular issue of the successive numbers of Dr. Bomberger's translation of Herzog's Encyclopedia—the most extensive, thoroughly scientific and trustworthy theological publication of the kind that has proceeded from the American press. Part Fifth runs from *Caiaphas* to *Charles V*; and contains many learned and very valuable articles, to which reference can be made as authority with entire confidence; such as *Calvin, Canaan, Canon of the Old Testament, Canon of the New Testament, Carlstadt, Catechization, Catholicism, Chalmers*, &c., &c. By far the greater proportion of the papers are by the Editor; the rest are from the pen of Rev. Reinecke, Dr. J. W. Nevin, Rev. Ermentrout, Prof. Ruetenik, Dr. Yeomans, Prof. Porter, Rev. E. D. Yeomans, Dr. Wolff and Rev. Beck. The perspicuous, forcible and elegant English diction which characterizes the Encyclopedia, evinces the good taste and ability of this company of judicious translators.

We take great pleasure in renewing our recommendation of the work.

E. V. G.

THE STUDENT'S MANUAL OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. This volume is prepared for the New Testament; with a page for every chapter, and an index of subjects. For the use of Preachers, Teachers, Parents, and Private Readers. T. H. Stockton, 68 Lexington St., Baltimore, Md. 1856.

As the title implies, this is a blank book appropriating a page to every chapter of the New Testament, and is designed for the convenient record of any thought, fact, suggestion, etc., that may occur to the mind in connection with any book, chapter or verse. A good expedient, we think; it will serve to meet a want which every student of the Bible has felt; and we recommend it, for trial at least, to Ministers and Teachers. It is worthy of consideration, however, whether it would not be an improvement of the plan to print the text itself, judiciously distributed, along the top of the page.

E. V. G.

THE LIFE OF CHARLOTTE BRONTE, Author of "Jane Eyre," "Shirley," "Villette," etc. By E. C. Gaskell, Author of "Mary Barton," etc. In two volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1857.

The instances of real power evinced by the female mind in the walks of literature have been very few. We have had in the present generation a perfect avalanche of female authors, and the ladies have abundantly vindicated their ability to write, but they have not so fully established their ability to think. Now and then, however, a *rara avis* spreads her plumage for the literary flight, and proves by the strength of her wing, that she can hold her place high in the intellectual empyrean. Such were Madame de Stael, Mrs. Hemans, Margaret Fuller, Charlotte Bronte and a few others.

It seems to be conceded by common consent, that Charlotte Bronte was one of the most remarkable of our modern literary women. Even before the authorship of her anonymous works was known it was generally acknowledged that they indicated no ordinary power.

The Life before us is one of sad and painful interest, and exhibiting much self-sacrificing heroism. Charlotte Bronte's experiences were no common ones, and they are graphically detailed by the faithful hand of a friend. We commend the book as one well worthy of perusal.

C.